

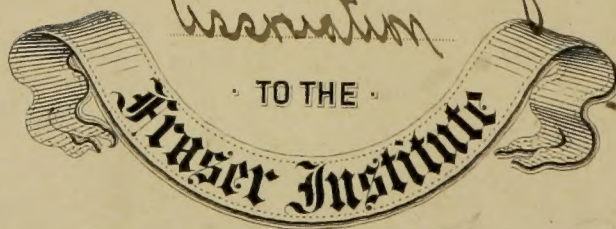




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THE  
HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM  
THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE ACCESSION OF  
LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH;

WITH  
NOTES, Critical and Explanatory;

BY  
JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

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VOLUME III.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR AND BY C. LOWNDES, DRURY-LANE,  
AND SOLD BY J. PARSONS, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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1793.

1794



THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

THE EARLIEST TIMES

SIXTH EDITION

NOTES, QUOTES, AND EXPLANATIONS

JOHN GORDON, ESQ.

VOLUME II

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1793



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## LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.

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A. D. 1461.] LEWIS was at Geneppe when he received the news of his father's death, and the intelligence is said to have inspired him with a joy which he affected not to conceal; but though his eagerness to sway the sceptre was unquestionably great, it can scarcely be conceived, that a prince who was the most consummate hypocrite of the age, would have suffered symptoms of exultation, the most indecent and unnatural, to escape him; symptoms, too, which must have made the most unfavourable impression on all who witnessed them. This charge, indeed, appears to have been founded rather on a supposition of what Lewis *felt* at the time, than on a knowledge of what he displayed; and it is worthy of remark, that, though it has been confidently advanced by later historians, it is not even mentioned by one contemporary writer<sup>1</sup>.

From Geneppe the king went to Maubeuge upon the Sambre, where he performed the first act of sovereignty, by summoning the governors of certain provinces to exact from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance, and to send him two deputies from each of the principal towns. He then proceeded to Avesnes, where he had appointed the duke of Burgundy to meet him. A report prevailed that the late king had taken some steps to deprive Lewis of his lawful inheritance; and, though the constitutional laws of the realm presented an insurmountable bar to such a proceeding, that prince, conscious he had given but too just grounds of offence to his father, seemed to entertain apprehensions that his succession would be disputed: at least, his conduct, and that of the Duke of Burgundy, were calculated to authorize such an opinion. As the duke was to accompany the king to Rheims, he summoned all the nobility in his dominions to meet him at Saint-Quentin; and the citation was so punctually obeyed, that no less than one

<sup>1</sup> Contin, de Montfretet—Chronique de Saint Denis—Chronique de France—Préface de Commynes—Pièces Justificatives—Histoire de Louis XI. par M. Ducloux—Histoire de la Ville de Paris—Registres du Parlement.



hundred thousand armed men attended at the appointed rendezvous. Such a prodigious number of attendants rather bore the appearance of an hostile army preparing to achieve the conquest of a kingdom, than of the retinue of a sovereign going to receive the crown, and to take peaceable possession of the throne of his ancestors. But whatever apprehensions Lewis might have been led to entertain, they were speedily dispelled by the zealous loyalty which every class of people hastened to signalize. No sooner, however, was one object of apprehension removed, than another presented itself to his mind; for it was the fate of this prince to be incessantly a prey to suspicion, inquietude, and terror. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, appeared to be a dangerous friend. His benefactor in adversity had now become his vassal; and this change in their relative situations necessarily produced, at least on one side, a change of sentiment; the interests of the king were far different from those of the dauphin, when a fugitive, and in disgrace. The embarrassment of Lewis was greatly increased by the critical situation in which he was placed; since, by betraying symptoms of distrust, he must inevitably have incurred the censure of ingratitude, and moreover exposed himself to the danger of making a formidable enemy, whose efforts he would have been wholly unable to resist. But he extricated himself from this dilemma by artfully insinuating to the duke of Burgundy, that the appearance of such a numerous army would, he feared, inspire his subjects with unfavourable sentiments, which, at the commencement of his reign, it was peculiarly his interest to avert. The duke, who harboured no sinister intentions, immediately dismissed his troops, and took the road to Rheims, accompanied only by four thousand of his nobles.

At Avesnes the King received the deputies from the principal towns, and from the sovereign courts of justice. A funeral service was celebrated in the church of that town for the repose of the late king's soul; and Lewis attended the ceremony, (accompanied by the duke of Burgundy; the counts of Charolois and Etampes; James of Bourbon, and Adolphus of Cleves) dressed in deep mourning; but as soon as the service was finished, he assumed the regal purple; not, as has falsely been asserted, in contempt of his father's memory, but in compliance with a custom which had been adopted in the early ages of the monarchy, and which his predecessors had invariably observed<sup>2</sup>.

Nothing remarkable occurred at the coronation of Lewis, which took place at Rheims, on the fifteenth of August, except that, before he was anointed, he insisted on receiving the honour of knighthood from the hands of the duke of Burgundy, which greatly surprised all the nobility; because, say the contemporary authors, "The king's sons were always knighted at the baptismal font." Indeed the marks of attention which he bestowed on the duke were carried to a degree of affectation which strongly favoured of insincerity. By his orders, the principal inhabitants of Rheims went to meet the duke at a considerable distance from the town; at the gates of the city, he was received by the archbishop of Rheims, who presented him with the

<sup>2</sup> Villaret, tom. xvi. page 399.



keys; and a complimentary oration was delivered in his presence, in which it was observed, that to him were the people indebted for the preservation of their sovereign. During the whole time that the court remained at Rheims, all orders were received from the duke himself.

By these extraordinary marks of condescension, the king thought he amply discharged the debts he had contracted as dauphin; but the duke of Burgundy knew him too well to be deceived by his proofs of attention, and professions of friendship. "*That man*," said he, speaking of Lewis to a person whom the count of Dammartin had sent to Rheims to entreat his good offices with the king, "*will not reign long without involving his kingdom in great troubles.*"

By the twenty-fifth article of the treaty of Arras<sup>3</sup> it was formally stipulated, that the duke of Burgundy should not, during his life, be compelled to pay homage to Charles the Seventh, *nor to his successors, kings of France*; and if in the said treaty, or in any other act whatever, the king had been stiled his Sovereign, such title could have no effect on this total exemption from the duties of a vassal. If the king strictly adhered to a convention thus precise, he could have no possible right to exact homage from the duke, unless, indeed, the right of Charles to bind his successors had been called in question. The duke, however, in order to avoid all possibility of a dispute on the subject, voluntarily paid homage to Lewis, not only for those domains which he held of the crown, but for all his possessions generally and indiscriminately.

On the day of the coronation, immediately after dinner, the duke of Burgundy knelt to the king, and conjured him, by the sacred ties of religion and humanity, to pardon all those who, in the preceding reign, had been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure, and to continue in their different posts such officers as had served the king his father with fidelity. This salutary advice, delivered in the humble form of a supplication, Lewis would have done well to adopt; but he was too intent on the gratification of his resentment to comply with a request that interfered with his projects of revenge. His soul was a stranger to that christian virtue, the forgiveness of injuries. He affected, however, to be moved by the duke's entreaties, and accordingly promised to pardon what was past, excepting only, from the general amnesty, seven persons, whom he did not name. By means of this restriction, he reserved to himself the choice of his victims.

On the last day of August<sup>4</sup> Lewis made his public entry into Paris, where he was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy, respect, and loyalty. When he arrived at the gate of Saint Denis, two children, representing angels, descended and placed a crown on his head. A herald, whose dress was adorned with the arms of the city, introduced to him five ladies on horseback, who represented the five letters which form the word *Paris*; and recited complimentary verses. *Adors*, representing the clergy, nobility, and the third-estate,

<sup>3</sup> Trésor des Chartres.

<sup>4</sup> Mezeray, tom. vi. page 411.



appeared in a vessel fixed against the gate, from the mast whereof issued a king, decorated with all the attributes of royalty. All the streets were adorned with pantomimical representations of mysteries; but the most extraordinary sight which attracted the new monarch's attention, was that of three beautiful girls, perfectly naked, stationed at a fountain by which he passed, in the character of syrens, singing rustic airs, accompanied by musical instruments<sup>5</sup>. After the usual ceremonies were finished, the king repaired to the hotel des Tournelles, where he established his residence.

Lewis, on his accession to the throne, had entered his thirty-ninth year, an age when youth can no longer be pleaded in extenuation of error. The kingdom was in a flourishing and tranquil state; free from domestic commotions, and exempt from the danger of foreign invasion. The sovereign authority was more extensive and more respected than it had been under any one of his predecessors, since the elevation of the third race of kings. The errors of his own youth, and the wisdom and virtues of his father, might have served him as instructive lessons, pointing out what to avoid, and what to imitate. No monarch had ever succeeded to the throne with similar advantages, and under circumstances more propitious. It only depended on himself to become happy, by completing the felicity of his subjects; assured of their attachment, he might easily have commanded the esteem of the neighbouring powers, the admiration of his contemporaries, and the applause of posterity.

With the exception of a few individuals, whose laudable attachment to Charles the Seventh had excited the avowed hatred of his son, none of the great officers of state, or chief magistrates, had any reason to apprehend a removal from their stations, which they had long enjoyed with honour to themselves, and advantage to their country. The king had hitherto been silent on this head, but immediately after his entry into the capital, he made known his intentions. He deprived Juvenal des Ursins of the dignity of chancellor, which he conferred on Peter de Morvilliers. John de Rohan, baron of Mantauban, was appointed to succeed John de Büeil, in the office of admiral, and William de Harcourt in that of chamberlain. The marshal de Loheac was succeeded by the bastard of Armagnac, who had just been created count of Comminges. The provost of Paris, most of the judges of the different courts, and the officers of the mint, also lost their places. It seemed as if Lewis had resolved to retain none of the servants of his father; and, from the apprehension that any one of them should elude his researches, he included them all in one general proscription.

Cousinot, bailiff of Rouen, a magistrate of great merit, who had rendered very essential service to the state, was imprisoned; and Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was obliged to conceal himself in order to avoid a similar fate. This almost total subversion of fortunes and dignities, kept the minds of the public in a state of continual agitation, while the person who occasioned

<sup>5</sup> Villaret.



it was not more tranquil himself. The prince who suffers the suggestions of caprice to silence the dictates of reason and equity, and whose conduct is influenced by the prevailing passion of the moment, can neither be happy nor free: wretched, indeed, must be *his* situation, who with the inclination possesses the ability to oppress.

Lewis was not more anxious to ruin all such as had enjoyed the favour of his father, than to protect those who had incurred his displeasure. On his accession to the throne, he ordered the duke of Alençon to be released, and he, soon after, restored him to all his former possessions, honours and dignities. John of Armagnac, who had been condemned by the parliament, also obtained the restitution of his confiscated territories. Such were the first exertions which Lewis made of his power; and but a short time elapsed before he found reason to repent a conduct, which was equally impolitic and unjust.

While he was thus occupied in incurring the hatred of his subjects, he spared no pains to establish harmony and tranquillity among his neighbours. By his urgent solicitations with the duke of Burgundy, he induced him to receive the count of Saint Paul into favour, and he likewise effected a reconciliation between that nobleman and the house of Croi; though he must have known that, by such a measure, he could not fail to excite the secret resentment of the count of Charolois. In short, before he had completed the first month of his reign, he had contrived to lay the foundation of an almost general discontent.

At length, Lewis left Paris to visit his mother at Amboise; but before his departure, he had an interview with the duke of Burgundy, to whom, in the presence of the princes of the blood, and many of the nobility, he renewed his professions of friendship and esteem, repeating his declarations, that to him he was indebted for his crown and his life. The three princes parted with every appearance of mutual satisfaction; and after this interview the duke returned to Flanders, and the count of Charolois repaired to Burgundy.

Among the numerous complaints preferred by the factious and discontented against the old administration, the want of economy in the management of the revenue, and the intolerable weight of taxes, had not been forgotten. Such accusations, indeed, have in all ages, and in almost all countries, been the instruments employed by wicked and designing men to seduce the people from their duty, by imposing on their credulity; knowing their aptitude to believe that all who are disaffected to the government, must be anxious to promote *their* welfare and to afford *them* relief. As these reports had been propagated by the adherents of Lewis, it was expected that, on his accession to the throne, he would rather diminish than augment the taxes; but almost immediately after he had received the intelligence of his father's death, he ordered a fresh tax to be levied throughout his dominions. On his arrival at Rheims, he made the most magnificent promises to the inhabitants, and solemnly swore that he would never subject them to any new impost; but when he left the town, he forgot his oath. The inhabitants, surprised to find the lease of the *Gabelles*, and other *exactions*, publicly renewed, in direct viola-

tion.



tion of the king's promise, flew to arms, broke open the offices where the registers were kept, tore the registers, massacred the *revenue-farmers*, and burnt their contracts. This sedition, however, was soon repressed; eighty of the insurgents were seized by the troops; and six of them, with the leaders of the revolt, were hanged. The same spirit of opposition evinced itself in several other towns, particularly in Angers, Alençon, and Aurillac in Auvergne; but by timely exertions of vigour it was speedily quelled.

The king stopped but a few days with his mother, and then repaired to Tours, where he received a visit from the count of Charolois, on his return from Burgundy. That prince experienced the most extraordinary marks of distinction during his residence at the French court: Lewis, not content with defraying his expences, and those of his household, and with procuring him every amusement the age would afford, displayed an anxiety to gratify every wish he expressed. On his departure, he appointed him his lieutenant-general in Normandy, with a salary of six-and-thirty thousand livres. Before the count returned to Bruxelles, he went to take possession of his new government, where the inhabitants, by the king's express orders, paid him the same honours as if he had been their sovereign. But while Lewis thus loaded the count of Charolois with caresses, he secretly confirmed, in violation of the most solemn oaths, the alliance which Charles the Seventh had contracted with the people of Liege, the avowed enemies of the house of Burgundy.

Now that he was possessed of supreme power, and, consequently, free to display his humours without fear of contradiction, Lewis betrayed a decided preference for those dishonourable intrigues, and crooked systems of policy, to which he had been addicted from his youth. Inconstant and capricious, his actions seemed to be regulated by the whim of the moment, without any regard to propriety, or consideration for the future<sup>6</sup>. Pope Pius the Second had made several vain attempts, during the late reign, to procure the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction; and being acquainted with the disposition of the new monarch, who, while dauphin, had promised to give him satisfaction on that head, he ordered the bishop of Arras, whom he had recently appointed his legate *à latere* in France, to remind him of his promise. That prelate accordingly represented to the king, that, by a compliance with the request of his holiness, he would strengthen his own authority; that he would always be able to dispose of the livings, by his recommendation to the pope, who would be bound in gratitude not to refuse him any thing he might ask; that when the princes and nobility had no longer any influence in the elections, they would lose the only means they possessed of acquiring partizans among the clergy; and that there would always be a legate in France, to whom his majesty might apply for all the favours he wished to obtain from the holy see.

<sup>6</sup> Du Tillet—Pasquier—Trésor des Chartres—Cont. des Ordonnances—Loix Ecclesiastiques—Histoire Ecclesiastique—Histoire de l'Université—Histoire de Louis XI.—Preuves justificatives de Philippe de Commines—Spicilegium.



The kingdom of Naples, which had formerly belonged to the house of Anjou, had been usurped by that of Arragon, and was now possessed by Ferdinand, a natural son of Alphonso, the late king. The duke of Calabria, son to René, the titular monarch of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, found the inclinations of the Neapolitans favourable to his pretensions; and the bishop of Arras, imagining that Lewis would be anxious to place his kinsman on the throne of Naples, assured him, that the pope had resolved to invest the duke with that kingdom. His holiness, indeed, had no such intention; but the prelate would have promised still more, had he deemed it necessary to the success of his project.

In short, the bishop exerted his eloquence with such effect, that the king, who ever displayed a willingness to revoke any act of his father's, granted all he requested. Had the pontiff himself dictated the letters of revocation, he could not have made use of expressions more favourable to the unlimited authority of the holy see, and more repugnant to the dignity of the throne, the rights and prerogatives of the Gallican church, the wisdom of the laws, and the honour of the magistracy. The king, after assuring the pope of his filial obedience, declared that he desired nothing more earnestly than to fulfil the promise he had made before his accession to the throne, to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction, which, having been established in a time of revolt, was injurious to the holy see. "Our councillor," says Lewis, alluding to the bishop of Arras; "has convinced us that this constitution, while it attacks your authority, tends to encourage the licentiousness of our prelates."—"Although most men of knowledge endeavour to dissuade us from our design, we have, according to your request, abrogated this Pragmatic Sanction, and cast it out from our dominions. Exert then your power, in future, in our kingdom as you please; and if any persons shall resist you, we promise your holiness, on the word of a king, to execute your commands, in spite of all opposition or appeal, and we will repress and restrain all those who shall disobey your orders<sup>7</sup>." It was thus that the king, by the strongest demonstrations of unlimited obedience, answered the ambiguous caresses of the artful pontiff, who, in a brief addressed to the bishop of Arras, charged that prelate to assure his dearest son, the king of France, *that he began to feel an inclination to love him wonderfully*<sup>8</sup>.

But Lewis, who believed himself to be the most skilful and profound politician of the age, had soon the mortification to find, that he had been duped by the pope; for Pius, having obtained his ends, refused to ratify the engagement which his legate had contracted for placing the duke of Calabria on the throne of Naples. Enraged at the discovery, he resolved to turn

<sup>7</sup> "Dum per pragmaticam ipsam summa in ecclesia tuæ sedis auctoritas minuitur, prælatis in regno nostro quoddam licentiæ templum per illum præstruitur . . . utere igitur deinceps in regno nostro potestate tua ut voles . . . quod si forte obnitentur aliqui aut reclamabunt, nos in verbo regio pollicemur tuæ benignitati exequi tui nam data omni appellacionis aut oppositionis obstaculo prorsus exchiso, eo'que qui tibi contumaces fuerint pro tuo jussu comprimemus et refrænamini."

Preuves de Commynes, p. 357.—M. S. de la Bib. Roy.

<sup>8</sup> Spicil. Miscellan. Epist. Diplom.



the pontiff's arts against himself; and he accordingly suffered his parliament to carry into execution the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had so solemnly revoked.

While the king was at Tours, he received ambassadors from the duke of Brittany, who came to regulate the form of homage which their sovereign was to pay for his duchy<sup>9</sup>; this point being settled, the duke himself went to Tours, and submitted to the usual ceremony. The king, who was jealous of his intimacy with the count of Charolois, spared no pains to gain his confidence. In the hope of attaching him to his interests, he declared him his lieutenant-general in Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy, although he had just conferred the government of this last province on the count of Charolois. If his object was to sow dissension between the two princes, he did not reap from this shallow artifice the advantage he expected. Soon after the duke's departure, the king repaired to Brittany, under pretence of performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint; but the real object of his journey was, to examine the state of the duchy, and to promote a marriage between Frances of Amboise, duchess-dowager of Brittany, and the duke of Savoy<sup>10</sup>; but the duke of Brittany, aware of his designs, found means to prevent their execution.

Previous to his journey to Brittany, the king had assigned the duchy of Berri, as an appanage, to his brother Charles, with the usual clause of reversion to the crown in default of male heirs; and accompanied by a promise to make some more ample provision for him at a future time. This promise supplied the young prince with a pretext to prefer such claims as best coincided with his ambitious plans; and a pension of twelve thousand livres, in addition to his duchy, being deemed an insufficient income for the son of a king, the public, disgusted with Lewis, loudly exclaimed against that monarch's injustice to his brother.

The conduct of Lewis to Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was calculated to encrease still farther the popular discontents. That nobleman, tired with the life of a fugitive, repaired to court, and desired the king would immediately order him to be tried with the utmost rigour of the law. He was charged with having falsely accused the king, while he was dauphin, of conspiring against his father; and on this charge his judges were base enough to pronounce him guilty of high treason, in consequence of which he was condemned to die; but Lewis changed his punishment into perpetual imprisonment, and he was accordingly committed to the Bastile; his effects were confiscated, and most of his estates were given to Charles de Melun, governor of Paris, who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring his condemnation.

<sup>9</sup> D'Argentré—Hist. de Bret.—Nouv. Hist. de Bretagne, l. 18.—Preuves de L'Hist. de Bret.—Trés. des Chart.  
<sup>10</sup> Preuves Justif. de Commines—Preuves de L'Hist. de Bret.



A.D. 1462, 1463.] Margaret of Anjou, the unhappy queen of England, had embarked for the continent, some time after the fatal battle of Tooton, to solicit succours and assistance from her foreign connections. She paid a visit to the king at Chinon, who expressed the greatest concern for her misfortunes. During her residence at the French court, she stood godmother to the only son of Charles, duke of Orleans, by Mary of Cleves, his third wife: the king was the godfather, and he gave his own name to the young prince, who afterward ascended the throne of France, under the appellation of Lewis the Twelfth. But, notwithstanding the professions of friendship which the king made to Margaret, all he could be persuaded to grant to her earnest solicitations, were a loan of twenty thousand livres, and a supply of two thousand troops, under the command of Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, who is said to have entertained for the queen more tender sentiments than pity and compassion<sup>11</sup>. With this inadequate succour—for which too, the interested monarch made her sign, in her husband's name, a truce for one hundred years, and a promise to restore the city of Calais—Margaret embarked for England about the end of the year 1462; and, after a tedious and tempestuous passage, arrived off Tinmouth; but being prevented from landing there, she again put to sea, and her fleet being overtaken by a storm, many of the ships were stranded near Bamburgh Castle, and the vessel in which the queen was, with difficulty, reached the port of Berwick. The French troops effected a landing in Holy Island, where they were soon attacked by a superior force, and most of them either killed or taken; but their leader, with some other officers, made their escape, and joined the queen<sup>12</sup>.

The defeat of the royalists at Hexham completed the misfortunes of Margaret, who, after that battle, sailed from England with her son, and a chosen band of faithful followers, and arrived safe at Sluys in Flanders. The duke of Burgundy received her with great hospitality; and, after loading her with valuable presents, sent a guard to escort her into Lorraine, where her brother, the duke of Calabria, then resided. Brezé, who was present at the battle, effected his escape to Alnwick, where he was besieged, and, after a brave resistance, consented to surrender the place, on condition of being permitted to return to France with the small remains of his troops.

A revolt of the Catalonians, who had renounced their allegiance to Juan, king of Arragon—a monarch stained with the blood of his own son—and invited the king of Castile to become their sovereign, now attracted the attention of Lewis. He, at first, promised protection to the insurgents; but, seduced by the offers of Juan, he had a conference with that monarch between Mauleon and Sauveterre, on the confines of Navarre, where a treaty was concluded, by which Lewis engaged to assist the king of Arragon with a loan of three hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and a supply of seven hundred lances; and the important counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, subject to redemption, were transferred to him as a security for the money he

<sup>11</sup> Villaret, tom. lvi. p. 456.

<sup>12</sup> Monstrelet, tom. 3. p. 91.—Hall, ed. 4. fol. 2.—Stow, p. 416.



advanced. These the king immediately annexed to the domain of the crown, in virtue of the pretensions of his mother, Mary of Anjou, sprung from Yoland of Arragon; but he soon after transferred them to the count of Foix, as an indemnity for his claims to the kingdom of Navarre, founded on the rights of his wife, Leonora, who had poisoned her eldest sister, Blanche.

The assistance of Lewis proved of little advantage to the Arragonian monarch, who was defeated in all quarters, by the active exertions of his opponent, Henry the Fourth, king of Castile, surnamed the Impotent. But this last prince was at length persuaded by his ministers, who had been seduced by Juan, to submit their dispute to the arbitration of the French king; who pronounced a decision, equally displeasing to both parties, and which was respected by neither. An interview, on the frontiers of their respective dominions, having been agreed upon between Lewis and Henry, the former repaired to Saint Jean de Luz, and the latter to Fontarabia. They advanced to the opposite banks of the Bidasoa, which separates France from Spain; and their contrasted appearance strongly attested the difference of their dispositions.—Henry, luxurious, magnificent, and vain, was arrayed in the richest stuffs, embellished with gold and precious stones, and attended by a numerous train, all equally brilliant. The sails of the barks, which conveyed them to the French side of the river, were also decorated with a profusion of the precious metals. Lewis, whose pride, certainly less respectable, was displayed in a studied affectation of the opposite extreme, had increased the natural uncouthness of his person, by a dress the most vulgar and unbecoming. His under garment, which sat close to his body, was made of coarse cloth; and over it he wore a doublet of fustian. His hat was extremely small, resembling the *calotte*, usually worn by priests, and decorated with a leaden image of the Virgin. The few nobles who attended him, imitated their master in the meanness of their dress. But the wealth which Henry had expended in his sumptuous preparations, Lewis employed to bribe the ministers of Castile—for the art of making traitors always formed a leading feature in his illiberal and dishonest system of policy. The two monarchs had a short conference together; and, after a formal renewal of the ancient treaties between the two crowns, they parted with a thorough contempt of each other.

The king had lately resigned all his pretensions to the duchy of Luxembourg, in favour of the duke of Burgundy; as well as to the restitution of the sum of fifty thousand crowns, which his father had paid to the duke of Saxony, and his co-heirs, for the renunciation of their claims. But while he appeared thus anxious to court the favour of Philip, he observed a very different line of conduct with his son Charles. Uneasy at the intimate connection which subsisted between that prince and the duke of Brittany, he incessantly laboured to promote a breach between them, or, at least, to counteract the dangerous designs which he imputed to them, by creating embarrassments which might divert their attention elsewhere. He bestowed every mark of distinction on the lord of Croi; not content with raising him to the high office of Grand Master, he ceded to him the town and territory of Guines; and, convinced that no-  
thing,



thing could give greater offence to the count of Charolois, he ordered this extraordinary instance of his favour to be published, by sound of trumpet, in the streets of his capital. He also extended his protection to every person, indiscriminately, who had incurred the displeasure of Charles. To this period may be traced the origin of that inveterate enmity which soon prevailed between those rival princes, and which only expired with life.

The duke of Burgundy had flattered himself that the unconditional homage which he had paid to the king, would be considered rather as a mark of respect, than as an essential obligation; and that no duties of vassalage would be required from him that could tend to derogate, in any degree, from the character of an independent prince, which he had so long maintained, and was still determined to preserve<sup>13</sup>. Some English ships of war having been seen cruising in the channel, the king sent an ambassador to Lewis to summon him to declare war against Edward, and to publish an express prohibition to all his subjects to afford that prince any kind of assistance. This was a mere pretext to sound the intentions of the duke, since, in the present state of affairs, no dread of an invasion could possibly exist. The most important, and indeed the real object of the embassy, was to engage Philip to permit the establishment of the Gabelle in his dominions; a proposition which he rejected in the most positive terms. He even sent the lord of Chimey to the king to complain of this conduct, and to beg he would, *for the love of him*, desist from a pretension which he could never admit.

The Burgundian envoy remained some time at the French court before he could procure an audience of the king. At length, tired with the delays which he was made to experience, he placed himself at the door of the king's apartment, and resolved not to quit his post till he had fulfilled his commission. The monarch, no longer able to avoid him, for once suffered his impatience to get the better of his policy, and exclaimed, "*What sort of man then is this duke of Burgundy? Is he different, or made of different metal from all the other princes and nobility of my kingdom?*" "Yes, sire," replied Chimey, "*the duke of Burgundy is indeed different, and made of different metal from all the other princes of your kingdom, or of the neighbouring countries, for he kept you safe, and supported you against the will and pleasure of king Charles your father, whom God pardon, which none of the other princes had either the inclination or spirit to do.*" The king, confused at this unexpected reply, immediately returned to his apartment. The count of Dunois, approaching the lord of Chimey, asked him how he had dared to express himself with such freedom to a prince so absolute as Lewis the Eleventh. "*Had I been fifty leagues from hence,*" replied the brave Burgundian, "*and had thought that the king wished to say to me what he has just said of my master, I would have instantly returned to make him the same answer as I have just made him.*" As neither the king nor the duke deemed it prudent to come to an open rupture, this affair was attended with no farther consequences.

<sup>13</sup> Contin, de Monstrelet—Preuves de Phil. de Commines—Chron. de France.



Convinced of the impossibility of enforcing his pretensions by arms, Lewis appeared to renounce them; and this tacit disavowal satisfied Philip, who was already too much harassed by the indocility of the count of Charolois, to think of encreasing his embarrassment by involving himself in fresh difficulties. The favour shewn to the house of Croi was still the cause of that division which prevailed between the father and son. As the duke advanced in years, the influence of his favourites encreased; and as Lewis, by his liberal donations, had attached those favourites to his interest, he might probably have obtained what he asked, had not the establishment of the Gabelle been attended with difficulties almost insurmountable. The bare proposal to levy that impost had formerly occasioned a general insurrection in the Low Countries.

But Lewis was more successful in another negociation with the duke of Burgundy, the object of which was, to procure the restitution of those towns on the river Somme, which had been ceded by Charles the Seventh, at the treaty of Arras: and which, in effect, rendered Philip master of Picardy. The measure was opposed by the count of Charolois; but the influence of John de Croi, the duke's minister, and the king's friend, prevailed, and four hundred thousand crowns were given to recover these valuable pledges. Even in this transaction, Lewis displayed his duplicity: he had promised to retain the officers appointed by the duke as governors of these towns; but no sooner was he in possession than he displaced them, and, at the same time, nominated others, whom he knew would be equally acceptable to Philip.

Soon after this negociation was compleated, Lewis lost his mother, Mary of Anjou, who died on the twenty-ninth of November, 1463, in the sixtieth year of her age. The exemplary conduct, the signal virtues, and fervent piety of this amiable princess, had attracted universal respect and esteem; and her loss was deeply regretted by the nation. Her death, indeed, could not have happened at a more unfortunate period; for as the king paid considerable deference to her advice, she might, possibly, have been able to prevent those troubles of which his improper conduct and restless disposition had laid the foundation. Since his accession to the throne, Lewis seemed to have wholly neglected an art the most easily acquired, and the most necessary for a monarch to learn, that of securing the affections of his subjects.—The prince who seeks to confirm his power by the influence of fear, at once betrays the tyrant and the fool; alike ignorant of his duties and his interest, he is equally a stranger to the obligations imposed on himself, and to the feelings implanted in the heart of man; fortunately for the happiness of the world, such a flagrant violation of moral rectitude generally carries its own punishment along with it. It cannot be too often repeated, nor too strongly impressed on the minds of monarchs, that the love of the people constitutes the surest and firmest support of the throne.

Lewis, by his conduct, had naturally excited the detestation of the French; and being conscious that he merited their hatred, he was in continual dread of feeling its effects. Tormented by the most alarming apprehensions, he was incessantly employed in the adoption of means for averting the storm that threatened him. The malecontents were numerous; and, headed by the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, they only waited for a favourable opportunity to  
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give a free scope to their resentment. The king, meanwhile, though sensible of his danger, knew not *who* were his enemies; he had been apprized, that secret associations were formed in different parts of the kingdom; but all his endeavours to discover the members of them had proved inefficacious.

The pensioners whom Lewis maintained at the Burgundian court assured him, that he had nothing to apprehend from Philip, at least, so long as the misunderstanding continued to subsist between that prince and his son. The duke had already addressed some complaints on this subject to the states of Flanders assembled at Bruges; and deputies were appointed to wait on the count of Charolois, and invite him to return to court. The count received them with kindness; and after he had explained the cause of his discontent, complied with their invitation, and went to his father at Bruges. But this reconciliation proved of short continuance. The same subject for dissention still subsisted; the count's aversion from the house of Croi was insurmountable; he had declared them to be his mortal enemies; he had openly accused them of conspiring against his life; and he even seemed directly to include the king in his accusations, by observing, that he would not designate the most dangerous enemies who sought for his death, on account of the horror that must necessarily be experienced if he named them.

Thus relieved from all dread of interruption from that quarter, Lewis resolved to direct his attacks against the duke of Brittany, who, next to Philip, had inspired him with the most serious apprehensions<sup>14</sup>. His conduct in this respect was influenced as much by the personal hatred he had conceived against the duke, as by his dread of the connection which he knew to subsist between Francis and the count of Charolois. In order to take the duke of Brittany by surprise, he had sent a strong body of troops, in different detachments, and at different times, to the frontiers of the duchy; and all his measures were adopted, and plans conducted with so much secrecy, that the duke was not apprized of the danger which threatened him, till the arrival of the French chancellor, Peter de Morvilliers, who was sent to inform him, that the king, "forbade him in future to entitle himself, *duke by the grace of God*; to coin gold; to levy extraordinary taxes in his dominions; to exact from his vassals the accustomed homage, and to receive the oaths of allegiance from his prelates." In case of a refusal to comply with these despotic mandates, the chancellor had orders to declare war against the duke.

Francis, who was a weak though generous prince, was extremely embarrassed at this unexpected declaration; destitute of troops, he affected to submit to the power he was unable to oppose; and, by the advice of Tannegui du Chastel, who, at the death of Charles the Seventh, had engaged in his service, he told the chancellor, that he did not refuse to comply with the king's demands, but that they related to objects of such importance, that his consent alone would be insufficient to ensure their accomplishment; that the laws of the country required the concur-

<sup>14</sup> D'Argentré—Hist. Mod. de Bretagne—Preuves Justific.



rence of the different orders of the province; and that he therefore besought his majesty to allow him time to assemble the states, that he might communicate his intentions to them, since by adopting a different line of conduct he should deceive the king, which he would not do on any account. This appearance of condescension so fascinated Lewis, that he granted the duke a delay of three months, and immediately dismissed his troops.

The count of Maine, and four other commissioners, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Brittany. The principal accusations preferred by Lewis against the duke, are too curious to be omitted, inasmuch as they display the character of the monarch, and the true motives by which his conduct was influenced in the present instance. He complained, "That while he was dauphin, the duke had refused to lend him four thousand crowns; that he had given him no assistance in the war with the Catalonians; that he had seized the temporalities of the bishop of Nantes, *which was a thing unexampled in the christian world, since bishops took the precedence of dukes, and could not possibly become their subjects*; that he had given orders to his vassals to take up arms; and that the duke's attorney had declared, at Rome, that his master was no subject of the king's, and that he would rather receive the English in his dominions than the French." There were several other charges, to all of which the duke replied; delays were necessarily occasioned by this means; and, before the matter could be brought to a decision, the king's attention was called to another quarter, which compelled him to defer the gratification of his resentment to a future period.

Lewis had received information that ambassadors from the count of Charolois had attended an assembly of the states at Nantes, where they had renewed, by two separate treaties, the alliance between Charles and Francis. The count of Saint Paul, and his brother, James of Luxembourg, Tanneguy Duchastel, Genlis and Romillé, vice-chancellor of Brittany, were the agents employed to conduct this secret negotiation. Lewis, resolved at all events to penetrate the mystery, cited the count of Saint Paul and Genlis to appear before him, to do homage for certain estates which they held of the crown of France. After some difficulty the latter obeyed the citation; but Lewis had the mortification to find all his stratagems for discovering the secret eluded, and all his efforts to detach the count of Saint Paul from the interest of the count of Charolois, fruitless and unavailing.

While the king was thus employed, the number of his enemies daily increased. The duke of Brittany no sooner found himself extricated from the embarrassment into which he had been so unexpectedly thrown, than, in conformity to the advice of Duchastel, he began to think of providing against any future attack. He wrote to all the princes of the blood, and chief nobility; and his letters, which were conveyed by messengers disguised like monks, contained the most urgent exhortations to unite in defence of the common cause. He warned them of the king's intention to destroy them all one after the other; observing, that they might judge, by the treatment which he had recently experienced, of the fate that awaited them; and that the only means of preventing a disgrace which threatened them all individually, was to act in concert, for the purpose



purpose of resisting oppression. The general discontent which prevailed in the kingdom had sufficiently prepared the minds of the public for the impressions which the duke wished them to receive. His emissaries returned with the most positive assurances of efficacious support from all those whom he solicited to enter into his projects. The confederates reciprocally exchanged vows of fidelity; and the king might count for his enemies most of the princes of the blood, and the principal nobility of the kingdom.

A. D. 1464.] Nothing was now wanting to compleat the danger to which France was exposed of a total revolution, but the junction of the duke of Burgundy. Hitherto that prince, who was fond of repose, had refused to enter into this formidable association. It even seemed impossible to persuade him to such a measure, notwithstanding all the efforts of his son for that purpose. One false step, however, produced what the most urgent solicitations had failed to effect. The king having received information that the vice-chancellor of Brittany had performed several voyages to England, Holland, and Flanders, thought it would be easy to discover the views of the princes, if he could once get their agent into his power; he therefore formed the design of seizing Romillé, who was then in England, on his return to Brittany. This commission was entrusted to the bastard of Rubempré, a man of bad character; and a small vessel was accordingly prepared for him, whose crew consisted of forty determined men. Rubempré, after cruising some time in the channel, put into the port of Gorkum, a small town in Holland, situated on the river Wael, where the count of Charolois had arrived a few days before. As it was highly improbable that Rubempré should station himself at the extremity of Holland, in order to intercept a vessel on her way from England to Brittany, it has been *conjectured*<sup>14</sup>, that he had received intelligence that Romillé was to pay a visit to the count on his return. Be that as it may, Rubempré having landed with a part of his crew, was known, seized, and thrown into prison, under pretence that he had come to Gorkum with the design to carry off the count, and deliver him up to Lewis.

Most of the modern historians of France, and some contemporary writers<sup>15</sup>, have attempted to justify Lewis from this accusation; but all they have been able to alledge in his favour, rather tends to involve the matter in obscurity than to prove his innocence. Appearances were most certainly against him. The character of the bastard of Rubempré; the profound secrecy observed even with his crew, who received orders to pay him implicit obedience; the place fixed on for the execution of the plan, at which the count of Charolois had but recently arrived; the conduct of Rubempré, who was seen loitering about the count's house, and examining every part of it; his alarm, which had led him to take refuge in a church, when he thought he was discovered; add to these considerations, the illiberal policy of Lewis, who had recently caused Philip, second son to the duke of Savoy, to be arrested, and sent to Loches, where he was confined for

<sup>14</sup> Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 34.

<sup>15</sup> Contin, de Monstrelet, vol. iii. fol. 103.



five years, although he had come to the court of France on an express invitation from the king, and under the protection of a safe conduct;—this combination of circumstances forms the strongest presumptive proof of the guilt of Lewis; a proof which his own disavowal of the deed is wholly insufficient to overturn.

At the very time that this plan was discovered, the frontiers of Picardy were lined with French troops. The king had repaired to Hesdin, to visit the duke of Burgundy, who received him with all the honours that were due to his rank. He there requested Philip to consent to the restitution of Lille, Douay, and Orchies, which had been pledged to the ancient counts of Flanders for four hundred thousand livres Tournois, and an annual tribute of ten thousand; but the duke replied, that those towns had been ceded by the king of France to his grandfather, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, on his marriage with Margaret, heiress to the county of Flanders; and that it was specified in the deed of conveyance, that they should only revert to the crown in default of male heirs on the part of Philip. Some other demands preferred by the king were likewise rejected. The duke, on his side, requested the king to receive the count of Charolois into favour; to desist from exacting an engagement from the Flemish and Burgundian nobles, on their performance of homage, to serve him *against all men living*; and, lastly, to fulfil several articles of the treaty of Arras, which had not yet been carried into execution. Lewis immediately left the duke without giving him any answer, and the next day set out for Abbeville. After remaining a short time at that city, he went to Rouen, and from thence returned into Ponthieu, and stopped at the village of Novian, near the forest of Cressy, six leagues from Hesdin, where the duke still remained. The two princes did not visit, and all the correspondence that passed between them was carried on through the means of Anthony de Croi. This coolness subsisted till the tenth of October, when the king sent word to Philip, that he would pay him a visit the next day.

The count of Charolois, who had just caused Rubempré to be apprehended, hastened to inform his father of the circumstance; for which purpose he dispatched Oliver de la Manche, an officer of his household, with a letter to the duke, containing a particular account of the conspiracy which, he said, he had detected. He not only accused the king of an attempt to seize his own person, but added, that it was also his intention to get the duke of Burgundy himself into his power; that it was with this view he had advanced so near to the place of the duke's residence; and that he had stationed several bodies of troops on the banks of the Somme, who were ready to assemble at the first notice.

Philip received the count's letter on the very day which the king had appointed for his visit. Not thinking himself in safety at Hesdin, where he expected every moment to be surrounded, he hastened to Saint Paul, in Artois, leaving the town to the care of his nephew, Adolphus of Cleves, with orders to receive the king in case he kept his appointment; but Lewis, being apprised of his retreat, returned to Normandy. The news of the project which had been formed  
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for seizing the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Charolois, was soon rendered public by the pains that were taken to promote its circulation. The count's emissaries made it the theme of their conversation in all companies; the clergy made the pulpits resound with it; and the intelligence was quickly conveyed to foreign courts. Meanwhile, Montauban, admiral of France, wrote to the lord of Croi, to engage him to hush up the affair<sup>16</sup>, and to release the bastard of Rubempré; but that nobleman sent back the letter, and refused to interfere in the business.

The king spared no pains to counteract the effects of these injurious reports. He summoned the deputies from the city of Rouen to attend him, and caused an apologetical discourse to be pronounced in their presence by the chancellor, containing a justification of his conduct, and a contradiction of the charge that had been preferred against him. Not content with this, he determined to demand satisfaction of the duke of Burgundy for the affront he had sustained, and for this purpose he sent the count of Eu, the archbishop of Narbonne, and Morvilliers, the chancellor, to Lille, where the count of Charolois had already arrived. The common danger to which they had been exposed, had produced a reconciliation between Philip and his son. The duke gave audience to the French ambassadors the day after their arrival, when he was addressed by Morvilliers, who began his speech by reproaching the duke of Brittany, who, he observed, had solicited the alliance of the English, the ancient enemies of the crown, and had, consequently, incurred *the forfeiture of his life and property*, as being guilty of high treason: that the king, being informed that this prince had sent the vice-chancellor of Brittany to England, had thought himself entitled to impede the progress of such a negotiation, for which purpose he had commissioned the bastard of Rubempré to intercept "that pernicious agent of the duke's evil designs" on his return to Brittany: that the count of Charolois, not content with violating the laws of nations, by imprisoning a man who was entrusted with a commission from the king, had caused it to be reported, that Rubempré had gone to Gorkum for the purpose of seizing his person: that Oliver de la Manche, who had been sent by the count to his father, had been careful to propagate these injurious reports in all the towns through which he passed: that a monk of Bruges had had the temerity to accuse his majesty, in a sermon, of an attempt on the liberty of the duke and his son: that the duke's hasty departure from Hesdin afforded a sufficient proof, that this odious accusation had experienced too much credit: and that the king was of opinion, such a proceeding could originate with no other than the count of Charolois, who was doubtless discontented at the loss of his salary as lieutenant-general in Normandy. Morvilliers concluded his harangue by demanding, in the king's name, that Oliver de la Manche, and the monk, should be delivered up to him, in order to be punished as calumniators; and that the bastard of Rubempré should be set at liberty. While the chancellor was speaking, the count of Charolois exhibited evident marks of impatience, and was repeatedly on the point of interrupting him; but his father interfered, and ordered him to defer his

<sup>16</sup> Villaret, tom. xvii. page 40.



reply to the next day, and, for the present, to leave the task of defending his conduct to himself.

The duke then addressed the ambassadors, and began by declaring, in the most positive terms, that he could not release Rubempré, since he had been arrested in Holland, a principality independent on the king: he then observed, that Oliver de la Manche was an officer of the count's household, that he would enquire into his guilt, and administer justice accordingly; and, that the monk was "a man of the church, whom he would not touch on any account."—"I wish every one to know, (continued Philip, with warmth) that I never made a promise to man or prince but I performed it to the utmost of my power." To soften this reproach, which appeared to be indirectly addressed to Lewis, he added, with a smile, "Tell the king, I never broke my word, except with the ladies." Philip, it seems, was of a facetious disposition; in another part of his answer he observed, "If my son be *suspicious*, he does not take after me, who never entertained *suspensions* of any man; but he takes after his mother, who often *suspected* me of loving other women." Philip concluded his reply by complaining that the king, on almost all occasions, failed to keep his word. A knight then exclaimed, "My lord, who is here present, only holds the duchy of Burgundy, with the counties of Flanders and Artois, of the king; but he possesses, out of the kingdom, the duchies of Brabant, Luxembourg, Limbourg, and Lotrich; the counties of Burgundy, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Namur; besides many other extensive lordships, all of which he holds of God alone, although he be not a king." "I would have it known," interrupted the duke, "that I could have been a king, had I chosen it."

At the conference that was holden on the succeeding day, the chancellor of France renewed his complaints, and repeated his demands of satisfaction; but the duke persisted in the answer he had already delivered, only adding, that he could not disapprove of his son's conduct, in apprehending Rubempré, who, by his strange behaviour, had laid himself open to suspicion; that if that *ci-devant* adventurer, on whom the title of king's envoy had been conferred, was really innocent of the crime imputed to him, he had nothing to apprehend; and that, at all events, he might depend on justice being done him.

At length the count of Charolois having obtained permission to speak, began by justifying the duke of Brittany, between whom and himself, he acknowledged, a close alliance subsisted, but it was a connection of such a nature, as could, by no means, affect the king. He declared, that he did not complain of the loss of his salary, as lieutenant-general in Normandy, of which he had never received more than one quarter; for that since he had recovered his father's favour, he could very easily dispense with the benefactions of any other person. He observed, that the bastard of Rubempré, whom he had ordered to be imprisoned, was a man of infamous character; that if he were really "*the king's legate*," as the ambassadors had asserted, he ought to have paid him a visit on his arrival at *Gorkum*, which was certainly not a proper place for the purpose of watching



watching a man on his return from England to Brittany; and that it was not probable the duke's envoy should pass through that town on his way home.

At the last audience the chancellor renewed his demands for the release of the prisoner, with which the duke peremptorily refused to comply, telling him that he would soon send ambassadors to the king, and that he hoped his majesty would expect nothing farther from him. Such was the issue of an embassy, into the particulars of which it was necessary to enter, that the reader might be enabled to form some judgment of an affair, which had a considerable influence on the commotions which soon after appeared. When the ambassadors took leave of the count of Charolois, he said to the archbishop of Narbonne, "Recommend me most humbly to the king's favour, and tell him, that he has made the chancellor *trim me*; but that, before the expiration of a year, he will repent his conduct." These threats, which were faithfully reported to the king, ought to have opened his eyes; but they had a very different effect on him; he thought that he had nothing to fear from a prince, who had recourse to vain bravadoes, and whose resentment exhaled in words.

Meanwhile the French malecontents daily acquired fresh strength, and additional confidence; and so disgusted were the people with the tyrannical government of Lewis, that the disaffection appears to have extended from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. Still Lewis was in the dark as to the authors of these dangerous commotions; and, if we except the duke of Burgundy and the count of Charolois, he was surrounded by enemies the more dangerous, as they were all unknown to him. The intelligence he received from different quarters increased his alarms, but gave him no information. Though the conspiracy was formed in his capital, at his court, nay almost in his presence, yet he did not perceive it. Contemporary writers relate, that the confederates frequently met in the cathedral of Paris; where a green silk lace, fastened to the girdle, served as their mark of distinction. It seems wonderful, that a secret which had been imparted to so many persons, should be inviolably preserved for so long a space of time. The duke of Bourbon, one of the leaders of the conspiracy, had passed some time at court, in order to watch the king's motions. On his departure, he repaired to Lille, in order to fix the wavering resolution of the duke of Burgundy, who had hitherto refused to declare himself, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of his son. And he probably would have continued to temporize but for the arrival of the duke of Bourbon, who was himself displeased with the king, for having refused to promote him to the dignity of constable. This nobleman, who was nephew to the duke of Burgundy by his mother's side, had acquired a great ascendancy over the mind of Philip. He now represented to him, in such strong terms, the danger to which all the princes were exposed, from a monarch, unjust and ambitious, who only sought to raise himself by humbling them; he urged, with so much energy, the necessity of uniting their efforts against a power that daily became more formidable, that the duke, at length, consented to levy troops, and to send orders to his vassals to arm. This was all that the count of Charolois required, from the conviction, that such a proceeding constituted an engagement, which precluded the possibility of retractation. He now found himself at the head of all the forces in his father's dominions, and  
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this important command rendered him, in a certain degree, independant on paternal authority. The first exertion of his power was directed against the lords of Croi, whom he declared his personal enemies, as well as enemies to the state; commanding them, under pain of death, to quit the court and the service of his father, whose favour and confidence they had too long abused. The order was so peremptory, that they thought it prudent to submit, and accordingly left the country, without even daring to take leave of the duke. Philip, notwithstanding the debility occasioned by the natural infirmities of age, which had almost destroyed the vigour of his mind, was no sooner apprized of his son's imperious conduct, than he flew into a most violent passion. In the first transport of his rage he seized a spear, and rushing out of his apartment, ran from room to room, exclaiming aloud, that he would soon see whether his son would have the audacity to kill his officers in his presence. His servants had the prudence to conceal the keys of the palace gates; and while he was insisting on having them broken open, his sister, the duchess of Bourbon, came up with the ladies of her retinue, and with some difficulty prevailed on him to return to his chamber. During three weeks he would not suffer any one to mention his son's name to him; but having attended a public sermon on the forgiveness of injuries, he was moved by the arguments employed by the christian orator, and, at length, consented to a reconciliation with the count.

A. D. 1465.] The king, convinced of his imprudence, in having allowed time to the duke of Brittany to make preparations for resisting his attacks, now resolved to dispossess him of his dominions; but before he would proceed to extremities, he deemed it necessary to offer some kind of excuse for his conduct. With this view he convened an assembly of the nobles at Tours, which was attended by the king of Sicily; the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and Nemours; the counts of Angoulême, Eu, Maine, Nevers, Saint Paul, Penthièvre, and Tancarville, with many others of the principal nobility. The chancellor Morvilliers, and Dauvet the attorney-general, explained the charges exhibited against the duke of Brittany, and the arguments which had been offered in his defence. This artful manner of submitting the question to the decision of the assembly, seemed the most likely means of securing all their suffrages. They, accordingly, expressed their unanimous approbation of the king's repentment, and all joined in condemning the duke, though many of them had already entered into engagements with him. The next day the king himself addressed the assembly; his speech contained an apology for his own government since his accession to the throne, and an attack on the administration of the preceding reign. The king of Sicily assured him, in the name of the assembly, that they were all entirely devoted to his service; though, at the same time, they offered their mediation to engage the duke of Brittany to return to his duty.

But though Lewis appeared to pay so much deference to the opinions of his nobles, he very soon took an opportunity of convincing them, that by so doing he had imposed on himself a degree of constraint which his haughty disposition could but ill brook. Before the dissolution of the assembly, Charles, duke of Orleans, deceived by the appearance of mildness which Lewis had assumed, determined to intercede for the duke of Brittany; he accordingly spoke in favour of  
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of that prince, and endeavoured to extenuate the faults of which he was accused. The age, services, unshaken fidelity, and irreproachable conduct of the duke of Orleans, had given him the privilege of delivering his sentiments with manly freedom. Conscious of this, he ventured to remonstrate against some of the numerous abuses which prevailed in the government. Lewis, who had pronounced a panegyric upon himself, could not bear with patience any reflections which tended to convey an indirect censure on his own conduct; his ear, unaccustomed to the voice of truth, was shocked at its awful sound. He loaded the venerable prince with the most insulting reproaches, publicly accusing him of harbouring criminal designs, and of taking the part of insurgents, in opposition to his sovereign. The duke immediately withdrew; and, as his mind was too sensible of dishonour, he sunk beneath the pressure of unmerited insult, and on the fourth of January expired, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, regretted by the whole nation. Besides two daughters, one of whom was abbess of Fontevraud, and the other wife to John de Foix, viscount of Narbonne, the duke left, by his third wife, Mary of Cleves, one son, named Lewis, who had been affianced, in the preceding year, to Jane, the infant daughter of the king.

The duke of Brittany, apprized of the king's intentions to invade his dominions without delay, again endeavoured to ward off the blow by negotiation. The confederates had at length completed their long projected scheme, and only waited for the signal to declare themselves. At such a conjuncture every moment was precious: the duke therefore dispatched Tanneguy Du Chastel and the vice chancellor of Brittany, to Lewis; and in order to gain time, these ambassadors acceded to whatever the king required of them. The duke engaged to comply with most of his demands, and very soon to pay a visit to the king at Poitiers. Lewis again suffered himself to be deceived, and trusting he had at length brought the duke to accede to his own terms, he loaded his ambassadors with caresses; and set out on a pilgrimage to Notre-Dame du Pont, in the Limousin.

As soon as the king was gone, his brother Charles, duke of Berry, accompanied by the lord of L'Escun, joined the Breton ambassadors, who had waited for him at some distance from Poitiers, and fled to Brittany; breaking down all the bridges he passed on the road, from the apprehension of being pursued. The retreat of Charles was the signal of revolt; and the flames of civil discord accordingly burst out in every part of the kingdom, almost at the same instant.

A manifesto was immediately published in the name of the duke of Berry, who, it must be observed, was only in his seventeenth year, explaining the motives of his flight. "He had left Poitiers," he said, "because he had been apprized of the calamities which prevailed in the kingdom, through the misconduct of the king's ministers, who made justice subservient to their caprice, and compelled the judges of the parliament, and other tribunals, to pronounce such sentences as they chose to dictate." After stating some other grievances, which, he said, dishonoured the kingdom, and exposed it to the contempt of foreign powers; he concluded by observing,



observing, that his sole object was to procure the dismissal of evil counsellors, and to relieve the people from oppression. All the other princes of the blood distributed manifestoes to the same purport; and as the *avowed* object of the confederacy was to enforce a salutary reform in the government, with a view to establish the happiness and welfare of the nation, on a solid and permanent basis, they gave it the high-sounding title of **THE LEAGUE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.**

Lewis resolved to direct his first attacks against the duke of Brittany; and, with that view, he wrote to the duke of Bourbon to raise a body of troops in his domains, and join him without delay. But he was greatly surprized to receive an answer from the duke, in which he not only refused, in the most peremptory terms, to comply with his orders; but proceeded to load him with the most bitter reproaches, directing his censures against every act of his government; accusing him of having substituted his own arbitrary will for the laws of the realm; of keeping the princes of the blood, and the most distinguished of the nobility, at a distance from his person; of prostituting his confidence to men who were unworthy to enjoy it; and of treating with contempt all remonstrance and advice. He then told him, that with the view to correct these flagrant abuses, and to relieve an oppressed people, the princes and nobles had entered into a confederacy, in order to enforce a change of measures, which would equally tend *to his own good, and to the good of his crown.* The duke, at the same time, took possession of the treasury, seized all the money he found there, and put the receiver-general of the finances under arrest.

Although the duke of Bourbon, in his answer to the king, had not mentioned the names of the confederated princes, they soon made themselves known. John, duke of Calabria, Lorraine, and Bar, being discontented with Lewis for having refused to assist him in the conquest of Naples, was one of the first to take up arms, notwithstanding the exhortations of his father, the king of Sicily. The duke of Nemours, the lord of Albret, the count of Dunois, and even the duke of Alençon, and the count of Armagnac, who were indebted to Lewis for the restitution of their honours and estates, were among the chiefs of the league, which was soon strengthened by the presence of the count of Dammartin, who effected his escape from the Bastille.

While the princes were engaged in collecting their troops, the most formidable of all the confederates, the count of Charolois, had already assembled all the forces of the Low Countries, and had just sent orders to the marshal of Burgundy to summon the nobility of that province, as well as of Franche-Comté, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. Hitherto the duke of Burgundy had been a stranger to the true object of the league; he had given his consent to levy troops, for the purpose of securing the tranquillity of his own dominions against the restless ambition of the king, and had expected that the confederates would act merely on the defensive<sup>16</sup>. But, as soon as the count of Charolois had made every neces-

<sup>16</sup> Villaret.



fary preparation, he informed his father of his intention to invade France; telling him, that all the chiefs of the confederacy, united by the strong ties of interest, were eager to revenge their common injuries; that their place of rendezvous was under the walls of Paris; and, that all their plans were so well concerted, it would be impossible for the king to resist their efforts. The duke, at this period, received the duke of Berry's manifesto, accompanied by a private letter from that prince, which immediately removed his scruples, and superinduced his consent to the adoption of decisive measures. When the count took leave of his father, before he joined the army, the old duke said to him, "*Do your duty, my son; behave valiantly, and prefer death to flight.*"

All the malecontents in the kingdom hastened to join the confederates. The veteran troops, the most courageous officers, and the most experienced commanders, quitted the king's service, and enlisted under the banners of his opponents. Never had the kingdom been threatened with a revolution more sudden and complete. From the extremity of Holland and Zealand, from the frontiers of Germany, and the banks of the Maese, to the foot of the Pyrenees, the whole strength of the monarchy was united to crush the king. Nothing could have saved Lewis from destruction, had the conduct of his enemies been equal to their resentment.

Amidst this alarming concurrence of circumstances, the genius of Lewis, active, penetrating, and peculiarly calculated to extricate him from difficulties, eminently appeared. He had concluded various treaties with the German and Italian princes; but the only one of his allies on whom he could depend was Francisco Sforza, duke of Milan, one of the most skilful politicians, and greatest generals of the age, who had usurped that duchy from the house of Orleans. To this prince Lewis had ceded the lordship of Genoa, and the town of Savona, to be holden, as fiefs, of the crown of France; on which condition Sforza had accepted them, and his ambassadors had done homage for them to the king in his name.

Lewis immediately issued orders to the governors of the different towns and fortresses in his dominions, to defend them to the utmost against the attacks of the confederates. Charles de Melun, governor of Paris, armed the citizens of the capital, who, for once, signalized their loyalty and zeal. The city was put in the best possible state of defence; the chains were fixed at the ends of the streets; all the gates but two were blocked up; and provisions provided for several months. Some days after these precautions had been taken, the marshal de Gamaches reinforced the garrison with a strong body of regular troops. The king was so well pleased with the conduct of the inhabitants of Paris, that he sent four of his principal officers to return them thanks for the zeal they had displayed; and, at the same time, to inform them, "*that the Queen intended to lie in at Paris, as she preferred that city to all the cities in the world.*" The counts of Nevers and Eu had orders to defend the towns on the Somme, and to oppose the count of Charolois, who was expected to make his first attack in that quarter; while the count of Maine led a considerable detachment into Normandy, to deter the Bretons from in-



sulting the frontiers of that province. The king, at the same time, published a declaration, promising a free pardon to all who, before the expiration of six weeks, should quit the rebel army, and return to their duty.

Lewis, after these preparatory measures, the only ones which, under such circumstances, he could adopt, placed himself at the head of his army, which consisted of fourteen thousand well-disciplined and experienced troops. As he intended first to attack the duke of Bourbon, the least powerful of the confederates, he marched, with great rapidity, through Poitou and Berry, and, after making an unsuccessful attempt upon Bourges, entered the Bourbonnois, to the great astonishment of the duke, who was totally disconcerted by such an unexpected attack.

When the duke of Bourbon first raised the standard of revolt, he had wholly forgotten to provide for his own safety. He had but few troops; his towns, ill garrisoned, and badly fortified, were exposed to the attacks of a formidable army, for the king's forces were, by this time, increased to twenty-five thousand men. In such an emergency, his only alternative was flight or submission. The duchess of Bourbon, who was sister to the king, went to meet her brother, and exerted her influence with so much zeal and address, that she prevailed on him to listen to terms of accommodation. The arrival of the duke of Nemours, with a body of troops, and of another detachment, sent by the marshal of Burgundy, which was speedily to be followed by a more considerable force, rendered the duke difficult as to the conditions of the treaty, and proved the means of prolonging the negotiation. He consented, however, to disarm; but he broke this convention as soon as he found that the count of Armagnac was hastening to his assistance, at the head of six thousand horse. The truce was, accordingly, at an end; and the king, vexed at having lost so much time, pressed the confederates with vigour and effect. The duke, though supported by the count of Armagnac, the duke of Nemours, and the lord of Albret, was compelled to fly before the royal army, and soon found himself reduced to the necessity of quitting the Bourbonnois, and shutting himself up, with his allies, in the town of Rom. Lewis immediately formed the siege of that place, with the resolution, at all events, to bring the war to a speedy conclusion; the princes were obliged to submit, and to conclude a truce, during which it was agreed to adopt the necessary measures for effecting a general pacification: they engaged to declare against the other chiefs of the confederacy, should they still persist in their revolt; and also to make the duke of Bourbon, who during the negotiation had fled to Moulins, sign these conditions. The king could not place much reliance on the execution of a treaty which was only conditional, and which, in fact, was soon violated; but the accounts he received of the motions of the count of Charolois and the duke of Brittany, did not permit him to prolong his stay in that quarter. He left a few troops to keep the duke of Bourbon in awe on the side of Auvergne and Berry, while Galeazzo, son to Francisco Sforza, his friend and ally, laid waste Le Forest and Le Beaujolois.

The count of Charolois, with an army of twenty-six thousand men, advanced towards the river Somme, while the duke of Brittany directed his march to the banks of the Loire. The confederated.



confederated princes had fixed their rendezvous in the isle of France, which was destined to be the scene of action. The king's object was to prevent a junction, on which the fate of the kingdom evidently depended. At a conjuncture thus delicate, when the smallest delay might be productive of the most important effects, the count of Vendôme rendered the most essential service to Lewis, by refusing a passage through his territories to the Breton troops. This impediment, by occasioning a loss of time, proved highly prejudicial to the interests of the confederates.

The Burgundian army passed the Somme at Bray; and the count of Nevers, and the marshal de Gamaches, who had thrown themselves into Amiens with two thousand men, in the expectation that the count of Charolois would form the siege of that city, sallied forth for the purpose of harassing the enemy on their march; but finding all their efforts frustrated by the vigilance of the count, the marshal made the best of his way to the capital.

The count of Charolois met with but few obstacles to impede his progress. The towns of Picardy did not openly declare in his favour, but they admitted his troops, and supplied them with provisions. Nelles, Roye, Montdidier, Beaulieu, and Pont-Sainte-Maixence, were either taken by surprize, or else surrendered on the first summons. In all those places, the count, styling himself lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the command of the duke of Berry, published a general abolition of imposts, accompanied by a declaration, that the sole object of the confederated princes was to promote the public good, by effecting a reform in the government. The count continued his march to the isle of France, where he halted, and established his head-quarters at Saint Denis. He there expected to find the body of troops which he had ordered the marshal of Burgundy to levy in that province, and likewise to be met by the duke of Brittany, according to appointment; and his astonishment could only be equalled by his disappointment, when he heard that the duke was still at Nantes, and that the forces from Burgundy, finding every passage occupied by the royalists, could not possibly join him. Enraged at this unexpected check, he would have returned to Flanders, had he not been restrained by shame. Romillé, the vice-chancellor of Brittany, who was with him, endeavoured to moderate his anger, by assuring him, that his master would speedily join him with a powerful army. That minister had several *blank letters*, signed by the duke, which he filled up with false intelligence; by which artifice he amused the count, and induced him to give up all thoughts of a retreat, which must have entirely disconcerted the plans of the confederates.

It was proposed, in a council of war, to endeavour, by a general assault, to get possession of the capital; but the town was too well fortified to hazard such an attempt. The count of Charolois drew up his troops in order of battle, within sight of the ramparts, in the hope of intimidating the inhabitants by a display of his power, and of reviving the ancient factions of the Burgundians, of which the remains were still perceptible; but this manœuvre failed of success. The marshal de Rohaut made a sally, but was driven back with some loss. A few days



after, the count sent four heralds at arms to the gate of Saint-Denis, to demand provisions, and a passage for his troops; while he attacked the suburb of Saint-Lazarus, and had nearly forced the barrier, when the arrival of the troops compelled him to retreat.

The king had sent word to the Parisians, by Cousinot, bailiff of Rouen, that he would soon come to their relief with his whole army; and, indeed, he considered the preservation of the capital as the most important object of the war. The count of Charolois had ordered some of his emissaries to introduce themselves into the town, and sound the disposition of the inhabitants. One of these agents, a canon of Arras, was discovered by the marshal, who allowed him to return to the Burgundian camp, on condition that he would tell the count that letters had just been received from the king, containing positive information, that he would be at Paris in four days, and *that then it would be seen who was strongest*. The count pretended to disbelieve the intelligence, observing, that the marshal had deceived him too often already.

The Burgundians called another council of war, to deliberate on the measures to be pursued at the present conjuncture. Many officers were of opinion, that it would be most prudent to return, since their allies had not fulfilled their engagement; and they observed, that if they deferred their retreat, they would find all the passages closed, from their neglect to secure the frontier-towns of Artois and Picardy<sup>17</sup>; but the count of Charolois rejected these timid proposals, and immediately gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness to march, to meet the duke of Brittany. With this view he forced a passage over the bridge of Saint Cloud, and crossed the Seine, in full expectation of being speedily met by the Breton troops.

The king, meanwhile, had left the Bourbonnois, and was advancing, by rapid marches, with the resolution to prevent a junction that must give a decided superiority to his enemies. He called a council, in order to determine whether it would be most prudent to attack the duke of Brittany, who was the weakest of his adversaries; and whose defeat might intimidate the allies, or to march immediately against the Burgundians. The king adopted the latter opinion, the most dangerous to follow, but yet the most decisive; since, by obtaining a victory over the count of Charolois, the dissolution of the league, of which he was the principal support, might, it was conceived, be easily effected. The monarch's advice was unanimously embraced, except by Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, who maintained a contrary opinion: he observed, that the count of Charolois was at the head of an army who idolized him; and every man of which would deem it his duty to sacrifice his life in his defence: that the case was very different with the duke of Brittany, whose troops were less devoted to their leader, and many of whom, having served under Charles the Seventh, would feel a repugnance at fighting against his son, and might reasonably be expected to desert to the royalists; and that, by

<sup>17</sup> Phil. de Commines.



conquering the Bretons, the duke of Berry, whose name afforded a specious pretext to the measures of the confederates, would fall into the king's power. These reasons, however, proved insufficient to shake the king's resolution. Brezé was even accused of timidity; but to such accusations the gallant veteran replied, "That if a battle ensued, he would convince his accusers" his soul was a stranger to fear, and that his advice to the king had been influenced by the "purest sentiments of loyalty."

The royal army arrived at *Châtres*, now *Arpajon*, at the same time that the Burgundians reached Longjumeau. The count of Saint Paul, who commanded the van of the latter, advanced as far as Monthery, where he first received intelligence that the king was within half a day's march of him: he immediately communicated this information to the count of Charolois, who chose the plain of Longjumeau for the scene of action, and ordered the count of Saint Paul to quit the post of Monthery, and join the main body.

On the sixteenth of July (1465) the two armies came in sight of each other, prepared to decide the fate of the monarchy, and the fortune of Lewis. The royal army was composed of warlike troops, well-appointed, and well-disciplined; the Burgundians, though superior in numbers by one third, were more formidable in appearance than effect: the nobility, long accustomed to repose, were wholly inexperienced in the art of war; few of the troops had seen any service; and most of the men at arms were ill-equipped, and undisciplined.

Lewis, reflecting on the fatal consequences of a defeat, was still at a loss how to act. On the evening of the fifteenth, he had called a council of war, in which it was decided, that the troops should continue their march to Paris, and avoid an action, unless the enemy should attack them on the road. The seneschal of Normandy had strenuously opposed this plan; which made Lewis ask, "Whether he had not subscribed the league of his enemies?" "They have," indeed, my signature," replied Brezé, "but my person is your's." As he left the council he was heard to say, that he would bring the king and the count of Charolois so near to each other, that it should require the exertion of wonderful skill to prevent them from meeting; and he was the better enabled to perform this promise, as the command of the van of the army was entrusted to him.

Some awkward manœuvres in the Burgundian army made the count of Charolois lose the opportunity of attacking the French as they passed through the wood of *Torjou* into the plain. The royalists, therefore, had ample time to range themselves in order of battle behind a thick hedge, that was skirted by a wide ditch. The king drew up his troops in three divisions, forming a centre, commanded by himself, and two wings, which he entrusted to the conduct of Brezé, and the count of Maine.

The whole morning of the sixteenth was passed by the two armies in observing each other's motions. The royalists, who had but little artillery, were extremely galled by the enemy's fire.



fire. The count of Charolois, having flattered himself that the king would begin the attack, had ordered his archers, who were placed in the van, to fix stakes, pointed with iron, in the ground before them, to check the enemy's cavalry; but finding the royalists determined to remain where they were, he changed his plan, and about one o'clock gave the signal of attack. But the troops, instead of advancing slowly towards the enemy, as they were ordered to do, rushed impetuously forward through the fields of standing corn which lay between the two armies; so that when they reached the spot where the French were stationed they were quite out of breath. The count of Saint Paul, however, and the lord of Ravestein, who commanded the left wing of the Burgundians, attacked the French with great fury. Brezé was killed at the first onset; but, undismayed by the loss of their leader, the troops sustained, with great resolution, the impetuous efforts of the enemy, until the king came to supply the place of the seneschal: inspirited by the presence of their sovereign, they pressed the Burgundians in their turn, and after an obstinate contest, in which Saint Paul and Ravestein signalized their courage, compelled them to retreat to their camp. While the king defeated the left wing of the Burgundians, the count of Charolois attacked the centre division of the royalists, which he soon routed, and pursued the fugitives half a league beyond the village of Montlhery. He thought himself sure of the victory, when he was told, that the French, after defeating his left wing, were advancing to attack him, and that if he did not speedily retreat, he would be inevitably surrounded.

The king, meanwhile, had returned to the field of battle, where he had to sustain a fresh attack from a body of troops, commanded by the bastard of Burgundy, which had not yet engaged. In this conflict, most of the archers of his guards were slain, and his own horse was killed under him, by the bastard himself. This accident occasioned a general alarm, and it was believed that the king was dead; but his guards rescued him from the enemy, and carried him in their arms to Montlhery, where such of his troops as had not been totally dispersed, rallied. Lewis was in the castle of Montlhery with his guards, when the count of Charolois, on his return from the pursuit, passed by the gates; and that prince must inevitably have been taken, since he had very few attendants with him, had a proper force been sent to attack him; but only fifteen or sixteen archers were employed on a service of this importance, and the count defended himself against them with incredible valour: notwithstanding his exertions, however, his attendants were almost all slain; and Saint Belin, bailiff of Chaumont, laying hold of him, exclaimed, "Yield, my lord, I know you well; do not lay us under the necessity of putting you to death." At that instant, a man at arms, extremely well mounted, arrived to his assistance, and rushing on the French archers, slew most of them, and put the rest to flight. The count immediately hastened to the field of battle, and knighted his deliverer. He had scarcely time to collect a few of his men, before the king returned to the charge, and he again found himself in danger of being surrounded. Perceiving the count of Saint Paul at a distance, with a part of the left wing, which he had rallied, he sent to him to quicken his pace, but the count continued to move slowly forward; and this manœuvre, as Duclos judiciously observes, saved the Burgundians from destruction. The corps which Saint Paul commanded did not, when the prince first perceived him, exceed fifty men; but by the slowness of his pace he had given time to others to  
come



come up with him, so that when he joined the count of Charolois, he was accompanied by no less than eight hundred men at arms. This unexpected succour enabled the prince to renew the combat, and even gave him an advantage, in point of numbers, over the king, who in vain employed the most courageous efforts to recover the superiority he had lost. Three times did he rally his troops; but being deserted by the count of Maine, and the admiral de Montauban, who fled with their respective detachments, the contest became very unequal, and had not the day been so far advanced, he must probably have sustained a total defeat.

The combatants were at length compelled to separate, by the approach of night. The king retired to Montlhery, while the count of Charolois remained in his camp. They had both displayed the most unequivocal proofs of personal valour, though their exertions were but ill seconded by their troops. It would be difficult to say which obtained the victory; certain it is, that they both thought themselves defeated at the time; though, the next day, each of them claimed the honour of the triumph<sup>18</sup>. In the course of the battle, in which neither skill nor order had been displayed, both the French and Burgundians committed a multiplicity of errors, alternately exhibiting exertions of heroic valour, and acts of the basest cowardice. Lewis, though brave himself, viewed with indifference the courage of others. "He frequently deprived one man,"—says Commynes—"of his place and estates, for having run away, to confer them on another, who had run ten leagues farther." The same author relates, that a statesman in the royal army fled as far as Luzignan without stopping; while a man of distinction on the Burgundian side quitted the field, and galloped with equal speed to Quesnoy. The loss on both sides, at the battle of Montlhery, did not exceed three thousand six hundred men. A party of the Burgundian fugitives were intercepted by the Parisians, and all of them massacred or taken prisoners. The booty acquired by the assailants on this occasion is said to have been estimated at two hundred thousand crowns of gold<sup>19</sup>.

The king, overpowered by fatigue, with a mind labouring under the most dreadful anxiety, could not contemplate, without horror, the danger of his situation. He had but a very small number of troops with him, and he was wholly ignorant of the state of his enemies, who, he had every reason to believe, had obtained a complete victory. Montlhery was not a post of sufficient strength to resist the attacks of a victorious army, he therefore resolved on an immediate retreat; and the darkness of the night favouring the attempt, he had the good fortune to arrive safe at Corbeil early the next morning.

While Lewis was thus anxious to fly from the Burgundians, a council of war was called by the count of Charolois, at which it was proposed by the count of Saint Paul to burn all the baggage, and retire with precipitation into Burgundy. This proposal was unanimously adopted by all the officers present, except the lord of Contay, who maintained, that it would be impossible

<sup>18</sup> Villaret, tom xvii, p. 94.

<sup>19</sup> Idem,



to execute such a plan, since it would expose the prince to the danger of being deserted by all his followers; that most of them, being natives of the Low Countries; would retire to that quarter, on the very first orders they received for decamping; that it would be infinitely more eligible to run the risk of a second battle, than to incur the danger of a general defection; and, in short, that the only alternative now left them, was conquest or death. The count of Charolois immediately embraced an opinion so consonant to his courage, and general orders were accordingly issued to prepare for action at break of day; but at the time appointed for a renewal of the conflict, the flight of Lewis was first discovered by the Burgundians, who asserted their claim to victory, by passing the whole day under arms. The king, on his side, advanced the same pretensions, though on what they could be founded it is impossible to conceive. As he had left the enemy masters of the field, he thought to obviate that plausible objection to his claims, by the ridiculous observation, that "it was not to be wondered at that the count of Charolois should remain in the fields, since he had neither town nor fortress to afford him shelter." It must be confessed, however, that neither party had much cause for exultation; though both of them secured by the conflict the same advantage they had hoped to derive from victory: the king had opened himself a passage to the metropolis; and the count of Charolois had removed all obstacles to his junction with the duke of Brittany, who had just arrived at Etampes.

Lewis entered Paris on the eighteenth of July, two days after the battle; when he supped with Charles of Melun, and several of the nobility, and some of *the citizen's wives* were admitted to his table. Though on his arrival he was only accompanied by one hundred horse, he was soon joined by so many of his troops, that, being unable to find quarters for them all in the city, he was under the necessity of forming a camp on the banks of the Seine. He expressed his determination to collect his scattered forces, and once more to try the fortune of war; but he was soon induced to give up a design, which prudence forbade him to accomplish. His present object was to provide for the safety of the capital. Some partizans of the league having been arrested, were immediately put to death; and the monarch attended their execution, and urged the executioner to perform his duty with spirit and effect <sup>20</sup>.

Influenced by the same motives, he courted the affection of the Parisians with incredible zeal, neglecting no measure which his sagacity could suggest for the acquisition of popularity. He visited all the principal citizens, entered into familiar conversation with them, and admitted them to his table: he also abolished most of the imposts, and confirmed the privileges of the city. At the suggestion of William Chartier, bishop of Paris, six citizens, six members of the university, and six judges of the parliament, were appointed to manage the most important and most urgent business of the state. When the king had regulated all these matters, he went into Normandy, with the view to arm the nobility, and to bring back with him most of the

<sup>20</sup> Chron. de Saint-Denis.



troops which he had left for the defence of that province, which, from the absence of the duke of Brittany, he no longer conceived to be in danger.

Meanwhile the count of Charolois having collected his forces, which had been dispersed at the battle of Monthery, and effected a junction with the Bretons, advanced towards Paris, accompanied by the dukes of Berry and Brittany. The duke of Burgundy had sent a considerable body of cavalry, under the command of Saveuses, to join him at the gates of the capital: he was farther reinforced by the duke of Bourbon; the count of Armagnac; the duke of Nemours; and the lord of Albret. The duke of Calabria, too, hastened to join the confederates with a small body of well-disciplined troops, who had served under him in the Italian wars, and five hundred Swiss infantry, the first ever seen in France. The isle of France was scarcely capable of containing this immense army, the cavalry whereof amounted to one hundred thousand men. As the princes, in hope that the inhabitants would admit them into the capital, wished to spare their property; they made their troops observe the strictest discipline; except the forces of the count of Armagnac, who, receiving no pay, were compelled to live at discretion; and these were stationed in the province of Brie, which they laid waste.

The Parisians having retaken the bridges at Saint Cloud and Charenton, at the time of the battle of Monthery, the count of Charolois caused a bridge of boats to be constructed, over which his troops passed the Seine: he then retook Charenton and Saint Cloud, and formed a semicircular camp, commanding all the northern part of the city, while the king's troops were stationed on the opposite side. The loss of Charenton might have occasioned a scarcity of provisions in the capital, but such care had been taken to provide an ample stock, that no apprehensions of that kind were entertained.

Though all the efforts which the count of Charolois had hitherto made to obtain admission into Paris, had proved fruitless, yet he did not despair of finally accomplishing his project. He thought that the name of the duke of Berry, on whom the confederates had conferred the title of regent of the kingdom, joined to specious promises the hope of a salutary reform; and, that the presence of a formidable army, commanded by the most distinguished captains in France, would intimidate or seduce the inhabitants of the capital, and engage them to declare in favour of a league, which had for its object the public good. It was resolved to demand a conference with the Parisians, in order to explain to them the motives which had determined the princes to take up arms; for this purpose letters, signed by the duke of Berry, were sent to the parliament, the municipal body, and the university, inviting them to appoint deputies for conducting a negotiation.

Deputies were accordingly chosen, who proceeded to the Burgundian camp, under the conduct of the bishop of Paris, where they were received by the duke of Berry, as the representative of the sovereign, attended by the count of Charolois, the dukes of Brittany and Calabria, and others of the princes and nobility. The count of Dunois addressed the deputies in the name of the confederated princes, "Who," he observed, "had long considered, with attention,



“the manners of Lewis, who not only oppressed the people by superfluous taxes, and the exaction of unusual services, but treated them with the same contempt which he bestowed on all the nobles of the realm, and deprived them of all authority. They reproached him with making his own will the sole rule of his actions; *he was the law, the judge, and the parliament.*” The count remarked, “That he only sought to secure his power by the force of arms, and the exertions of his troops; that his person was surrounded, and his favour monopolized, by persons of the lowest extraction, who were meanly obsequious to his wishes, and passively obedient to his commands, on which account he raised them to an equality with the princes of his blood: that the kingdom was filled with spies and informers, so that no man’s life nor property was secure: that suspicions the most frivolous were admitted as sufficient ground for punishing the citizens with exile or death: that the wild beasts enjoyed greater safety and freedom in France than men: that all the wealth of the kingdom was thrown away on persons destitute of honour and probity: that they alone obtained pensions; and that the period was arrived, when almost *all the property in the kingdom was at the disposal of one man*: that these numerous abuses had induced the princes to take up arms, and to repair to Paris, to take the general opinion of the French, and to call an assembly of the states, in order to correct the vices which prevailed in the government: that Lewis was indeed their king, but that it became their dignity to exhort and admonish him to follow the steps of his predecessors, to conform to the laws, and to have compassion on the people.”

The deputies, on their return, repaired to the town-house, and reported the result of their conference to the inhabitants; adding, that the princes threatened to lay waste the environs of the capital, if they still persisted in refusing them admission. After some deliberation, it was agreed, that the deputies should return to the princes, and assure them, that if they would bind themselves by an oath, to commit no kind of violence, and to pay for every thing they wanted, they were willing, *with the king’s consent*, to admit them into the town.

At this juncture, the admiral de Montauban arrived at Paris, with a strong reinforcement of troops; and advice was received, at the same time, that the king might be soon expected. In fact he arrived a few days after, accompanied by the count of Maine, and all the troops he could collect in Normandy. Lewis being informed of the negotiations which had been carried on in his absence, was extremely enraged at the inhabitants for having presumed to deliberate, without his orders, on the proposals of the princes. He did not, however, think it prudent to give a full scope to his resentment, but contented himself with passing a sentence of banishment on the principal conductors of the negotiation. He took the government of Paris from Charles of Melun, and bestowed that post, which at this period he considered as the most important one in his gift, on the count of Eu.

On the king’s arrival, the royalists, who had hitherto stood on the defensive, made frequent



fallies on the enemy, though Lewis was careful not to risk a decisive action. The confederates, finding there were little hopes of reducing the capital, began to be tired of the war; the count of Charolois, too, was anxious to return to the Low Countries, where the people of Liege, at the instigation of Lewis, had committed the most dreadful depredations. The consequence of this disposition was, the conclusion of a truce for some days, during which it was proposed to effect a final accommodation. The truce, however, was ill observed, especially by the confederates, whose troops, no longer submissive to the restraint of discipline, laid waste the environs of Paris. The king himself could scarcely contain his troops within the bounds of moderation; those who were stationed in the vicinity of the metropolis did as much damage to the farmers as the enemies themselves did; while the garrison of Paris, rendered insolent by a consciousness of their own importance, treated the citizens with a degree of pride and insolence, that, under the present circumstances, it was difficult to repress<sup>22</sup>.

The count of Saint Paul having requested the king to grant him a conference without the walls, Lewis met him near the ramparts; and on his return he assured the Parisians, that they would not be long troubled with the Burgundians. An attorney who was present when he made this declaration, exclaimed, "That may be, sire; but meanwhile they are entering our vineyards, and eating our grapes, and we are not able to prevent them." "It is better," replied the king, "that they should enter your vineyards, and eat your grapes, than that they should enter Paris, and take your money, and your plate, which you have concealed in your cellars, and even in the bowels of the earth."

Serious negotiations for a peace were now carried on by the count of Maine, and the lord of Précigny, second president of the parliament of Toulouse, on the part of the king; and the duke of Calabria, and the counts of Saint Paul and Dunois, on the part of the confederates. As Lewis was resolved to effect an accommodation at all events, he only started difficulties the better to conceal his real designs. The princes were so exorbitant in their demands, that had he granted them without hesitation, the sincerity of his conduct might have been justly suspected. Philip de Commines assures us, that he had been advised by his friend, the duke of Milan, to grant every demand which the confederates might be tempted to make, in order to dissolve the league, and to leave it to time to supply him with the means of breaking his promises. A scheme of this nature, in which honour and justice were sacrificed to policy, required no uncommon

<sup>22</sup> The insolence of the soldiery may be collected from the following account of a contemporary author: "Neither the wealth which Paris contains," said they to the citizens, "nor the town itself, belongs to those who reside in it, but to us soldiers; and we would have you to know, that in spite of your faces, (*malgré vos visages*) we will keep the keys of your houses, and turn you and yours into the street." Of their *hauteur*, the following extract, from the same author, may convey some idea: "The same day two hundred archers arrived at Paris, under the command of captain Mignon; and they were followed by eight bad women on horseback, accompanied by a monk, who was their confessor." Chron. de Saint Denis.



exertion of genius to invent; and it was so consonant to the disposition of Lewis, that it must naturally have occurred to him.

The only point which was suffered to protract the conclusion of the treaty, was the augmentation of the duke of Berry's appanage. The princes insisted, that the province of Normandy should be ceded to him; but with this demand the king could not prevail upon himself to comply. The situation of that province, which on one side joined the dominions of the duke of Brittany, and on the other extended to within a short distance of those towns on the river Somme, the restitution of which was now required by the count of Charolois, rendered it of the utmost importance; as the possession of it would make it an easy matter for the three princes to join their forces at the first signal, and thus keep the king constantly besieged, as it were, in the centre of the kingdom. Instead of Normandy, Lewis offered to cede the provinces of Champagne and Brie to his brother, reserving only to himself the towns of Montereau—Fautoyonne, Meaux and Melun. His offers, however, were rejected, the negociations broken off, and hostilities renewed.

During this war, a custom prevailed, of which we find no example at any earlier period of the French history. The prisoners were exposed to public sale. The chroniclers of the times relate, that several Calabrians were sold at *six sols six deniers per head*. They were purchased with the view to make a profit by their ransom; and such of the unfortunate victims as were unable to pay their ransom, or as nobody claimed, were hanged<sup>23</sup>. This was a new branch of commerce, the accursed offspring of avarice, which, like some that are still suffered to subsist, tended to gratify the rapacity of individuals, in contempt of religion, and at the expence of humanity!

The confederates were induced, by a scarcity of provisions, to renew the negociations for a peace; but when it appeared on the point of conclusion, some new incidents occurred to break off the conferences. The governor of Boulogne-sur-Mer had just been executed for a design to set that town on fire, and during the confusion which such an event must necessarily occasion, to surrender the place to the English. Saveuses, a Burgundian general, having frequently obtained permission to go to Peronne to see the count of Nevers, took an opportunity of introducing six hundred men into the town during the night, with whose assistance he secured the citadel. The count of Nevers was suspected of being an accomplice in the plot, though he was made prisoner, and sent to the castle of Bethune. Lewis Sobier, governor of Pontoise, delivered that place to the duke of Brittany, who, a few days after, was admitted, by a similar instance of treachery, into Evreux. The duke of Calabria took Gisors, and the duke of Bourbon reduced Rouen.

<sup>23</sup> "On Sunday, at break of day, seven men came to the Boulevard, near the tower of Billy, who had been taken by the Burgundians, and by them condemned to be hanged, because, since they had been taken, nobody had offered to purchase them." *Additions à la Chronique de Monstrelet*.



In preceding wars, occasioned by internal dissensions, the nation had been reduced to a more deplorable state; but it never was sunk so low, in point of degradation, as at present. Falsehood and treachery appeared on every side, nor was the dark prospect relieved by a single act of virtue<sup>24</sup>. The French historians have neglected to trace the source of this national corruption; but surely it may, with justice, be ascribed to the shameful depravity of the monarch himself; destitute of truth, honour, or probity, Lewis made dissimulation his study, and gloried in deceit. That the conduct of a sovereign has an essential influence on the manners of a people, cannot be denied; the dispenser of honours and rewards, his favour must be courted by such means as are known to correspond with his taste, and coincide with his wishes: when absolute, — punishment, too, must be avoided by a similar attention to his will and caprice; thus are habits, as it were, imperceptibly contracted; and, though in every nation there are, doubtless, many individuals who escape the general contagion, who acquire not the general bias, yet, from the natural propensity of man to imitate his superiors, the impulse soon becomes universal, and constitutes what may justly be termed the national character. On the minds of those who are born to fill the elevated station of royalty, this important consideration cannot be too strongly impressed; let them reflect, *most seriously* reflect, on the full extent of their influence: not an action they commit is unobserved, or indifferent; their vices may tend to involve thousands in guilt; their virtues may prove the means of happiness to millions: when *such* motives to rectitude are duly *weighed*, they must be found irresistible. It is thus that, by the all-wise dispensations of Providence, to the enjoyment of a superior station the discharge of superior duties is *invariably* annexed.

Pressed on all sides, surrounded by enemies or traitors, the king resolved to extricate himself from a situation thus dangerous, by concluding a peace, which he resolved to break as soon as circumstances would permit. It was necessary, indeed, to adopt some decisive measure, for he received daily information of plots formed against his person. The enemy had found means to circulate seditious libels, in which neither the king nor his ministers were spared; and a disposition to tumult appeared in the capital, where Baluë, bishop of Evreux, the king's confidential friend, was attacked, and wounded; and that prelate was only indebted for his life to the swiftness of his mule.

Lewis now granted all the demands of the confederates, and even seemed to anticipate their wishes. He told the count of Charolois, who, notwithstanding a cessation of arms which had been agreed on, had made an attempt on the town of Beauvais, that if he were not satisfied with the conditions proposed, he was willing to add the entire cession of the Beauvoisis. At length peace was concluded on the following terms<sup>25</sup>:—The duchy of Normandy was ceded, as an appanage, to the duke of Berry, together with the sovereignty of the duchies of Alençon

<sup>24</sup> Villaret.      <sup>25</sup> Trésor des Chartres—Mém. de la Chamb. des Com.—Chron. de France—Phil. de Commines—Pièces Justific. de l'Histoire de Louis XI.



and Brittany. The count of Charolois obtained all the towns on the Somme, which had been formerly pledged to the duke of Burgundy, to be enjoyed by him and his immediate successor, after whose death they might be redeemed by the king of France, on the payment of two hundred thousand crowns of gold: Lewis likewise ceded to the count, as a perpetual inheritance, the districts of Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier, with the counties of Guines and Boulogne-sur-Mer. The duke of Calabria acquired the towns of Moufon, Sainte-Menehould, Vaucouleurs, and Epinal, a guard of five hundred lances, to be maintained at the king's expence, and the sum of one hundred thousand crowns towards defraying the expences of an expedition for the recovery of the kingdom of Naples. The duke of Brittany had for his share the counties of Etampes and Montfort, with the government of Lower Normandy; he likewise obtained a renunciation of the king's claims to the right of *regale* within the duchy of Brittany. To the duke of Bourbon were allotted the district of Usson, and a part of Auvergne. The count of Armagnac obtained the restitution of certain territories, of which he had been deprived in the preceding reign, with a pension, and a company of regular troops. The duke of Nemours was appointed governor of Paris, and the isle of France, with a pension, and a guard of two hundred lances. The count of Dunois was restored to his possessions, as was also the count of Dammartin. The lord of Albret had his claims allowed to certain estates, which joined his domains. The count of Saint-Paul was invested with the dignity of constable, which had remained vacant ever since the death of Arthur, duke of Brittany; and the lord of Büeil was promoted to the high office of admiral of France. The lord of Loheac was restored to the rank of marshal of France, and Tanneguy Du Châtel to the post of *grand écuyer*; and the king also engaged to give each of these noblemen the command of a company of regulars, by which means they would obtain the disposal of the principal forces in the kingdom. It was farther agreed, that the Pragmatic Sanction should be re-established in its full vigour, and that a council should be appointed for correcting the abuses in the government, to consist of thirty-six members, to be chosen from the three orders of the state.

Such were the principal conditions of the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur des Fossés, which, had they been faithfully executed, would have left Lewis but the vain title of king, destitute of authority. Some of his most intimate friends having enquired what motives could induce him to submit to such disadvantageous terms? Lewis replied—“*The youth of my brother of Berry; the prudence of my fair cousin of Calabria; the good sense of my fair brother of Bourbon; the malice of the count of Armagnac; the great pride of my fair cousin of Brittany; and the invincible power of my fair brother of Charolois*”<sup>26</sup>. The king, before he concluded this treaty, entered a formal protest against it in the court of parliament, as being the result of force, and contrary to the rights and interests of the crown.

<sup>26</sup> Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 138.



At this period, Isabella of Bourbon, countess of Charolois, died at Bruxelles, leaving only one daughter, named Mary, then in her ninth year, who afterward became sole heiress to the vast possessions of her family; and who, by her marriage with Maximilian, transferred her rights to the house of Austria; rights which proved an inexhaustable source of dispute, and occasioned the most bloody wars, that continued for nearly three centuries.

The chief advantage which Lewis derived from this dishonourable peace, was a consciousness of his past errors. For some time he appeared studious to regain the attachment of the malcontents, by a conduct diametrically opposite to that which he had observed on his accession to the throne. He assumed an affability of manners, and seemed to breathe nothing but benevolence, candour, and friendship. He listened to advice with the apparent docility of a prince distrustful of his own abilities on an object of such importance as the government of a nation. Even his external appearance was changed; he exchanged the mean dress he had been accustomed to wear, for an apparel more suitable to his dignity. He loaded the princes, and other chiefs of the confederacy, with caresses; received them at his palace, and attended the feasts to which they were invited by the principal citizens. To please the count of Charolois, he deprived Morvilliers of the office of chancellor, and conferred it on William Juvenal des Ursins, who had enjoyed it on his accession.

But notwithstanding these appearances of content and satisfaction, the king could scarcely conceal his impatience to witness the separation and retreat of the confederates. Peace was proclaimed at Paris, on the twenty-ninth of October; and the last day of that month was appointed by Lewis to receive the homage of the princes, at the castle of Vincennes, which the count of Charolois insisted should be delivered up to him, as a pledge for the safety of his person, and those of his allies. His guards were accordingly stationed in the avenues, and at the gates of the fortress, when the king arrived, attended by a slender escort. By this appearance of confidence, he wished to inspire his enemies with an opinion of his candour and sincerity; and he carried his dissimulation so far, that he had resolved to sleep at Vincennes, and had given orders for his bed to be brought from Paris; but the arrival of a messenger from the aldermen and provost of Paris, requesting he would return before night, prevented him from accomplishing his design. After the new duke of Normandy, the count of Charolois, and the other princes, had done homage for the possessions which had been ceded to them by the treaty, the count of Saint-Paul took the oath of allegiance as constable of France. An act of oblivion was then passed, and the chiefs of the confederacy received a formal pardon from the king for their conduct during the revolt.

On the third of November the long wished-for separation of the princes took place: the duke of Normandy, accompanied by the duke of Brittany, repaired to the province which he had newly acquired; while the count of Charolois took the road to Flanders. The king accompanied the count as far as Villiers-le-Bel, where the two princes passed three days, during which time they were equally profuse of their professions of friendship and esteem, and equally suspicious.



suspicious of each other's designs. Lewis, who on his departure from Paris was only accompanied by a small retinue, had left orders for two hundred lances to follow him, in order to escort him on his return. The arrival of these, just as the count of Charolois was going to bed, threw that prince into the most dreadful consternation; and, apprehensive that the king had formed some design against him, he commanded his troops to arm. Philip de Commines, who was present at the time, and who lived alternately at the French and Burgundian courts, observes, that the too great familiarity with which they conversed together during three days, far from inspiring them with friendship for each other, only served to increase their distrust, and confirm their mutual aversion. They had acquired too deep a knowledge of each other's sentiments not to perceive that insurmountable antipathy which the difference of their dispositions must naturally produce. The king, aware of the count's impatience to attack the people of Liege, offered to give them up, and even to assist him in revenging the injury he had sustained from them—though Lewis himself had instigated them to the commission of that injury—on condition that the count would renounce all alliance with the other princes, and particularly with the duke of Brittany. The artifice was too shallow to impose on the count of Charolois, who immediately replied, that nothing could dissolve the bond of friendship which subsisted between him and the duke of Brittany; that he should always be ready to leave the people of Liege to themselves, in order to fly to the assistance of that prince whenever the king should attempt to attack him; in short, that their cause was the same, and their interests were inseparable. This refusal, however, did not prevent Lewis and Charles from renewing, when they parted, their professions of mutual esteem, and their protestations of living in future in the utmost harmony.

Thus terminated the war for the public good, in which, it must be confessed, the confederates appear rather to have consulted their own private interest, than the welfare or relief of the people. The chiefs of the league, indeed, seemed to have forgotten the nation, whose welfare had furnished them with a specious pretext for taking up arms. The count of Charolois, immediately after he had ratified the treaty of Conflans, ordered that, in all the towns which had been ceded to him, the taxes should be renewed, although, at the commencement of the war, he had himself abolished them. The other chiefs followed his example; and as the support of so large an army on either side, had alike exhausted the finances of the king and of the princes, the kingdom was more burdened with imposts after the troubles were at an end, than before they began.

Lewis, released from the danger which threatened him, did not think the sacrifices he had made—important as they were—too great for the time he had thereby gained to recover from his fears, and to concert his measures with more prudence and address. If we except Guienne, and the isle of France, he now found himself almost as much confined in his territories, as was Charles the Seventh at the commencement of his reign. Intent on recovering by degrees what he had lost at once by a ruinous treaty, his only motives for consolation were derived from his hopes, that the future would make amends for the past. The conduct of the princes had reduced him to the necessity of considering them as the irreconcilable enemies of his power; but

but so long as they remained in a state of union, it was impossible to attack any one of them singly, without spreading an instant alarm among the rest. The king's sole resource, therefore, consisted in their division, which he could only expect from time and circumstances, and particularly from the opposition of their various interests. The seeds of that division indeed he had already contrived to sow, by means of the private treaties, which had been concluded in consequence of the general agreement<sup>27</sup>. This multiplicity of conventions, distinct from each other, proved an inexhaustible source of difficulties and disputes, by leaving the contracting parties an opening, either to interpret them to their own advantage, or to elude the execution of them.

Lewis hastened to express his gratitude for the zeal and fidelity of the Parisians during the late troubles, by confirming all their privileges, assuring them, at the same time, that so far from ever thinking of curtailing their immunities in future, under the idea that they had been extorted from the necessity of the times, they would always find him ready to grant them new favours. The particular prerogatives enjoyed by the Parisians, consisted in an exemption from providing quarters for the troops; a liberation from the necessity of attending the *Ban* and *Arriere-Ban*, for all such citizens as possessed fiefs subject to military service; and the privilege of not being compelled to answer any action brought against them elsewhere than in the courts at Paris. The king was now fully aware, that it was absolutely necessary to secure the favour of the people, before he could hope to accomplish the design he had formed on his accession to the throne, to raise—in imitation of his father—the sovereign power on the ruins of the aristocracy, a plan of which he never lost sight, and for the execution whereof he employed such means as best corresponded to his humour and disposition: he visited the poorest citizens, invited them to his table, stood godfather to their children, and became a member of their different companies.

But the exercise of absolute power was so congenial to the soul of Lewis, that he was the first to violate the salutary regulations he had adopted, and to exemplify by his conduct the common observation, that between practice and professions the difference is great. Although he had declared, that in future the ancient custom of appointing magistrates, by a plurality of suffrages, should be observed; he now by his own authority removed several, against whom no objection could be made, and replaced them with others of his own nomination. He dismissed Matthew de Nanterre, first president of the parliament, and appointed John Dauvet to succeed him; and, lest any opposition should be made to this appointment, Lewis attended in person while the new president was sworn into office. Robert d'Estouteville was

<sup>27</sup> The chief conditions of the accommodation were settled at Conflans. It is probable, that all the princes who had joined the league, concluded each of them a separate treaty, in conformity to the general convention, which is to be seen in the proofs annexed to the memoirs of Philip de Commines, without either date or the name of the place at which it was signed. The treaty of Saint-Maur must be considered only as a confirmation and interpretation of several articles of the peace; since peace had been proclaimed at Paris before that treaty was drawn up. *Vid. Pièces Justificat. pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XI.*—Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 155.



also appointed to the place of provost of Paris, and was admitted, notwithstanding the opposition of James de Villiers, the actual possessor of that post, who *appealed* from the king's nomination. Several other magistrates and judges belonging to the different courts were likewise dismissed in the same arbitrary manner; and as soon as Lewis had made all the arrangements he thought necessary, he left the capital, and repaired to Orleans. He staid some time in that city, waiting the issue of his secret intrigues for promoting a quarrel between the dukes of Normandy and Brittany, and in order to profit by the divisions which jealousy and avarice had already excited between the dependants of those princes.

The duke of Normandy, in going to take possession of his appanage, was accompanied by the duke of Brittany, who in consequence of the services he had rendered him, thought himself entitled to have the entire guidance of his conduct<sup>28</sup>: the two princes were still at Pontoise, when the king sent the chancellor des Urins to exact from them a new oath to observe the peace, in conformity to the conditions agreed on, as well at Conflans as at Saint-Maur des Fossés, and at Paris. The duke of Normandy immediately complied with his brother's demand, but the duke of Brittany refused to give any thing more than a verbal promise; protesting at the same time against that article of the treaty, which provided for the establishment of thirty-six commissioners, who were to reform all abuses in the government, as he could not, he said, acknowledge their authority, without subjecting the independence of his dominions to be called in question. This protest of the duke's supplied the king with a pretext for renewing the protest which he had himself made against the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur.

It was easy to foresee that things could not long remain in their present situation. The duke of Normandy was surrounded by a number of noblemen and officers, who had only embraced his cause from the hope of reward. All the places he could bestow were insufficient to gratify their rapacity; while on the other hand the Norman nobility thought themselves entitled to the exclusive possession of all honourable and lucrative posts. They were all equally inimical to the duke of Brittany, who sought to dispose of every thing at his pleasure; and this tyrannical behaviour excited a general discontent, the dangerous consequences whereof his friends in vain endeavoured to impress on his mind. Tanneguy Duchâtel, whose prudent advice had already proved of such essential service to the duke, having remonstrated with him on the subject, and attempted to dissuade him from accompanying the duke of Normandy, was dismissed; and the king, ever attentive to profit by the faults of others, embraced this opportunity to regain Duchâtel, who served him with zeal and fidelity.

Such was the state of affairs, when the two princes arrived at Sainte-Catherine du Mont, in the vicinity of Rouen, where they intended to stop a few days, while the necessary preparations were making for the entry of the duke of Normandy into his capital. The premature nomination of Lescun, by the duke of Brittany, to the government of Rouen, completed the

<sup>28</sup> Pièces Justif. de l'Hist. de Louis XI.

disaffection which was generally borne to that prince. The murmurs of discontent became louder and louder, and at length reached the ears of the duke of Normandy, who was given to understand, that it was the duke of Brittany's intention, under the mask of friendship, to keep him in a continual state of dependence. This gave rise to a dispute between the princes, which foretold an approaching rupture. John of Lorrain, lord of Harcourt, a nobleman of the first distinction in the province, assembled the inhabitants of Rouen at the town-house, where he declared, that the duke of Brittany had formed a design for securing the person of their prince, and conveying him to his own dominions. The news of this pretended conspiracy, though wholly destitute of probability, spread a general alarm: a part of the inhabitants immediately flew to arms, and, hastening to Sainte-Catherine du Mont, prevailed on the duke of Normandy to return with them to Rouen, leaving the duke of Brittany in the utmost astonishment at this sudden resolution. That prince immediately retired to Caen.

The king during these transactions had remained at Orleans, where he made various changes in the different departments of the state, concealing his real designs beneath the veil of apparent tranquillity. As soon as he was apprized of the dispute between his brother and the duke of Brittany, and of the retreat of the latter, he advanced to the frontiers of Normandy with all his forces, and a formidable train of artillery. At his approach, either treachery or fear procured him admission into the different towns, and he proceeded, without encountering any obstacle, as far as Pont-à-l'Arche, within three leagues of Rouen. In order to attach the duke of Brittany to his interest, or at least to deter him from any attempt to impede the progress of his arms, he paid him a visit at Caen, where a treaty was concluded between them. The duke promised to conduct himself in future as a steady friend and faithful ally, and to serve the king against all men, except the duke of Calabria and the count of Charolois. Lewis on his part declared, that the protest which he had entered against the treaties of Conflans and Saint-Maur, was not meant to invalidate those articles which affected the duke, and particularly that which related to the *regale*. All the nobility who had joined the duke of Brittany, and who still preserved their attachment to his cause—among whom were the counts of Dunois and Dammartin, the marshal de Loheac, and the lord of Lescun—were expressly included in the treaty; which, however, was drawn up in such ambiguous terms, that Philip de Commines, on the authority of Lewis himself, assures us, that neither the king nor the duke perfectly understood it.

Lewis returned to Pont-à-l'Arche, in order to press the reduction of Rouen, where his brother remained, without friends or experience, and relying solely for assistance on the fidelity of the inhabitants. In this emergency, he first applied to the count of Charolois, who being engaged in a war with the people of Liege, was unable to afford him that speedy succour which his situation required: he sent however a part of the troops, which were stationed on the frontiers of Picardy and Artois, to enter Normandy, and secure the town of Dieppe; but the governor of that place had already surrendered it to the king. The duke of Normandy finding himself wholly unable to resist, and being afraid of falling into his brother's hands, resolved to



provide for his personal safety by a timely flight. He was at first tempted to repair to the Low Countries, but the dread of being intercepted by the French troops made him give up that design; and, after much hesitation, he applied to the duke of Brittany for a passport. The duke granted his request, by desire of the king, who was fearful of driving the prince to despair, lest he should be tempted, in spite of all impediments, to fly for protection to the count of Charolois.

Before the departure of the duke of Normandy, the inhabitants of Rouen had sent deputies to the king to obtain a general amnesty, and a grant of the same privileges which he had confirmed to the Parisians; but the king replied, that he would consult with his council, and make them acquainted with his will. The duke's departure put an end to the negotiation, and the town immediately surrendered. Thus in less than six weeks was the whole province of Normandy recovered by the king, except the towns of Caen and Honfleur, which were sequestered in the hands of the lord of Lescun. In the treaty lately concluded between Lewis and the duke of Brittany, it was stipulated, that all those who had followed the fortunes of the duke of Normandy should be allowed to retire to Honfleur, there to remain till such time as they obtained a pardon from the king.

A. D. 1466.] Had the king's clemency been equal to his good fortune, this rapid revolution would have been effected without the smallest effusion of blood; but, little accustomed to pardon, the recollection of his past danger, and of the dishonourable peace which he had been forced to conclude, seemed to have redoubled the natural severity of his temper. Those officers and gentlemen who in the late commotions had joined the confederates, and who were not of sufficient consequence, of themselves, to prescribe terms to the king, were arrested, and put to death in various ways, without any previous trial. After these acts of cruelty, which so strongly marked the savage disposition of this royal assassin, Lewis appointed new governors in all the towns he had recovered; and concluded his expedition to Normandy, by a *pilgrimage* to Mont Saint-Michel, whence he returned to Orleans.

The news of the duke of Normandy's flight, and of the loss of his new appanage, gave the deepest displeasure to the count of Charolois. By compelling the king to cede that province to his brother, he thought he had effectually humbled his pride, and curtailed his power. In fact, both with regard to the revenue it afforded, and the troops it supplied, Normandy was always considered as equal to one-third of the whole French monarchy. The count's mortification too was increased by his total inability, at this period, to enforce a rigid observance of the peace; for the war in which he was engaged with the people of Liege took up all his attention. The Liegeois had first been instigated to attack him by the king of France, who had promised them, in letters written with his own hand, speedy and effectual assistance; but when they found no mention made of them in the treaty of peace, they were thrown into the utmost consternation, and, on the return of the count of Charolois from Paris, they had recourse to entreaties

treaties and supplications, and, after various negociations, they were finally compelled to submit to such terms as the prince chose to impose.

Lewis, meanwhile, highly pleased with his recent success, continued to pursue his plan for securing the favour of the people, and for attaching to his interest as many of the nobility as he could<sup>29</sup>. Deeply versed in the arts of dissimulation, he frequently bestowed his warmest caresses on those whom he had devoted to destruction. Anxious to gain the house of Bourbon, he gave the hand of his natural daughter, Jane, to Lewis, bastard of Bourbon, with a dower of a hundred thousand crowns, and an estate which produced six thousand livres a year. He also secretly assured the duke of Bourbon, that he designed his eldest daughter, Anne, for Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. These marks of distinction had the desired effect on the duke, who immediately renounced all his engagements, and swore an inviolable fidelity to the king, which he preserved till his death. The duke was immediately appointed governor of Languedoc, in the place of the count of Maine, who was charged with having maintained a secret correspondence with the confederates, and with various other crimes and misdemeanours. That nobleman would, probably, have experienced a more severe punishment, but for the interposition of the king of Sicily, whose friendship Lewis was anxious to preserve. He had, indeed, just agreed to confirm the good understanding that subsisted between them, by a marriage between the marquis of Pont, grandson to the Sicilian monarch, and his own daughter Anne, whom he had secretly promised to the lord of Beaujeu. The count of Maine was restored to favour the following year, at the solicitation of the king of Sicily, who pledged himself for his fidelity, and engaged, in case he should again deviate from his duty, to declare against him. About this period, Lewis, who was displeased with the conduct of Charles de Melun, deprived him of the command of the Bastille.

Anthony de Châteauneuf, lord of Lau, was the next person who was destined to feel the weight of the king's resentment: this nobleman had enjoyed several of the first offices in the state, and had acquired immense wealth; but though he was so highly distinguished by the favour of his sovereign, he was nevertheless accused of maintaining a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the state. Lewis, at first, only passed a sentence of banishment upon him, but being found in disguise in the vicinity of Orleans, while the court resided in that city, he was seized and conveyed to the castle of Mehun. He was afterward removed to the castle of Usson in Auvergne, which belonged to the bastard of Bourbon. The king, being afraid that he would effect his escape, ordered that nobleman to confine him in an iron cage; but the bastard refused to execute the commission, and replied, "that if it was his intention to treat his prisoners in that manner, his majesty might turn gaoler himself." After he had been confined two years, he found means to escape; when the chief magistrate of Usson, the governor of the castle, and his son, were all hanged for having favoured his evasion; yet the lord of Lau was

<sup>29</sup> Chron. de France—Cont. de Monstrelet—Philippe de Commines—Histoire de Louis XI.—Pièces Justific.



afterwards restored to favour. But such contradictions perpetually occur in the history of the present reign; and indeed, when a monarch ceases to make reason and justice the rules of his conduct, it cannot well be otherwise.

The admiral de Montauban dying about this time, his post was conferred on the bastard of Bourbon. In the month of July, Francis d'Orleans, son to the count of Dunois, who had recently returned to court, married Agnes of Savoy, sister to the queen of France: and the king presented the new-married couple with forty-thousand crowns, and several estates in Dauphiné. Another of the queen's sisters was married to the constable Saint Paul. Lewis, anxious to detach that prince from the interests of the house of Burgundy, gave him the county of Guines, with the lordship of Novion; and also settled on him the reversion of the county of Eu, in case the present count should die without issue male; but as the king had no right to make such settlement, the succession of the county devolving to another branch of the family, it never took place. Among other noblemen who were restored to favour at this period, was Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin; the sentence which had been pronounced against him, having been previously annulled.

The king's brother, meanwhile, despoiled of his appanage, and even reduced to the necessity of selling his plate to procure a wretched subsistence, complained alike of the indifference of his allies, and the severity of Lewis. The king was uneasy lest his residence in Brittany might afford the malecontents a pretext to excite a fresh revolt, under the sanction of his name: he therefore sent the duke of Calabria to engage him to return to France, with an offer of Roussillon and Cerdagne, or the counties of Valentinois and Diois at his option; but Charles had already rejected these offers, and even the wretchedness of his present situation could not induce him to accept them. The duke of Calabria had orders, in case he should fail in his negotiation, to secure the young prince, and, if possible, to take him to Orleans; but he was compelled to return without having fulfilled either part of his commission.

The king at the same time sent La Tremoille to the count of Charolois, to justify his conduct to his brother; and though the count was not convinced of its propriety, from the apology offered by the ambassador, yet he did not appear inclined to interfere in their quarrel. This was all the king required; and in order to keep the court of Burgundy in the same disposition, he again ratified the cession of the towns on the Somme, to which he added several villages in the Vermandois; he likewise endeavoured to keep the attention of the count of Charolois confined to another quarter, by secretly engaging the Liegeois and the inhabitants of Dinant to break the peace which had been concluded the preceding year, promising to afford them effectual assistance; while, under pretence of an expected invasion of France by the English, with whom he had just concluded a truce, he ordered all the troops in the kingdom to assemble, and such a prodigious quantity of artillery to be founded, that the church-bells were melted down to supply the necessary quantity of metal. The count of Charolois, who was then at Peronne, alarmed at these formidable preparations, issued orders to all his vassals to take up arms; but though both princes were

were fully prepared for the renewal of hostilities, the season passed away in embassies and negotiations, calculated to amuse and deceive.

The Liegeois, immediately after they had confirmed their alliance with Lewis, attempted, at his instigation, to seize the count of Charolois at Saintron; but as they were not sufficiently strong, they failed in the attempt. As soon as the season would permit, the count levied a powerful army, and was fully determined to make them feel the weight of his resentment; but he first resolved to punish the inhabitants of Dinant, who had also violated the treaty which they had concluded with the duke of Burgundy, by making an irruption into the county of Namur: he accordingly formed the siege of that city, whose inhabitants relying on the protection of the king of France, and the assistance of their allies, the Liegeois, seemed determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. Some of the neighbouring towns, wishing to save them from the destruction with which they were threatened, exhorted them to submit; but they hanged the messenger who was sent with the advice. A young child was then sent with a letter, from the idea that they would respect his innocence; but the inhuman savages tore him to pieces.

The count of Charolois, burning with rage and indignation, determined to inflict a punishment equal to their crimes. He collected a prodigious train of artillery, and such a continual and well-directed fire was kept up from the batteries, that not an edifice in the town escaped its effects. In three days the walls were laid open on every side, and the towers, shaken to their foundations, seemed ready to fall. The count had caused two bridges to be thrown over the Maese, in order to surround the city, and to prepare for a general assault. The garrison, aware of their danger, had made their escape, and left the inhabitants to encounter the storm, which their rashness had provoked. Conscious of their inability to resist, they now offered to surrender, on condition that their lives should be safe: this proposal, however, was rejected by the count, who insisted on unconditional submission. They accordingly delivered to him the keys of the town, which experienced the fate of a place taken by assault. The pillage lasted three days; all the male inhabitants, except the old men and children, were then massacred, and the town set on fire; what the flames had spared, the peasants were employed to demolish, so that not a vestige remained to discover the place where Dinant had stood.

Meanwhile the Liegeois, alarmed at the ardour displayed by the count of Charolois in pursuing the operations of the war, had sent ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, with proposals for an accommodation. On their arrival at Bovines, where the duke then was, they could see the flames reducing to ashes the habitations of their allies. The terror with which this severe chastisement inspired them, contributed not a little to make them accept the terms that were offered them, and which were more rigorous than any they had yet submitted to. They accordingly laid down their arms, and delivered hostages for the performance of a treaty, which they resolved to break at the first opportunity.

Although the king had apparently observed a strict neutrality during this contest, yet it was  
well



well known that he had instigated the Liegeois to take up arms. He secretly congratulated himself on having found out the means of keeping his rival employed, without any other expence than that of promises; for the fate of those whom he sacrificed to his own interested views gave him but little concern. The constable Saint-Paul was himself too artful not to see through the dark policy of Lewis; but, at the same time, he entertained too lofty an idea of his own importance to condescend to observe that nice circumspection in his conduct, which such a knowledge should naturally have led him to adopt. He accompanied the count of Charolois to the siege of Dinant, not with the king's troops, indeed, but with those which he had assembled in his own domains. Ambitious to display his power, and anxious to be considered rather as a necessary ally than as a vassal, he was blind to the danger of appearing in the light of a *formidable* subject; for though too weak to support the independence he affected, he was still too great, from the lustre of his birth, and the extent of his possessions, to confine himself within the narrow limits of passive obedience. The king, however, concealed his displeasure, and even appointed the count to the government of Normandy, which he had just reunited, by his letters patent, to the domain of the crown.

Incessant rains, succeeded by excessive heat, brought on an epidemic distemper in France this year, which the people did not fail to ascribe to the malignant influence of a comet which had appeared some time before. In Paris, alone, during the months of August and September, upwards of forty-thousand persons perished by this dreadful distemper, which continued to rage, though with abated violence, till the approach of winter. In order to repair the loss which the capital had thus sustained, Lewis, in the succeeding year, had recourse to an expedient more singular than worthy of imitation: he issued a general invitation to persons of every description to repair to Paris, where, he said, they should be exempt from prosecution for all past offences, and admitted to the rights of citizens. The metropolis, by this means, became an asylum for debtors, thieves, and assassins; none were excepted from the general invitation, but those who had been guilty of high-treason. Such an expedient had never suggested itself to the imagination of man, since the foundation of Rome; nor is it possible to conceive what advantage the king could expect to derive from associating with the Parisians these new inhabitants, who were more capable of corrupting them by the depravity of their manners, than of becoming useful to their imprudent protector, or to their fellow citizens.

By the treaty of Conflans it had been stipulated, that a council should be formed of thirty-six persons, chosen from the three orders of the state, for the purpose of correcting the abuses in the government; but though a year had passed since the conclusion of that treaty, no mention had been made of this article, which was almost the only one that had the good of the public for its object. The king, in order to efface, in a certain degree, the sinister impressions which his conduct was but too well calculated to raise, resolved to satisfy the people in this respect, at the same time that he thought, by such a proceeding, to cast a reflection on his enemies: with this view he appointed *twenty* commissioners, and named the count of Dunois for their president. They first met at the palace, but the epidemic distemper, which raged in the metropolis

polis, compelled them to remove to Pontoise. It soon, however, became apparent that the king only meant, as a contemporary writer justly observes, to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar. All the remonstrances and complaints that were addressed to him, he referred to the council, the members whereof were devoted to his will; and not a single resolution was adopted towards fulfilling the object for which they had met.

A. D. 1467.] In the spring of this year the court repaired to Rouen, in order to receive the famous earl of Warwick, ambassador from England<sup>30</sup>. The termination of the ancient disputes between the two crowns was the avowed object of this embassy, which Warwick had solicited. That nobleman received the most distinguished honours from Lewis<sup>31</sup>, with whom he had several private conferences, the subject whereof was then a secret, though it was sufficiently explained by subsequent events. After the earl's departure, who concluded a truce between England and France for eighteen months, the king sent the archbishop of Narbonne and the bastard of Bourbon to the English court. These ambassadors were highly discontented with the reception they experienced from Edward, who made them wait six weeks before he granted them an audience, and he then referred them for an answer to their proposals, (which related to the establishment of a lasting peace,) to commissioners whom he promised to appoint, though he never fulfilled his promise. The ambassadors, during their stay in England, witnessed the commencement of a conspiracy against the English monarch, to which they contributed by their intrigues<sup>32</sup>.

Lewis, on his return from Rouen, received intelligence of the death of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, who expired on the fifteenth of June. His body was conveyed to Dijon, where it was deposited in the convent of Carthusians. The surname bestowed on this prince, appears to have been merited by the wisdom and moderation of his government, as displayed in the continued prosperity and happiness of his subjects. He was generous, magnificent, liberal and brave; a sincere friend, and, his amorous irregularities excepted, a good christian. He had upwards of thirty natural children, but only one legitimate son: though he had ever lived in a stile of magnificence superior to any monarch in Europe, yet he left immense riches; his treasury was found to contain, at his death, four hundred thousand crowns of gold, seventy-two thousand marks of silver, and other effects to the amount of two millions of livres; all of which, together with his extensive dominions, devolved on his son Charles, count of Charolois.

Lewis, suspecting the duke of Brittany of stimulating his brother Charles to reject his proposals for an accommodation, was anxious to punish him by invading his country; but he was deterred from pursuing his schemes of revenge, through the fear of an attack from the new duke of Burgundy, whom he could neither soothe nor intimidate. That prince was, at present, employed in repressing an incursion of the Liegeois, who, regardless of their oaths, and incited,

<sup>30</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. xi. p. 578.

<sup>31</sup> *Contin. de Montfretet*, p. 23.

<sup>32</sup> *Villaret*, t. xvii, p. 239.



as usual, by the insidious arts and fallacious promises of Lewis, had just attacked and taken the small town of Huy, situated on the Maese, between Liege and Namur.

The duke of Burgundy, justly enraged at this infraction of the treaty, would have instantly put to death the three hundred hostages whom he had received from the people of Liege the year before, but for the intercession of the lord of Imbercourt, whom they had taken at Huy, and released on his parole<sup>33</sup>. He was preparing, however, to march against the Liegeois, when the count of Saint Paul, and Balue, bishop of Evreux (who had been lately promoted to the rank of cardinal) were sent to him by Lewis, to inform him, that he must desist from all hostilities against a people who were the allies of his majesty, and whom his majesty was bound by treaty to assist to the utmost of his power; but the constable added, that if the duke would permit the king to wage war against the Bretons, he would willingly renounce his alliance with the Liegeois; to this the duke replied, that as the Liegeois had wantonly violated the truce which they had solemnly sworn to observe, he was resolved to march against them, and inflict on them a punishment adequate to the offence: with regard to the king's proposals, he should only observe, that he was determined to abide by the conditions of the treaty of Conflans, and that no consideration should induce him to separate his interests from those of the duke of Brittany. Two days after, when he had mounted his horse, and was setting out on his expedition, he dismissed the ambassadors, desiring them "to beseech the king not to engage in any enterprize against the duke of Brittany." "My lord," said the count of Saint Paul, "you wage war at your pleasure against our friends, and yet wish us to remain quiet, without daring to attack our enemies; this cannot be allowed; the king will never suffer it." "The Liegeois," replied the duke, "are already assembled, and expect me to bring them to action, before the expiration of three days. If I lose the battle, I am well persuaded you will do as you please; but if I gain it, you will leave the Bretons at peace." In a private conversation with the count of Saint Paul, "Fair cousin," said the duke, "you are my friend and my relation; let me, therefore, advise you to take care lest the king should serve you as he has already served so many others: if you will remain with me, you shall be welcome." The constable rejected the duke's invitation, but he had afterward reason to repent his refusal.

The town of Saintron being invested by the Burgundians, the Liegeois, with an army of thirty thousand men, hastened to raise the siege; when a desperate action took place, in which the duke of Burgundy obtained a complete victory, killing six thousand of the enemy, and putting the rest to flight. Two ambassadors of the king of France had appeared in person, animating the Liegeois during the battle, though that faithless monarch had refused to send his allies those succours which, by a solemn treaty still extant, he had engaged to supply. After the victory, the garrison of Saintron surrendered at discretion, and ten victims were sent to the duke of Burgundy, to be disposed of at his pleasure: they were all hanged, agreeably to a

<sup>33</sup> Villaret.

savage custom which was but too common in the times we are delineating. Tongres experienced a similar fate; and Charles, pursuing his march to Liege, entered that city, levied a contribution on the inhabitants, filled up the ditches, demolished the fortifications, and carried off all the artillery and arms he could find.

The duke of Burgundy immediately marched with his victorious army from the Maese, to the banks of the Somme; and, at the same time, he issued orders to all his vassals, both in Burgundy and the Low Countries, to arm and join him in the environs of Saint Quentin. The duke of Brittany, meanwhile, had made an irruption into Lower Normandy, where he reduced the towns of Bayeux, Caen, and Avranches; the only resistance he experienced was at Saint Lo, whose inhabitants, incited by the exhortations, and encouraged by the example of a woman who resided in the town, flew to arms, and under her conduct attacked and defeated the Bretons. This heroine, whose name has not been preserved in history, is said to have killed several of the enemy with her own hand. Lewis, passing through Saint Lo some years after this event, had the curiosity to enquire after her, and when she came into his presence, he had the meanness to present her, as a reward for her courage and fidelity, with the pitiful sum of twenty crowns<sup>34</sup>. The duke of Alençon, having joined the duke of Brittany, surrendered to him all the towns in his possession.

On the first news of this invasion, the king sent a small body of troops, under the command of the marshal de Loheac, and the bastard of Bourbon, to stop the progress of the enemy. He soon followed, himself, with a more considerable force, and having in a short time retaken all the places of which the Bretons had made themselves masters, he formed the siege of Alençon, which the count du Perche, eldest son to the duke of Alençon, surrendered to him, after expelling the garrison. The king then entered Brittany, at the head of forty thousand men, and committed the most dreadful devastations. These mutual incursions, by which a tract of country, forty leagues in extent, was laid waste, were suspended by a truce, during which it was agreed to adopt proper measures, as well for settling all disputes between the king and the duke, as for fixing the appanage of prince Charles.

Eager as was the king's desire to extend his conquests, and to humble the duke of Brittany, he had found himself compelled to hasten the conclusion of the treaty, by the intelligence he received of the prodigious number of troops which the duke of Burgundy was collecting in Picardy. Alternately pressed by these two princes, he had no sooner made terms with one than the other renewed his alarms; though he might certainly think himself fortunate, in not being exposed to more serious danger, which must inevitably have been the case, had they combined their projects with greater skill, and always acted in conjunction. Such was the king's situation during the greater part of his reign, which led a bishop, who had been long harassed by

<sup>34</sup> About fifty shillings English.



the litigious disposition of his grand-vicar, to observe, that the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were the king's two grand-vicars. The necessary preparations were made for defending the frontiers, and fresh troops were raised in every province. The Paris militia were reviewed by commissioners appointed by the king; and it was proved, by the muster-roll, that the capital, notwithstanding the number of inhabitants which had perished during the epidemic disorder of the preceding year, could supply eighty thousand fighting men, thirty thousand of whom were completely armed: the king, however, who was present at the review, could not forbear to express his contempt of these *citizen-soldiers*, and, with more justice than policy, perhaps, to compare them, in certain respects, to their wives; and he concluded his ill-timed remarks with some obscene jokes, which it was not becoming in him to utter, nor would it be decent in us to repeat. But while every disposition was making for pursuing the war with vigour, the king, sensible of the importance of avoiding a decisive action, employed every means in his power to effect an accommodation; and as the duke of Burgundy found himself left to support the contest alone, he was prevailed on, without much difficulty, to conclude a truce.

The king's conduct evidently tended to render the power of the monarch wholly independent of all other authority; and this disposition to establish an arbitrary government was, indeed, visible in all his actions. Yet was he now induced to listen to the remonstrances of the parliament, and to pass the memorable edict, which secured, to magistrates and other officers of justice, the possession of their places for life, unless vacated by voluntary resignation, or legal forfeiture<sup>35</sup>.

A. D. 1468.] In order to justify his behaviour to his brother, which had repeatedly served as a pretext both for domestic commotions and foreign invasions, Lewis convened an assembly of the three orders of the state, at the city of Tours<sup>36</sup>. All the princes and nobles of the realm were invited to attend; and such as did not chuse to be present sent their ambassadors and representatives. The king, it is said, named the persons himself whom he wished to be appointed deputies from the different towns; certain it is, that the assembly were wholly devoted to his will. The chancellor, Des Ursins, after a prefatory encomium on the nation, and its *sovereign*, explained the motives which had induced the king to convene the representatives of the state, in order to consult on the most efficacious means of ensuring the tranquillity of the kingdom. He expatiated on the impossibility of defraying the necessary expences of the government, if the extensive province of Normandy were dismembered from the monarchy, and assigned, as an appanage, to his majesty's brother; observing that the authors of those troubles, by which the state was convulsed, only sought to render them perpetual, by urging that prince to persist in a pretension which deprived the sovereign of one third of the revenues of the crown, and which opened to the enemy one of the most important barriers of the kingdom. The assembly betrayed no dis-

<sup>35</sup> Conférence des Ordonnances, Lib. x. Tit. 5.

<sup>36</sup> Chronologie de France—Contin. de Montrelet—Chronique Scandaleuse—Preuves de Phil. de Commines.

position to *deliberate* or *discuss*, but acted as if they had only met for the purpose of affording a sanction to the resolutions which had been previously adopted by the king<sup>36</sup>. It was unanimously decided, "That the province of Normandy could not, on any pretext whatever, be separated from the domain of the crown; that, since its reunion to the body of the monarchy, the sovereigns had deprived themselves, by an *irrevocable* law, of the power of alienating it; that Charles the Wise had fixed the appanage of a king's son at an estate producing twelve thousand livres a year, and conferring the title of Duke or Count; That his majesty, by adding a pension of sixty thousand livres tournois, had given an *uncommon* proof of his affection for his brother, and that he should be urgently entreated to declare, that his conduct, in that respect, should never be considered as a precedent." It was then determined, that the duke of Burgundy, and the other princes of the blood, should be invited to confirm the resolution of the states, with regard to the appanage of prince Charles. The conduct of the duke of Brittany was loudly censured: he was accused of seducing and detaining the king's brother; of taking several towns in Normandy; and of maintaining a criminal correspondence with the English, the ancient and irreconcilable enemies of France. Each of these attempts was stated to amount to high-treason; and the assembly unanimously decreed, that the duke should be summoned to restore the places he had *usurped*; that in case he should refuse, and that sufficient proof of his alliance with the English should be obtained, the king should immediately declare war against him. Before the assembly was dissolved, the members promised to devote their lives and fortunes to the promotion of the king's designs<sup>37</sup>.

While the states were assembled at Tours, Charles de Melun, whose destruction had long been resolved on by the king, was brought to trial, for having maintained a correspondence with, and favoured the plans of, the confederated princes, during the time of the war for the public good. Some other charges of inferior magnitude were preferred against him; and after an irregular trial, and a confession, extorted by the pangs of the rack, he was sentenced to die, and accordingly suffered decapitation.

On the conclusion of the truce, at the close of the preceding campaign, it had been settled,

3 Nothing can set the mean obsequiousness of this servile assembly in a stronger point of view, than the consideration of their conduct with regard to the king's brother. The duchy of Normandy had been ceded to prince Charles, by the treaty of Conflans; he had strictly complied with all the terms of that treaty; he had sworn to observe it; he had renewed his oath when called on by the king for that purpose; and he had committed no one act which could, even by the ingenuity of malice itself, be construed into an instance of disloyalty: yet had Lewis, in violation of a solemn oath, and without the smallest provocation, commenced hostilities against him, dispossessed him of his appanage, and treated his adherents as rebels: though every member of the assembly was acquainted with these circumstances, not one of them had the spirit or honesty to stand forward and avow the truth: on the contrary, they all united in giving their sanction to the perjury of their sovereign, and, by equivocation and falsehood, to justify what it was their duty to condemn.

37 Chron. de France—Additions de Monstrelet—Preuves de Commines—Nouvelles Observations sur l'Histoire de France—Histoire de Louis XI. par Declot.



that the princes should send deputies to Cambray, to endeavour to restore tranquillity to the nation through the medium of a general convention. The king, who placed but little reliance on the success of these conferences, thought of employing more efficacious means for enforcing the resolutions adopted by the states at Tours. He had the address, in a prorogation of the truce which the constable had just negotiated with the duke of Burgundy, to omit the duke of Brittany, who had always been included in every treaty as the ally of Charles; consenting, at the same time, that no mention should be made of the Liegeois. The duke's conduct in this respect did not proceed from neglect or indifference for an ally, whose interests he had hitherto considered as inseparable from his own, but from a belief that the alliance which the duke of Brittany had recently concluded with the English monarch, would enable him, without farther assistance, to check the progress of the French arms.

A marriage having been agreed on in the preceding year between the duke of Burgundy and the princess Margaret, sister to Edward the Fourth of England, Lewis had exerted his utmost influence with the court of Rome to prevent the projected alliance from taking effect; but all his endeavours for that purpose having proved ineffectual, and all the preliminaries being finally settled, the princess embarked at Margate, on the first of July, arrived next day at Sluys, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Dam, on the ninth of that month<sup>38</sup>.

Edward, by his treaty with the duke of Brittany, had engaged to furnish that prince with three thousand archers for six months, on condition that all the conquered places should be delivered to the English; but Lewis being apprized of this convention, averted its effects, by the promptitude of his attacks. The French troops under the conduct of the Marquis de Pont, grandson to the king of Sicily, entered Brittany, while the count of Roussillon completed the expulsion of the Bretons from Lower Normandy. The duke immediately assembled the provincial militia, and sent a courier to hasten the departure of the English auxiliaries. The king, meanwhile, in order personally to mortify the duke, had confiscated all the estates belonging to Antoinette de Maignelais, his favourite mistress, that were situated in France, and bestowed them on Tanneguy du Châtel, of whose disgrace she had been the principal cause. The king by this act of injustice at once gratified his resentment, and secured the attachment of a man, who was capable of rendering him essential service.

The French army, daily encreasing in numbers, continued to advance by rapid marches into the heart of Brittany. No succours arrived, and the capture of Chantocé and Ancenis, two of the strongest towns in his dominions, compelled the duke, however reluctantly, to submit to such terms as the king thought proper to impose on him. Some hesitation indeed was pro-

<sup>38</sup> Stow, p. 421.—W. Wyrcester, p. 515.

duced by the difficulty attending the appanage of prince Charles; but this was speedily removed by the influence of Odet Daidie, lord of Lescun, who had acquired an absolute ascendancy over the mind of the prince, and who, being bribed by Lewis, persuaded him to leave the settlement of his appanage to the duke of Calabria, and the constable Saint-Paul, and to accept the pension which had been offered him, till such time as a final arrangement could take place. The duke of Brittany then ratified the treaty, the conditions whereof had been settled by the French and Breton plenipotentiaries at Ancenis. He agreed to renounce all alliance whatever that was prejudicial to the king, not even excepting that with the duke of Burgundy. To give greater force to the treaty, it was agreed that the principal nobility on both sides should affix their seals to it.

During these transactions, the king was at Compiégne, employed in a negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, who, on the news of the irruption of the French into Brittany, had re-assembled his army, and advanced as far as Saint-Quentin. As soon as Lewis received the treaty of Ancenis, which was brought to him by a Breton herald, he forwarded it by the same messenger to the duke of Burgundy. Charles on receiving it could scarcely credit his senses; he even threatened to punish the herald as an impostor; but when he found the proofs too strong to be doubted, his surprise and indignation were extreme; he vented his rage in reproaches against the insidious policy of Lewis, and the weakness of the duke of Brittany. Still, however, he appeared resolved to pursue his enterprize; and the king was obliged to submit to the degrading expedient of *purchasing* a peace, for which the duke exacted the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold, half of which was paid immediately.

The king was always vain of his talents, and thought it impossible to resist the superiority of his genius in political negotiations; Cardinal Balue, his favourite minister, encouraged this opinion, and endeavoured to persuade his master, that if he could once obtain an interview with the duke of Burgundy, there could be no doubt but that he might turn it to his advantage, by the facility with which he could bend to his views a mind so greatly inferior to his own. The proposal was too flattering to the vanity of Lewis, not to be adopted with eagerness; he therefore hastened to inform the duke of Burgundy, that he was extremely anxious to terminate, by a personal conference, all the disputes which still subsisted between them. Charles was by no means inclined to accept the proposal; and, as the motive of his refusal, he alledged his apprehensions, that the Liegeois might again attack him. Cardinal Balue replied, that he ought to be above any apprehensions of that kind, since in the last campaign he had disarmed them, razed their walls, demolished their fortifications, and totally disabled them from attempting any thing to his prejudice:—Yet the king had just sent agents privately to Liege to excite the turbulent inhabitants of that town to renew hostilities against the duke; and to assure them, at the same time, that they might depend on receiving effectual assistance from France. The duke, however, ignorant of this circumstance, was at length persuaded to consent to the interview; and Peronne, a town of Picardy, in his own possession, was accordingly fixed on as the place of conference.

But



But the king, who had hitherto appeared so anxious to promote the interview, now began to hesitate. Some of his most faithful ministers had represented to him the dangerous consequences of the step he was about to take; and on consulting his own conscience, he could find no motives for assurance. In short, he was on the point of giving up his design, when Cardinal Balue, who had conducted the negotiation, and was consequently interested in its success, used all the arguments he could think of to inspire him with confidence. A letter which the king received, at this juncture, from the constable, rendered the efforts of the cardinal successful<sup>39</sup>. The count of Saint-Paul informed Lewis, that the duke of Burgundy was resolved in future to have no other friend or ally than himself; and that, besides those general affairs, the discussion of which might be left to their ministers, there were others of such a private nature, that it would be neither safe nor proper to entrust them to any agents whatever. By these solicitations was the most suspicious and deceitful of mankind induced to commit himself to the faith of a prince, whom he had invariably endeavoured to delude, and against whose repose his insidious machinations were at that very moment directed.

Lewis, having entrusted the count of Dammartin with the command of his troops, left Noyon at the beginning of October (1468), and arrived the same day at Peronne. He was accompanied by the duke of Bourbon; Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; the archbishop of Lyons; the count of Perche; the constable; the lords of Laigle, Lyon, and Longueville; cardinal Balue; and his confessor, the bishop of Avranches. A few servants, eighty archers of the Scotch guard, and sixty horse, composed his escort. On the road he was received by a body of two hundred lances, sent by the duke of Burgundy to attend him; and that prince also went himself to meet the king. They entered the town, conversing together in a familiar manner, the king's hand being placed on the duke's shoulder. Lewis was conducted to an extensive building, near the castle gate, which had been prepared for his reception.

Before the first day was past, the king began to be sensible of the danger into which his imprudence had betrayed him. The troops, which the duke had ordered to be raised in his duchy of Burgundy, arrived at Peronne soon after Lewis, under the conduct of the marshal of that province, who was the king's personal enemy. And, as if all those whom he had reason to fear, had combined to torment him, prince Philip of Savoy, whom he had so long detained in captivity, in violation of his proffered word, and of the laws of hospitality, entered the town at the same time, accompanied by the lord of Lau, who had but just escaped from confinement; Poncet de la Riviere and Dursé, all sworn enemies to Lewis. When he saw this formidable troop pass under his window, he was unable to conceal his apprehensions, nor could the duke by any means quiet him, till he assigned him an apartment in the castle. As that fortress was not sufficiently spacious to contain all his retinue, he took with him only twelve attendants; so that he resigned himself entirely to the duke's discretion, and deprived himself of

<sup>39</sup> Histoire de Louis XI. par Duclos.

every resource, in case any attempt should be made to abuse his confidence. The two first days passed in conferences between the French and Burgundian ministers. The king offered to accede to all the demands of the duke of Burgundy, provided that, when satisfied with the conditions which immediately affected his own interests, he would renounce every other alliance, and bind himself, by a similar oath to that which the duke of Brittany had taken, to serve him against all men. The duke, however, positively rejected this condition, observing, that he could never think of forsaking his friends and allies.

While the agents on either side were employed in devising means for removing these difficulties, Lewis and Charles appeared perfectly satisfied with each other, and the mutual professions of esteem that passed between them, gave reason to hope, that a speedy and effectual accommodation would be the consequence of their interview; but a sudden and unexpected event occurred to destroy these pleasing hopes. The ambassadors whom the king had sent to Liege to excite the inhabitants to take up arms, had fulfilled their commission with alacrity and effect. Lewis, previous to his departure from Peronne, had dispatched messengers with fresh orders to the Liegeois, enjoining them to suspend the projected revolution<sup>40</sup>; but they arrived too late. The Liegeois, inflamed by his arts, and eager to retrieve the loss, and to wipe out the disgrace, they had sustained in the preceding campaign, had obeyed his summons with promptitude and zeal; and hastening to Tongres, took possession of that town, captured their bishop, and massacred sixteen canons of the cathedral in his presence. The unhappy prelate had the mortification to see one of these ecclesiastics, for whom he entertained a particular friendship, torn to pieces by the barbarians, who amused themselves by tossing his palpitating limbs from one to another. The French ambassadors were present at the time; and, not content with being passive spectators of these inhuman acts, they approved them by their smiles, and encouraged them by their exhortations.

Intelligence of this event was received at Peronne, on the third day after the king's arrival. Language the most expressive would convey but an imperfect idea of the duke of Burgundy's rage; he openly accused the king, and after branding him for a *perjured traitor*, confined him to his apartment. In vain did Lewis call Heaven to witness his innocence; in vain did he swear by *The Lamb of God*, (his favourite adjuration) that, so far from having contributed to the revolt of the Liegeois, if the duke of Burgundy would lay siege to that city, he would willingly assist him. His oaths and protestations were alike treated with contempt, and the duke breathed nothing but fury and revenge.

The king's life appears at this period to have been in imminent danger, as most of the officers who attended the duke of Burgundy endeavoured to aggravate his resentment. The next day the duke assembled his council, when opinions were divided; some of the members

<sup>40</sup> Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 278.



advised him to make the king consent to such terms as best suited his interest; while others proposed to keep him in captivity, to send for prince Charles, and to conclude a treaty, in which the interests of all the princes of the blood should be equally consulted. Commynes observes, that he saw the courier ready to depart for Brittany with letters to the duke of Normandy; but the duke changed his mind, and the deliberations were renewed.

Meanwhile the captive monarch, alternately preyed upon by fear and repentance, underwent by anticipation all the horrors of death. The dupe of his own mistaken policy, he found himself in the power of an enemy, violent in his temper, and whose indignation he had excited by the most treacherous conduct. The author of his own destruction, the shame he experienced at having, himself, laid the snare into which he had fallen, increased the acuteness of his feelings. The sight of the tower of Peronne, which he could see from his windows, made him shudder; it was the very place in which the unhappy Charles the Simple had been confined by Herbert, count of Vermandois. Reduced to this dreadful extremity by his own imprudence, he spared no pains to repair the error he had committed. He distributed large sums of money among those officers whose opinions were most likely to influence the duke of Burgundy, by which means he engaged them to present his proposals. He offered to submit to any conditions which the duke might wish to impose, and to deliver, as hostages, for his observance of the treaty, the duke of Bourbon and his brother, the count of Saint-Paul, and several other noblemen. He required that, after the treaty should be signed, he should be permitted to retire to Compiègne, whence he engaged to send to the Liegeois, and either make them repair the disorders they had committed, or else declare war against them. The hostages seemed to consent to his proposals; but Commynes, who knew both them and the king, was of opinion, that had they been put to the trial, they would have retracted; and that the king himself would have made no scruple to break his engagements, and leave them exposed to the resentment of the duke of Burgundy. The same author, who was at that time chamberlain to the duke, insinuates, that he was one of those who most contributed to moderate the anger of Charles; and this act of friendship was afterwards acknowledged by Lewis himself.

At length the duke was prevailed on to consent to an accommodation, the plan of which was immediately presented to the king, who, after some hesitation, signed it. But still the danger was not over; Charles, agitated by the most violent passions, passed the third night without undressing: he threw himself from time to time on the bed; then, suddenly starting up, walked to and fro in the room, followed by Commynes, who waited for a favourable moment to quell the violence of his transports. In the morning his anger seemed to be raised to the highest pitch; he broke out into threats, and appeared prepared to proceed to the most dreadful extremities. After pausing a short time, he rushed out of the room, and repaired to the king's apartment; where Lewis, who had been informed of all his motions, was waiting his determination, in a state of anxiety inconceivably wretched. Neither the looks nor gestures of the duke were calculated to inspire him with confidence. With a gloomy, but determined countenance, Charles approached, and asked him, Whether he meant to fulfil the treaty of peace  
which

which he had signed, and whether he was prepared to bind himself by an oath to observe it? The monarch, without hesitation, replied in the affirmative. Charles, continuing his interrogations, next enquired, Whether he was determined—agreeably to the offer he had made—to accompany him to Liege, and to assist him in punishing the Liegeois for the insults offered to him, as well as to all the royal family of France, in the person of the bishop of Liege, who was brother to the duke of Bourbon? The king promised to accompany him, and to assist him in exterminating his ancient allies with any number of troops which the duke should think requisite. Every obstacle to an accommodation being now removed, both princes swore, on the cross of Charlemagne, which was called *The Cross of Victory*<sup>41</sup>, to fulfil the terms of the treaty.

The treaty of Peronne was in fact only a renewal of the treaty of Arras, with the addition of such articles of the treaty of Conflans as had not yet been fulfilled. The king, however, farther consented, by the present convention, that the duke of Burgundy should be at liberty to maintain any alliance which he had contracted with the king of England, provided only, that he should not afford any assistance to that monarch in case he should invade France; he also released the duke from the obligation of homage for all the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaty of Conflans. In case of any violation of the present treaty, on the part of the king, it was stipulated, that the duke of Burgundy should be absolved from his oath of allegiance, and exempted from all the duties of vassalage; and, that the princes who guaranteed the treaty, released from all obligation to their sovereign, should be at liberty to join the duke; who on his side consented, in case he should fail to fulfil his engagement, that all his dominions should be confiscated and annexed to the crown.

The appanage of prince Charles, brother to the king, was settled at the same time. Lewis considered it as a singular favour, that the duke of Burgundy no longer insisted on the cession of Normandy, but contented himself with demanding for his friend the provinces of Champagne and Brie. The fact is, that the duke had been led to change his mind in this respect, from the recent conduct of his ally, the duke of Brittany, in being frightened into a treaty without waiting for his assistance. He was aware that the king would always be able to recover Normandy with the same facility, and that it would not be possible for him to prevent it. This consideration induced him to believe, that it would be more advantageous to him to procure for the prince the provinces of Champagne and Brie, which would secure him a communication between his dominions in the Low Countries, and his duchy of Burgundy. This matter being settled, the treaty was sent to prince Charles, and the duke of Brittany, in order to obtain their accession to such articles as concerned themselves.

Lewis and Charles now began their march to Liege; and, as that town was said to be in no

<sup>41</sup> Philippe de Commines.



condition to stand a siege, it was proposed, in a council of war, to dismiss a part of the troops. Lewis supported the proposal, but it was rejected by the duke; and the event proved the wisdom of his conduct. The Liegeois having received intelligence of the king's detention, and its consequences, became sensible of their error, when too late to repair it. They now saw themselves exposed to the rage of a prince whom they had offended beyond all hopes of forgiveness, by a repetition of injuries the most gross, and by perpetual violations of treaties the most solemn. In this emergency they had recourse to their bishop, whom they released from captivity, on condition of becoming their mediator with the duke of Burgundy. As their reconciliation was cemented by interest, its sincerity cannot be doubted; for, if the town was destroyed, the prelate must lose all he possessed.

But all the prayers and solicitations of the bishop were sternly rejected by Charles, who had determined to inflict an exemplary vengeance on that ferocious and turbulent people. The situation of the Liegeois had now become desperate: hopeless of assistance; destitute of regular troops; and even unprovided with fortifications, they had no other resource but what their own courage could supply. Their whole garrison consisted of six hundred militia, from the district of Franchemont, a small country in the territory of Liege. With these forces they resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. This resolution, indeed, was the effect of necessity; for they could expect no quarter, since they knew that the duke had made a vow to exterminate them.

The marshal of Burgundy, who commanded the advanced guard, had established his quarters in one of the suburbs, where he was attacked by the Liegeois, who made a sally, under the conduct of *John Wild*, provost of the city, and rushed on the Burgundians with such resistless impetuosity, that they bore down all before them: after killing eight hundred, and putting the infantry to flight, Wild retreated in good order, and died, two days after, of the wounds he received in the action. The death of this brave man, the only person in the town who was capable of acting as a commander, proved an irreparable loss to the Liegeois.

The news of this check, of which an exaggerated account was conveyed to the duke of Burgundy at Namur, induced that prince to hasten his march. The season was far advanced; the weather was extremely cold; the autumnal rains had rendered the roads almost impassable, and the troops were encamped in the environs of the city, on a marshy ground, where they were compelled, in some places, to make a circuit of three leagues, in order to keep up the communication between the different posts. The troops were exhausted with fatigue, and in want of provision, so that the duke of Burgundy was almost as unable to form a siege, as the Liegeois were to sustain one. On the first night after his arrival, that prince was attacked in the suburbs where he had fixed his residence; and though he defended himself with great valour, he would have had some difficulty in repulsing the enemy, but for the timely arrival of the king, who hastened to his assistance with three hundred men at arms, and the archers belonging to his guards, which were the only troops he had been suffered to bring with him.

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The day after this action, Lewis took possession of a small house in the suburbs, which was only separated from the duke's quarters by a barn, where three hundred Burgundian men at arms were posted, at once to watch the enemy and the king. The two princes, though apparently reconciled, were still mistrustful of each other; Lewis was apprehensive, that if the Liegeois should prove victorious, the duke would wreak his vengeance upon him; and Charles was afraid that the king would take an opportunity to escape, or, perhaps, attack him in the rear while he was fighting the enemy. These mutual suspicions occasioned the assault to be delayed, although the severity of the season called for the most speedy and decisive measures.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of Liege, conceiving it impossible to prevent the destruction of the town, were careful to provide for their personal safety by a timely departure. Eight days passed in trifling skirmishes, which only tended to fatigue the troops, who, as well as the duke, remained under arms during the whole time. At length Charles, in opposition to the king's advice, resolved to make a general assault; and the army had orders to rest that day, and to be in readiness to commence the attack the next morning at eight o'clock. The Liegeois having received advice of this resolution, determined to anticipate the attack; and to profit by that interval of repose to execute a plan, which, notwithstanding its temerity, had nearly been justified by its success. In the middle of the night, the six hundred militia, all that now remained to defend the place, men of intrepid souls, resolved to conquer or to die, sallied forth from the town, with intent to seize the persons of the king and the duke of Burgundy. The landlords of the two houses in which those princes were quartered, served them for guides; the night was extremely dark, and as they marched through a hollow way, cut out of a rock, which led from the town to the suburb, they passed unperceived, and, after they had massacred a few centinels, by whom they were challenged, they arrived at the appointed place, where the most perfect silence and security prevailed. They must infallibly have succeeded in their attempt, if they had not stopped at a tent which was occupied by the count of Perche, son to the duke of Alençon. They soon became sensible of their error, but it was too late to repair it: the critical moment was past; the noise they made had spread the alarm; and the three hundred men at arms, who were posted in the barn, were prepared to receive them. The Liegeois still lost more time, in attempting to force these troops; and when they came to attack the two houses, the king and the duke of Burgundy, whom a quarter of an hour before they might have surprized in their beds, were armed, and in a condition to sustain the first shock, and to defend themselves till their troops should come to their relief. On one side, despair at having suffered so glorious an opportunity to escape, and the greatness of the danger on the other, rendered the combat dreadful; and for some minutes the victory was doubtful. As Lewis and Charles had only a part of their guards with them, all they could do was to prevent the enemy from forcing their apartments. Even this was a matter of extreme difficulty, and, in spite of their utmost exertions, the landlord of the house where Lewis was quartered, burst open the door, and made his way to the king's chamber, where he was killed: the monarch, on this occasion, displayed great personal courage, and being ably seconded by the archers of his Scotch guards, he drove the enemy back; while the duke of Burgundy was equally successful on his part. The sound of arms, the



the uncertainty whence the danger proceeded, or *who* was the enemy; the repeated cries of "*Long live the king! long live the duke of Burgundy! kill! kill!*" the darkness of the night, all tended to encrease the confusion of this dreadful scene. The Liegeois, now certain of being defeated, fought like men in despair, nor did they shrink from the unequal contest, till every one of them was massacred. The king and the duke of Burgundy met sword in hand in the middle of the street, at the head of their respective guards; the suspicions which each had entertained of the other, as being the author of this unexpected attack, now vanished, and, after reciprocal congratulations on their happy escape, they parted with mutual satisfaction.

The duke immediately called a council, in which it was determined to make a general assault at the appointed time. The king, who had not been present when this resolution was adopted, spared no pains to dissuade the duke from putting it in force, as well from the wish to procure favourable terms for a people whom he had been the means of bringing into their present perilous situation, as from the dread that Charles might make him answerable for the consequences, should he fail in his attempt. But the remonstrances which the duke's principal confidants, who had been bribed by Lewis, made on the subject, were so ill-received, that they were not tempted to renew them; Charles observed, that nothing should engage him to defer his attack on a town that had neither gates nor walls; that such advice could only be the effect of ill-timed fear, or of a design formed to betray him; that the king, however, was at liberty to retire to Namur, and there wait till the town was taken. When the duke's answer was reported to Lewis, he replied, "That he would not go to Namur, but remain where he was, to share the dangers of the day."

While the duke was employed in adopting such measures as he thought requisite to ensure success to his plan, such of the Liegeois as had not fled hastened to leave the town, taking with them as many of their effects as they were able to carry. In short, none were left behind, but old men, women and children, and those whom extreme indigence had rendered, in a manner, insensible to the general misery. That superb city, which but a few months before had resounded with the rude clamours of sedition, was now buried, as it were, in consternation and silence. When the troops advanced to the attack, they met with none to oppose them; the wretched inhabitants who still remained in the town had fled for shelter to the churches; vainly imagining to obtain, from the sacredness of the place, security against the brutal attempts of a licentious soldiery.

The town was resigned to pillage; every disorder that usually occurs on such occasions was committed; every species of violence which the imagination can conceive was practised. Lewis, from the windows of the episcopal palace, whither he had retired, beheld the horrid scene of desolation; while his ears were assailed by the groans of murdered age, and the screams of violated chastity. Conscious, as he must be, that he was the principal author of these calamities, his mind, unless he were callous to the common feelings of human nature, must have been a prey to reflections the most horrid; but, faithful to his maxims of policy, he concealed his  
shame

shame and remorse beneath an appearance of serenity, of which no one was the dupe. He dined with the utmost tranquillity during the tumult, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at the success of the day. He launched out into the most extravagant commendations of the duke of Burgundy's wisdom and prowess; and, lest they should not be faithfully reported to Charles, he took care to repeat them in his presence.

A few days after the reduction of Liege, the king ventured to ask permission to retire; telling the duke, that if he had any farther occasion for him, he begged he might not be spared, but that if that was not the case, he should wish to go to Paris, in order to register their late convention in the court of parliament. He expressed a wish, at the same time, that they might meet again the following summer in Burgundy, and pass a month together, *faisant bonne chere*. Charles, however, was not to be deceived by these demonstrations of friendship; Commines, who was present, says, that he had frequent starts of ill-humour, and could seldom refrain from murmuring; yet he complied with the king's request, contenting himself with ordering the treaty of Peronne to be again read to him before his departure, and with making him again swear to observe it. The duke accompanied the king to some distance from Liege, and when they parted, Lewis enquired of Charles what conduct he expected him to observe, if his brother should not be satisfied with the counties of Champagne and Brie? "In that case," replied the duke, "I shall leave you to settle the matter by yourselves, provided, however, that you find the means of contenting your brother;" an important answer, which supplied the king with a pretext for eluding the execution of his promises: but the duke, intent on higher schemes, disdained such vain subtilties, convinced of his own ability to *make* his rival true to his word.

Soon after the king's departure, the duke of Burgundy ordered the city of Liege to be demolished, excepting only, from the general ruin, the churches, and the houses belonging to the clergy. He then entered the district of Franchimont, and laid waste the whole country.

Lewis, meanwhile, continued his march, with incredible rapidity, to the frontiers of his own dominions. The deputies from the parliament, and the other sovereign courts, had received orders to meet him at Senlis, where the treaty he had concluded with the duke of Burgundy, was read to them by cardinal Balue; and, in order to avoid all remonstrance on the subject, he strictly enjoined them to register it without restriction, and in the most authentic manner<sup>42</sup>. This appearance of honour proceeded from the influence of shame; he wished to bury in oblivion the late transaction at Peronne, and could not support the idea of becoming, from his own folly and imprudence, an object of public derision. The magistrates did not oppose his will, though they delayed to register the treaty for upwards of four months. The proclamation of peace was followed by an ordinance, forbidding all persons, under the severest penalties, to utter or publish any thing injurious to the honour of the duke of Burgundy.

<sup>42</sup> Villaret.



So truly ashamed was Lewis, at this period, of having become a dupe to his own arts, that he could not prevail upon himself to visit the metropolis, with the volatile and inconstant disposition of whose inhabitants he was perfectly acquainted; though, in the present instance, he probably dreaded their propensity to ridicule more than their promptness to revolt. Whether from a wish to divert the attention of the Parisians to other objects, or from a whimsical curiosity to be informed of any jokes that might escape them, he ordered all their houses to be searched, and all magpies, jays, and other birds, which should be found there, to be seized; and the person who was employed to execute this ridiculous commission, had orders to register the names of the citizens to whom the birds belonged, as well as the words which they had been taught to repeat. Some days after this singular seizure, he issued a proscription against the stags, fawns, and cranes, which the citizens used to train up in their houses, as domestic animals<sup>43</sup>.

A. D. 1469.] Though Lewis expressed his readiness to comply with that article of the treaty of Peronne, which had stipulated for the cession of Champagne and Brie to his brother, he secretly adopted every measure which could seem to render it illusive; his agents found little difficulty to shake the resolution of prince Charles, whose young mind was still susceptible of any impressions which his friends and confidants might seek to give it. The lord of Lescun, who afterwards enjoyed the title of count of Comminges, was his principal adviser. This nobleman, being bribed by the king, represented to his master, that as he was the presumptive heir to the throne, Lewis having yet no male child, it was his interest to resist every effort that could tend to weaken the power, and curtail the influence of the crown; and Charles, perplexed by arguments more specious than solid, was easily prevailed on to renounce all claims to the ceded provinces, and to accept, in lieu of them, the duchy of Guienne. As soon as the duke of Burgundy was apprized of this negociation, he exerted himself with vigour to impede its conclusion. With this view he sent ambassadors to Brittany, who represented to the prince, that the proximity of the Low Countries to Champagne would, at all times, enable him to receive assistance, should his brother be induced, as heretofore, to give him disturbance; whereas, by accepting, as his appanage, a province that was distant from the domains of his allies, he would effectually deprive himself of every resource.

This affair engrossed the attention of the courts of France and Burgundy for some time. The king maintained, that so long as his brother should remain in the power of his enemies, it would not be possible for him to enjoy one moment of repose; but while he was congratulating himself on the success of his efforts to detach the prince from their interests, he detected an intrigue, the object of which was the destruction of all his plans. This incident amply confirms the observation we have before had occasion to make, that it is as much the interest as it is the duty of

<sup>43</sup> Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 319, 320—Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 452—This last author is of opinion, that some Parisian had taught his parrot to say, "*Peronne*," which induced the king to adopt this strange mode of checking their raillery.

sovereigns to set an example of candour and justice to their subjects, and to be careful that, in the selection of friends and ministers, purity of manners, rectitude of conduct, and integrity of mind, combine to justify their choice. The artful and hypocritical disposition of Lewis had rendered perfidy and deceit the fashionable vices of the court. Never were so many traitors seen in France as appeared during his reign. Though fully convinced of the superiority of his penetration, never was prince so often deceived! He continually prostituted his favour to those who were unworthy to enjoy it, and raised those to places of splendour and trust, whom nature designed to remain in perpetual obscurity. Cardinal Balue was now his prime minister and chief confidant; the management of affairs, both domestic and foreign, was entrusted to him; and the king, suspicious as he was, and jealous of his authority, would rather follow the advice of that prelate, than listen to the persuasions of the princes of his blood, or of his most faithful servants. The result of this misplaced confidence was such as might naturally have been expected from a man destitute of principle, and inured to vice: his crimes, indeed, had first recommended him to the notice of Lewis; and, as he was apprehensive that the reconciliation of that monarch with his brother, might effect a diminution of his own credit, he resolved to prevent it. He had engaged William d'Harancourt, bishop of Verdun, who was attached to prince Charles, to second his design. The king, who made a point of bribing all those who enjoyed his brother's confidence, spared no pains to gain this prelate to his interests; and the bishop accordingly promised to comply with his wishes, though, at the same time, he was engaged in assisting the cardinal to counteract them. While the two associates were flattering themselves with the idea that their perfidious machinations would prove successful, and that their characters and their situation in life would exempt them from suspicion, a servant belonging to the bishop of Verdun was stopped with a packet of letters from cardinal Balue. Among these letters, written by the cardinal himself, (according to Commynes) was one directed to the king's brother, exhorting him to accept no other appanage than that which the duke of Burgundy had obtained for him by the peace of Peronne. This letter was probably intended to be forwarded by some other person, since it is certain, that the messenger, when he left Tours, did not take the road to Brittany, and that he had other letters with him, addressed to the duke of Burgundy, in which the duke was informed, that prince Charles was on the point of concluding an accommodation with his brother; that the king had signed a treaty with England and the duke of Brittany, merely with the view of directing his hostile operations against Flanders; and that if the duke wished to avert the danger with which he was threatened, he had no time to lose. He was advised to fortify his towns in Picardy, to persuade the king's brother to retire to the Low Countries, and then openly to insist on the full execution of the treaty of Peronne. He was assured that, by the adoption of these measures, he would be enabled to impose such terms as he might chuse to prescribe; that the time was favourable for the accomplishment of his plans; that the counts of Foix and Armagnac were only waiting for a proper opportunity to declare themselves; that the duke of Bourbon's loyalty was of a doubtful complexion, and that nothing would be more easy than to gain the constable. That nothing might be left unnoticed which could tend to irritate the duke of Burgundy, Balue gave him an account of all the attacks



which the king made on his honour, affirming, that not a day passed but Lewis reproached him with the commission of some gross fault, or some flagrant crime.

The messenger was conducted to Amboise, where the court then resided, and the letters were delivered to Lewis, the violence of whose indignation may be conceived from the nature of the offence. The two ministers were immediately summoned to attend him, and they accordingly made their appearance with an air of confidence, that guilt, from long habit and impunity, is too apt to assume. But all their impudence forsook them as soon as the proofs of their crime were exhibited to their sight. The culprits were first taken to Tours, and from thence were conveyed to the castle of Montbazon, where they were committed to the care of John d'Estouteville, lord of Torcy. All such as were suspected of being accomplices in their crime, or as were supposed to be able to throw any light on the subject, were likewise apprehended. Commissioners, presided by the chancellor, were appointed to try them. The bishop of Verdun, in the hope of moving the king to mercy, confessed his guilt; but cardinal Balue persisted for some time in his denial of the crimes that were laid to his charge, but finding the proofs too strong to be resisted, he at length consented to make a confession, on condition that he should obtain a pardon. This the king promised, but without any intention of keeping his word.

Balue acknowledged, that all the letters and memorials which had been intercepted, were written by him. His wretched ambition had led him to break through all ties of honour and honesty, in order to maintain the credit he had acquired. By him the duke of Burgundy had been informed of all the secrets of government; he had adopted every plan which his sagacity could devise for perpetuating the disputes between prince Charles and his brother, for encreasing the hatred which subsisted between the king and the duke of Burgundy, and for extending the power of the latter, in order to render his own services necessary to Lewis, and by that means to secure his continuance in office. He had encouraged the king to attend the fatal interview at Peronne, in order that the enmity between the two princes might become irreconcilable. He foresaw the consequences of that interview<sup>44</sup>, and he drew up the dishonourable treaty to which it gave rise. He, too, was the man who advised the duke of Burgundy to accept the king's proposal to accompany him to Liege, and to make him adhere to it, in order that he might assist in the destruction of his own allies.

Crimes of this magnitude were certainly deserving of the severest punishment, but the interference of the pope saved the lives of the culprits, who were confined in two iron cages, eight feet square<sup>45</sup>, which they had themselves invented. After a captivity of twelve years they both

<sup>44</sup> Villaret.

<sup>45</sup> One of these iron cages which has preserved the appellation of *Cage Balue*, is still to be seen at the castle of Loches. These horrid places of confinement were much in vogue, during the reign of Lewis the Eleventh. That monarch caused a vaulted dungeon to be constructed at the castle of Plessis-les-Tours, immediately under his own study, so that

obtained their liberty, and the cardinal was even reinstated in the bishoprick of Angers, and in some other of his church preferments.

Soon after the detection of this plot, the king concluded the negociation with his brother, who, at length, was prevailed on to accept the duchy of Guienne, and to resign all pretensions to the more important provinces of Champagne and Brie. But before prince Charles left Brittany, he signed a private treaty with the duke, of which the king received immediate information, although he concealed his knowledge of it.

The two brothers were so mistrustful of each other's integrity, that precautions the most extraordinary were deemed requisite to provide against the machinations of treachery and fraud. *The cross of Saint Lo*, a sacred relic, holden in the highest estimation, and to which the superstitious terrors of the age had attached the power of inflicting death, within the year, on any one who, after having invoked it to sanction an oath, should be guilty of perjury, was conveyed, with great solemnity, by two priests, from Angers to the episcopal palace at Xaintes; where the duke of Guienne swore by it, in the presence of the count of Dammartin, and others of the French nobility, *never to make, himself, nor to consent to the making by others, any attempt on the liberty or life of his brother, king Lewis*<sup>46</sup>: he farther engaged never to listen to any proposal concerning his marriage with the princess Mary, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, without the express and free consent of his brother. Lewis, by imposing this last condition on Charles, exacted from that prince a degree of submission, which, when dauphin, he himself had refused to pay to his father; though, it is certain, that the consequences to be dreaded from such an alliance justified his interposition, in the present instance.

After this agreement had taken place, the king proposed an interview with his brother; for which purpose he caused a bridge to be constructed over the river Bron, near the castle of Charon; in the center whereof a lofty barrier was erected, with a grated window. Thither the king repaired, attended only by the duke of Bourbon; the lord of Bueil; Charles de Crussol, seneschal of Poitou, and nine other persons, all unarmed. His guard consisted only of four Scotch archers, without their bows and quivers. The rest of his troops, to the number of four thousand, were stationed at the distance of a mile from the bridge: the retinue of prince Charles was equally slender; he was welcomed, by Lewis, with professions of esteem and fraternal affection, but all his solicitations for permission to pass the barrier, were firmly rejected by the suspicious monarch. The next day, however, they had a second interview, in which none of those precautions were observed. It passed, like the first, in abject supplications for pardon, on the one side, and the warmest testimonies of friendship and attachment on the other.

he could distinctly hear the groans and complaints of the wretched prisoners. This dreadful abode of misery was provided with an iron door, and the aperture for the admission of light and air was extremely small. The dungeon subsisted so late as the middle of the present century. *Nouvelles Observations sur l'Histoire de France.*

<sup>46</sup> Villaret, tom. xvii. p. 342.



Prince Charles now visited his new appanage, and could not forbear expressing his displeasure at the limits which his brother had assigned to the duchy of Guienne; he found himself surrounded, on all sides, by strong fortresses, which, though properly belonging to the province, the king had reserved for himself; the towns which had been ceded to him had, after the expulsion of the English, obtained such considerable privileges, that the revenue of the duchy was reduced almost to nothing; Lewis, too, had taken from the prince the direct homage of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Albret, who had always holden immediately of the dukes of Guienne. By this new arrangement, the prince was deprived of his most powerful vassals, and his revenues were rendered insufficient for the proper support of his rank and consequence, so that he was wholly exposed to the mercy of the king, who might, whenever he chose, despoil him of his appanage.

The complaints preferred by the prince, on this occasion, greatly embarrassed the king, who was determined to make no concession which might prove a source of anxiety to himself, and who yet perceived the necessity of satisfying his brother<sup>47</sup>. In order to accomplish this object, he conferred some farther favours on Charles, which, while they wore an appearance of liberality, could not fail to render odious the person who received them, since he must infallibly be suspected of having solicited them. Lewis ceded to his brother the county of Soule, and the town of Maulcon, which were in possession of the count of Foix; the districts of Verdun and Riviere, with the county of Gaure, which he detached from the province of Languedoc; the sovereignty of the counties of Estrac, Perdrac, and Bigorre; and, in order to increase the duke's revenue, he revoked the privileges which had been granted to the different towns in Guienne, and resigned them to him in the same state, in which they were under the domination of the English. In return for these concessions, he exacted from his brother a formal renunciation not only of all his pretensions to the Limousin, Angoumois, and Poitou, but likewise to the homage of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Albret; promising, at the same time, that if his future conduct was such as he should approve, he might depend on feeling, in a still more extensive degree, the effects of his liberality. The young prince, moved by these specious professions, promised all he desired, and seemed resolved to deserve his confidence and esteem.

But the principal difficulty was yet to be removed; Lewis had no male child; his brother, who was presumptive heir to the throne, was of a proper age to be married, and the malecontents had urged him to cast his eyes on the only daughter of the duke of Burgundy. From this, however, he had been deterred, by the interposition of Lewis, who now flattered him with the prospect of obtaining the crown of Castile<sup>48</sup>. Henry the Impotent, the present king of Castile, had only one daughter, whose title to the crown no one could have disputed, if the legitimacy of her birth had not been exposed to serious doubts. It was reported, that Henry, who had, by excess of debauchery, destroyed his own powers of generation, anxious to have an

<sup>47</sup> *Histoire de Languedoc*, par Dom Vaissette—*Preuves des Mémoires de Commines*.

<sup>48</sup> *Manusc. de Le Grand—Ferrerias, History of Spain*.

heir, had introduced one of his favourites into the queen's bed, and that the princess Jane was the offspring of that infamous connection. This report obtained such general credit, that the states of the kingdom made no scruple, even during the king's life, to declare his sister Isabella sole heiress to the crown of Castile. From that moment the hand of Isabella was eagerly courted by various princes; but Ferdinand, only son to the king of Arragon, was preferred to the rest by the princess and her partizans; though her brother Henry spared no pains to prevent an union with a prince, who, he feared, might become a too formidable neighbour. Affairs were in this situation, when Lewis sent the cardinal of Albi to Madrid, to propose the marriage of the duke of Guienne with one of the two princesses. He had orders first to ask the hand of Isabella, but if his suit were rejected, to conclude an alliance with Jane; only exacting from her father a promise, that he would publicly acknowledge her for his daughter and heiress. Henry listened to the ambassador's proposals, without betraying any displeasure at the preference that was given to his sister over his daughter; and he permitted the cardinal to apply to Isabella for her consent to the marriage. That princess, however, who had retired to Madrigal, where her partizans were assembled, not only rejected the proposals of the French ambassador, but, in disobedience to the orders of her brother, celebrated her marriage with Ferdinand. The cardinal then proceeded, in compliance with his instructions, to demand the hand of Jane, and to exact from Henry a public acknowledgment of her legitimacy; with which demands the Castilian monarch cheerfully complied.

This embassy alarmed the enemies of Lewis; and the duke of Burgundy, aware of the importance of interrupting that harmony which seemed to subsist between the two brothers, pressed the duke of Guienne to accept the hand of his daughter, though he by no means intended to bestow it on him<sup>49</sup>. Lewis, who had spies in all the neighbouring courts, was soon apprized of the duke of Burgundy's intentions; and as he knew the mind of his brother to be weak and irresolute, he immediately dispatched de Bueil, du Bouchage, and Doriole to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of confiding in the promises of a prince who, under the specious mask of friendship, endeavoured to dismember the monarchy, and probably hoped to get possession of the throne. Soon after this, the count of Saint Paul, brother to the constable, and the lord of Remiremont, arrived at the court of the duke of Guienne, as ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy. They complimented the prince on the acquisition of his new appanage, and enquired whether the king had fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty of Peronne; they then complained of certain reports which had been propagated to the prejudice of their master, accusing him of having been desirous to secure the king's person for a time, in order to have a favourable opportunity for destroying his brother. They observed, that the duke's conduct set him too far above imputations of that nature, to permit him to believe that he stood in need of justification; all his actions tended to demonstrate, that he had ever had the interests of the prince, his ally, more at heart than his own; and in order to prove, they said, the warmth of

<sup>49</sup> Manusc. de le Grand—Cabinet de Louis XI.



his friendship, in a manner more unequivocal, their master had sent him the order of the Golden Fleece, with an offer of his daughter's hand, and the liberty of fixing the terms on which their alliance should be contracted.

The duke of Guienne, after he had privately conferred with his brother's ambassadors, on the subject of these proposals, replied to the count of Saint Paul and the lord of Remiremont, that he was highly obliged to his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, for this new mark of attention; that having met with nothing that suited him in the different treaties which had been made for settling his appanage, he had accepted the duchy of Guienne, where he lived contented; that the reports of which the duke complained had never reached his ears, and, he was convinced, they were wholly undeserving of attention; that having been honoured by his brother with the collar of the order of Saint Michael, he neither would nor could wear any other; that he was fully sensible of the advantages of the proposed alliance, but that he could not contract an engagement of that nature without the king's consent; that he was resolved, in future, to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies; and not doubting that the duke of Burgundy entertained the same sentiments, he should certainly preserve his friendship for him.

This answer, so far from being satisfactory in itself, was followed by a circumstance, which seemed to promise an open rupture: the duke of Guienne, when the Burgundian ambassadors took their leave, neglected to make them the usual presents. Lewis triumphed at this circumstance, and his joy increased when he learnt that his brother was coming to pay him a friendly visit. The queen, the duchess of Bourbon and her daughter, with every person of distinction then at court, went forth to meet the duke; the king loaded him with caresses, and during the whole time that he remained at court, Lewis paid all the expences of his household, and made considerable presents to his officers; Garnier remarks<sup>50</sup>, that he did not even forget *his washerwoman*, to whom he gave fifty crowns. Perhaps she was handsome, and might therefore be supposed to possess some influence over the mind of her master:

In the midst of amusements, Lewis never lost sight of business; he now resolved to profit by the favourable disposition of his brother, to interest him in the re-establishment of the sovereign authority, in the southern provinces<sup>51</sup>. Gascony was, at this time, divided between several potent vassals, whose situation, at the extremity of the kingdom, joined to the calamities of former reigns, had rendered them almost independent of the crown. At the head of the most seditious of these were the princes of Armagnac. John the Fifth, chief of this illustrious house, the most ancient in Europe, had excited the public indignation by revolting against his sovereign; by his marriage with his own sister, and by the depredations and other acts of violence which he continually committed on his neighbours; he kept a standing army, and being unable to support them by other means, he suffered them to commit what devastations they chose on

<sup>50</sup> Histoire de France, tom xvii, p. 361

<sup>51</sup> Manusc. de le Grand-Hist. de Languedoc, par Naiffatte.

the surrounding country. While the king was in confinement at Peronne, he had secretly endeavoured to persuade the English monarch to attempt the recovery of Guienne, offering to admit him into all the towns in his possession, and to join the English with fifteen thousand disciplined troops; but having failed in his efforts to stimulate Edward to this enterprize, he had maintained a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the state, and fomented new disorders in the interior parts of the kingdom. Lewis, apprized of these attempts, but unable, at the time, to apply an effectual remedy, offered the count ten thousand livres to dismiss his troops. The count took the money, but kept his men. This conduct roused the king's resentment, and he had now an additional cause for anxiety; he was afraid that the count of Armagnac, notwithstanding the precautions he had taken to prevent him, would have art enough to insinuate himself into the good graces of the duke of Guienne, by chusing him for his Lord Paramount, and would, by that means, sooner or later, excite him to revolt. Lewis, while he carefully concealed this last subject of apprehension from his brother, represented to him of what consequence it was to the good order and tranquillity of the state, not to suffer such attempts to pass with impunity; and, for the purpose of engaging him to second his views, he promised to augment his appanage with the spoils of the culprit. He then sent the count of Dammartin, with a strong body of forces, to execute his orders, after investing him with more ample powers than ever were entrusted by a monarch to a subject. Dammartin was authorized to receive informations against the rebel and all his accomplices; to confiscate their property; to prohibit the count of Foix, the lord of Albret, and the duke of Nemours, from raising troops, in future, without an express commission from the king: in short, he was empowered to dispose, at his pleasure, of the estates and effects of the parties accused; to punish, pardon, or reward. The king promised to ratify all the proceedings of his general.

At the approach of a formidable army, commanded by an experienced captain, the count of Armagnac lost his courage, and only thought of providing for his own personal safety, by retiring into the territories of his ally, the king of Arragon. The garrisons and inhabitants of the different towns, finding themselves forsaken, only resisted long enough to secure their pardon and the preservation of their privileges, so that Lewis, in a very short time, and without bloodshed, obtained possession of the whole country.

By the count of Armagnac's precipitate flight, the duke of Nemours was left to sustain the whole weight of the monarch's resentment. This nobleman, son to Bernard d'Armagnac, governor to Lewis, had been brought up with the king, and was long honoured with his favour: he had even been created duke and peer of France, an honour which was, in those days, confined to the princes of the blood. But these marks of friendship having proved insufficient to secure his attachment, he had stood forward as one of the most zealous promoters of the league for the public good. Surrounded in the Bourbonnois, and reduced to the necessity of negotiating with the king, he had sworn, on the cross of Charlemagne, to observe an inviolable fidelity towards him; yet, in violation of his oath, he had joined the army of the confederated princes at the siege of Paris; and at the councils, which were holden under the  
walls



walls of the capital, he had ever advised the rejection of all moderate measures. Compelled to acquiesce in the treaty which put an end to that contest, he had again sworn, on the Crown of Thorns, and all the sacred relics contained in the royal chapel, that nothing should, in future, induce him to swerve from his attachment to the king; and that, should he ever be apprized of any plot against his sacred person, he would instantly reveal it: this oath was no better observed than the former. The duke had been an accomplice in all the acts of violence committed by the count of Armagnac, the head of his house; and Lewis, enraged at such repeated instances of perfidy, had caused him to be declared guilty of high-treason, and publicly proclaimed a traitor. Dammartin now advanced with his troops in order to enforce this sentence, while Nemours, justly alarmed at his situation, employed the protection of those very men who had been sent to punish him. He was allied to the house of Bourbon; three of whose members, Gilbert de Bourbon, dauphin of Auvergne; Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; and the Bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, were with the royal army: these powerful friends, who were joined by the count of Dammartin, succeeded in their efforts to appease the king's indignation; but while Lewis pardoned the past offences of the duke, all possible care was taken to deprive him of the ability to renew them.

It was stipulated, that if at any future period he should violate the oath that was now exacted from him, he should be liable to be tried even for the crimes for which he had received a pardon; that he should not avail himself of his privilege as a peer, but must consent to be tried as a private individual; that his lands and lordships should be confiscated, and irrevocably united to the crown; and, that all his officers, both civil and military, should swear to obey him no longer than he himself should continue to pay proper obedience to his sovereign. Farther to ensure his fidelity, the king placed a garrison of his own in most of his fortresses, which the duke was compelled to maintain. While Dammartin was employed in reducing to obedience the refractory vassals of the crown, the king ordered the parliament of Paris to proceed against the fugitive count of Armagnac, who was accordingly convicted of high treason, and all his property confiscated; but Lewis, faithless to his word, distributed his estates among the principal officers who had served in the expedition, and only assigned to the duke of Guienne the strong fortress of Lectoure.

This stroke of authority, at a time when the king was supposed to be rendered incapable of any exertion of vigour, excited the most serious alarms at the court of Brittany<sup>52</sup>. That province was exposed, from its situation, to the danger of a sudden invasion, similar to that which had just completed the ruin of the house of Armagnac; the duke, therefore, hastened to adopt such measures as he deemed necessary for his own defence. He strengthened the fortifications of his towns; he applied for assistance to England; he sent ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy; and he endeavoured to communicate a portion of his own anxiety to all the neigh-

<sup>52</sup> Histoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau.

bouring powers. In fact, Lewis would certainly have treated him with as little ceremony as the count of Armagnac, had the reduction of Brittany been a matter of equal facility with the confiscation of that nobleman's territories; but that not being the case, he resolved to humble the prince he could not subdue. As some pretext, however, was necessary for attacking him, he had recourse to an expedient which no one but himself could have devised; this was, to send the duke the order of Saint-Michael (which Lewis had lately instituted): if he accepted it, he must bind himself to the king by new oaths, the execution of which he would immediately be called on to fulfil; and if he refused it, his refusal would be construed into an affront, for which the king would demand satisfaction. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to Brittany with the insidious offer: the duke, extremely surprized, suffered some petulant expression to escape him; but, on cool reflection, he rejected the proffered mark of distinction with firmness and respect: alledging, as the motive of his refusal, that his unwillingness to contract an obligation, with the extent whereof he was unacquainted, had induced him to submit the statutes of the order of Saint-Michael to the examination of his council, who had found several of the articles—which he specified—to be incompatible with his rank and privileges.

Lewis did not stop to discuss the validity of these objections, but immediately caused a report to be propagated of a projected invasion of Normandy by the English; and having collected the troops of the neighbouring provinces, he advanced to the frontiers of Brittany. The duke, perceiving his intentions, prepared to defend himself, and claimed the assistance of his allies. The duke of Guienne represented to the king, that after the engagements he had contracted with the duke of Brittany, he could not abandon him without covering himself with shame; he, therefore, exhorted him not to interrupt the harmony which prevailed in every part of his dominions, but to terminate, by a treaty, any disputes which might have arisen between him and the duke. This was all Lewis desired; the French and Breton plenipotentiaries accordingly met at Angers, where a treaty was concluded, by which the duke of Brittany formally renounced every alliance which could tend to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. Lewis insisted that all the Breton nobility should guarantee the treaty, in the hope of alluring some of them to enter into his service. Among those who took this step was the viscount of Rohan, a young nobleman of the most promising abilities, who was afterwards so much distinguished under the appellation of *mareschal de Gié*.

A. D. 1470.] Three days after the conclusion of the treaty of Angers, the duke of Brittany concluded another treaty, at Etampes, with the duke of Burgundy<sup>51</sup>. Lewis, however, felt no anxiety on this account, as he flattered himself that he had effectually secured the attachment of the lord of Lescua, who governed Brittany, while the duke passed his time in amorous dalliance with his fair mistress, Antoinette de Magnelais.

51 Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne.



The duke of Burgundy, however, continued to watch with attention all the motions of Lewis ; and that monarch, when he assembled his troops to attack the duke of Brittany, having summoned several Burgundian nobles to serve in person in his army, under pain of losing the fiefs which they enjoyed in France, Charles took that opportunity to send an embassy to the French court. His ambassadors, Crequi, Carondelet, and Murin, complained of the conduct of the king's officers, in demanding the personal attendance of the Burgundian nobility, as a manifest violation of the treaty of Peronne ; and of the attack made by the king on the duke of Brittany, who was in such strict alliance with the duke their master, that their cause was the same. The king, they said, could not plead ignorance of that alliance, since he had himself approved and confirmed it by the treaty of Peronne. On these two points, therefore, they demanded immediate and complete satisfaction.

Lewis, having heard their complaints, immediately dispatched Guy Pot, bailiff of Vermandois ; William de Courcillon, and James Fournier, with his answer to the duke. On their arrival at the Burgundian court, they declared to Charles, that on a report being propagated of a projected invasion of Normandy by the English, the king had issued the usual orders to his vassals, without either specifying or excepting any person whatever ; that, nevertheless, it had not been his intention to molest the subjects of the duke ; and that he had just given the most positive orders to prevent any such molestation.

“ As to what has passed in Brittany,” said the ambassador, “ the king cannot conceive what objections you can start to his conduct. Has he injured the duke in any manner ? Has he even threatened him ? The duke alarmed himself without reason ; he was, probably, discontented with some of the clauses of the treaty of Ancenis, and therefore besought the king to conclude a new treaty. How did his majesty act on the occasion ? Although he knows that the duke is his subject ; and that, after all, he is neither one of the first princes of the blood, nor one of the most powerful vassals of the crown, yet he condescended to comply with his requests, and to give him this new mark of his friendship. The treaty was concluded at Angers, where every point was settled by mutual consent.

“ After having thus answered your complaints,” pursued the ambassador, “ permit the king to ask you, in his turn, What he ought to think of the warmth with which you espouse the quarrels of the duke of Brittany ? What relation have the duchies of Burgundy and Brittany to each other ? On what is this strange union founded, and what can be its object ? The king himself, you say, acknowledged its validity, by signing the treaty of Conflans : you certainly know, that the king entered a protest again that treaty, which he declared null and abusive, as being the work of violence and rebellion. If, notwithstanding its invalidity, the king has still inviolably fulfilled every article which relates to yourself, you must regard his conduct, in this respect, as a flattering distinction, for which you ought to hold yourself obliged to him ; but which cannot, by any means, authorise you to demand its observance in every point. Let us suppose, however, for a moment, that this treaty exists in full force, and  
“ has

“has not been affected by subsequent treaties; what advantage can you expect to derive from it? Though the duke of Brittany and yourself engaged mutually to assist each other, yet both of you swore allegiance and obedience to the king, your sovereign. Which of the two oaths ought to be most respected? One is only an arbitrary convention, subordinate to a first engagement; while the other is a sacred duty, contracted at your birth, not to be dispensed with on any account, not to be limited by any other convention; a duty, in short, inherent in the domain, in the rank, in the person. The nearer a subject is placed to the throne, by his birth and dignities, the stronger are the engagements which he contracts with his sovereign; and what man in France has engagements of more importance than the duke of Burgundy, a prince of the blood, and first peer of the realm?”

“Recollect your origin, prince, and the titles on which your greatness is founded, and you will then feel more sensibly the whole extent of your duties: the air which you breathe, the rank which you enjoy, the power to which you have attained—you are indebted for them all to the monarchs of France. King John conferred the duchy of Burgundy on the founder of your family: Charles the Wise obtained for him the heirs of Flanders; and in order to facilitate the marriage, he generously ceded to him the towns of Douai, Lille, and Orchies. Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, the dukes of Burgundy would never have maintained the dignity to which they had been exalted, had not Charles the Sixth gone in person to subdue the Flemish rebels, and to re-establish your grandfather in the possession of his dominions. Services of such importance cannot be so soon effaced from your memory; but, were it necessary to recal them to your mind, and to adduce the most authentic proofs in support of our assertions, we need only to refer to the archives of the chamber of accounts at Paris, where those proofs have been carefully preserved. But, in reminding you, prince, of the benefactions of his ancestors, the king has no intention of reproaching you: on the contrary, he is ready to confer fresh favours on you, whenever, from a due attention to your real interests, you shall convince the French, that you have not forgotten who you are, nor from whom you are descended.”

As soon as the ambassador had concluded his speech, Hugonet, bailiff of Charolois, began a methodical reply; but the duke, tired with his prolixity, interrupted him, and finished the answer himself. “The king,” said Charles, “reminds me that I am of the blood of France: is not the duke of Brittany, then, whose destruction he has resolved on, of the same blood? He declares, that he has entered a protest against the treaty of Peronne; as if the faith of treaties could be annulled by such vain formalities. He has, doubtless, forgotten that precious maxim of one of his ancestors—*That, though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breast of princes.*” He adds, “That I owe him loyalty and obedience; but do the titles he has assumed give him the right to excite my subjects to revolt, and to take under his protection all the criminals in my dominions? He relates the services which his ancestors have rendered to mine; but does he then make no account of the services of equal importance which mine have rendered to his? Ser-



“ Services by which they acquired, and deserved the fortune which they have transmitted to me, and of which he now wishes to dispossess me. Will he dare deny, that he has opened his dominions to the perfidious Liegeois, and assigned them an establishment on the frontiers of my provinces? How many of them are now resident in the county of Rhetel? Let him, therefore, no longer hope to deceive me by artful speeches, and deceitful professions: the duke of Brittany is my ally; and I will defend him!”

From such warm remonstrances on both sides, the most serious consequences were to be apprehended; but Lewis, who had already sacrificed so much to obtain a peace, was resolved not to engage in a war, unless with a certainty of considerable advantage. Fortune soon furnished him with such an opportunity, and it came from a quarter whence he had least reason to expect it.

Richard Nevile, the famous earl of Warwick, whose valour and popularity had so eminently contributed to the deposition of his lawful sovereign, and the elevation of his rival, the usurper Edward, to the throne of England, being disgusted with the conduct of the latter, had recently deserted his cause, and was now labouring to destroy that very fabric which he had lately taken such pains to erect. In the prosecution of this plan he was strenuously supported by the duke of Clarence, (Edward's brother) who had married his eldest daughter, and who was highly discontented with the king for the decided preference which he gave to the queen's relations over his own. On the twenty-fourth of March, (1470) the English monarch published a long declaration at York, summoning his brother and Warwick to appear before him on the twenty-eighth, to answer to the charges which had been exhibited against them; and, as they did not chuse to obey the citation, a second declaration was published at Nottingham, on the thirty-first of March, proclaiming them rebels and traitors, offering rewards for apprehending them; and prohibiting all persons, under the severest penalties, from assisting them and their adherents<sup>54</sup>.

Clarence and Warwick, unable to resist the superior forces of Edward, were compelled to leave the kingdom; and having effected their escape to Dartmouth, they there embarked for Calais, of which Warwick was governor. The deputy-governor, to whom the earl had entrusted the command of the place during his absence, was one Vaclair, a Gascon, who seeing Warwick return in the deplorable state of an exile, refused him admittance, and would not even suffer the duchess of Clarence to land, though she had been taken in labour, and delivered of a son, on ship-board. With difficulty was permission extorted from him to carry two flasks of wine to the vessel for her use; but as he was a man of sagacity, he deemed it prudent to make a secret apology to Warwick, whom he assured, that his conduct was entirely influenced by motives of personal regard and zeal for his service. He said, that the fortress

<sup>54</sup> Clauf. 10. Edw. IV. apud Carte, p. 780.

was ill-supplied with provisions; that he could place no reliance on the fidelity of the garrison; that the inhabitants, deriving their principal means of subsistence from their commercial intercourse with England, would certainly declare for the established government; that the place, in its present situation, was unable to resist the attacks of the duke of Burgundy on the one hand, and those of England on the other; and that, by seeming to preserve his loyalty to Edward, he should acquire the confidence of that prince, and still keep it in his power, when a proper opportunity should occur, to restore Calais to its ancient master. Whatever were the real intentions of Vauclair, his conduct was so highly approved both by Edward and the duke of Burgundy, that the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a pension of one thousand crowns; on which he took a solemn oath to remain faithful to the king, and to resist every solicitation that could tempt him to swerve from his duty<sup>55</sup>.

It is uncertain whether Warwick was satisfied with the apology of Vauclair, or suspected him to be guilty of a double infidelity; but he seemed to be entirely convinced by his arguments; and, having seized some Flemish vessels, which he found lying off Calais, he sailed towards the coast of Normandy, and arrived at Honfleur on the second of May.

Lewis, alarmed at the close connection of Edward with his two inveterate enemies, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, received with transport the only man who was then capable of effecting a revolution in England. He could have wished, indeed, that instead of disembarking at the mouth of the Seine, Warwick had retired to the less-frequented ports of Cherbourg and Grandville, which belonged to the Bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France; for, foreseeing the complaints and reproaches to which the protection afforded to the earl would necessarily give rise, he was anxious to have it in his power to say, that that protection was probably the consequence of a private association, and confraternity of arms between the admiral and Warwick; an association, authorized by the laws of chivalry, and of which the sovereign ought not to take cognizance. He, therefore, ordered Duplessis Bouré to engage Warwick to proceed to the ports of Lower Normandy, under pretext that he would there be less exposed to the observations of the constable, who acted as a spy to the duke of Burgundy<sup>56</sup>.

The predictions of Lewis were speedily verified, by the receipt of a letter from the duke of Burgundy, who, at the same time, wrote to the parliament, and to the citizens of Rouen, to demand restitution of the prizes which had been made on his subjects, and to complain of the protection accorded to his enemy, the earl of Warwick. This letter, from a sovereign prince to a subject town, may appear extraordinary; but it must be remembered, that, in those times, the municipal towns bore a strong resemblance to small republics, subordinate to the same monarchy. They raised taxes for their own use; had land and sea forces, which they had the right to employ in revenging their own quarrels; and some of them even concluded commer-

<sup>55</sup> Phil. de Commines, tom. i. p. 188, 189.

<sup>56</sup> Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 396.



cial treaties, and treaties of alliance, with foreign powers<sup>57</sup>. The citizens of Rouen, after they had acquainted the king with the contents of the duke's letters, replied, that it was not their province to take cognizance of any disputes which might have arisen between the earl of Warwick and the duke of Burgundy; that they were convinced the king, their sovereign, would do nothing contrary to subsisting treaties; that it was a matter of public notoriety, that the Burgundian vessels, which had been taken by the earl, had been afterward re-taken by the English fleet, and restored to their true owners, so that they could not possibly, as the duke, deceived probably by false reports, had represented, have been exposed to public sale. Charles, dissatisfied with this answer, wrote to them a second time, observing, that it appeared strange to him, that the citizens of Rouen should be so well acquainted with what passed at sea between Warwick and the English fleet, and yet be so ignorant of what was actually passing under their eyes on the river Seine, where three large Burgundian vessels were then laying; that, if any opinion might be formed of the future by the past, it was clear that Warwick would be careful not to offend his good friends in England, and would seek to make himself amends for such restraint, by attacking the Flemish; but that, with the aid of God, he would put a stop to his depredations, and would neither spare his enemy, nor those who should give him assistance.

In proportion as the duke's warmth and impetuosity increased in this business, the greater appearance of moderation and impartiality did Lewis affect. He told the Burgundian envoys, who had been sent to claim the prizes, that the demand was a just one; but that, in an affair of which he was wholly ignorant, he could not possibly dispense with the observance of the usual forms of justice; he, therefore, referred them to the judges of the admiralty, who, being apprized of his intentions, contrived, by various expedients, to prolong the cause, and, at last, came to no decisive resolution. Meanwhile, a number of French privateers secretly joined Warwick's squadron, and daily made fresh captures. The duke, who saw the drift of this conduct, wrote the following laconic epistle to the Bastard of Bourbon, and the archbishop of Narbonne, who were at the head of the admiralty.

"Archbishop, and you, admiral—the ships which you tell me have been equipped by the king for the purpose of cruising against the English, have already attacked the vessels of my subjects on their return to my dominions; but, by St. George, if an immediate stop be not put to such proceedings, I will myself—with the aid of God—supply the remedy, without your permission or your reasons, or your forms of justice, for they are too arbitrary, and too long.

CHARLES."

The duke soon put his threats in execution; and, without any other declaration of war, seized and confiscated all the goods belonging to the French, throughout the whole extent of his dominions; and, on a vague report that the admiral of France was watching an opportu-

<sup>57</sup> Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 396.

nity to set fire to the Flemish fleet, in the ports of Holland, he ordered all his officers to get their ships in immediate readiness, to form a junction with the combined fleets of England and Brittany, and to attack Warwick wherever they might find him. On the receipt of this news, Lewis became sensible, that his perfidious conduct would no longer be tolerated, and that he must either dismiss Warwick, or submit to have the coast of Normandy insulted by the three combined squadrons; but before he parted from the earl, he resolved to bind him more forcibly to his interests; hoping, through his means, to overturn the established government of England, and to effect the restoration of the exiled house of Lancaster. The animosity which had ever subsisted between that unfortunate family and this powerful earl was so inveterate, as scarcely to allow a hope that a reconciliation could ever take place. The father of Warwick had been executed by orders from Margaret of Anjou; he had himself twice reduced Henry to a state of captivity; had promoted the banishment of the queen; had put to death all her most zealous partizans, either in the field or on the scaffold; and, in short, had drawn down such calamities on her house, as no future services could, in appearance, possibly compensate. For this reason, when Warwick had first adopted the resolution of deposing Edward, he had no intention of restoring his rival to the throne; but meant to confer the regal dignity on his own son-in-law, the duke of Clarence. Of this design he was accused by Edward, in his long declaration, published at York; and it had obtained universal credit with the people of England. Finding, however, that his project was ill-received, and would be equally opposed by the Yorkists and Lancastrians, he was now reduced to the necessity of adopting the plan proposed by Lewis, which was, to effect the restoration of king Henry. To render this more palatable to Warwick, and to reconcile him, in some measure, to that flagrant contradiction of principles which his conduct must necessarily display to the world, it was proposed, that the administration of government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be entrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that the prince of Wales should espouse the lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter, and that the crown, in failure of male issue from that prince, should descend, at his death, to the duke of Clarence, to the total exclusion of Edward and his posterity.

When these arrangements were fixed, messengers were sent to conduct queen Margaret, and her son Edward, from their obscure residence in Lorraine, to the court of France. An union of interests superinduced an union of sentiments in the queen and Warwick, which effectually stifled all emotions of hatred. Margaret willingly acceded to the terms proposed; the marriage of the prince of Wales with the lady Anna Neville was celebrated, to the apparent satisfaction of all the parties concerned in this unexpected alliance; a treaty, offensive and defensive was concluded between young Edward, in the name of his father, and Lewis, which was to remain in force *till the total destruction of the house of Burgundy should be effected*<sup>58</sup>; and the whole was confirmed, on either side, by the most solemn oaths.

<sup>58</sup> Garnier.



The joy which Lewis experienced on the success of his project, was greatly increased by the birth of a son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, under the appellation of Charles the Eighth. As the king had long been extremely anxious for this event, he had made a vow, in case it should occur, to offer up, at the shrine of the Virgin, at Pui in Anjou, the image of a child, composed of solid silver, and in weight equal to the weight of his son, when he should have attained his eleventh year. He accordingly appropriated the sum of one hundred and sixty thousand crowns of gold for that purpose.

As soon as the rejoicings that took place on this occasion were over, the king, under pretext of performing a pilgrimage to Saint Michael's Mount, went into Normandy, in order to superintend the embarkation of Warwick, and to be ready to provide a remedy for any accident that might occur. On his return to the castle of Pleffis-les-Tours, his usual place of residence, he addressed a circular letter to all the principal towns in the kingdom, commanding each of them to send him two of their best-informed merchants, whom he wished to consult on the interests of commerce. When these deputies were assembled, he explained to them the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, and the risks they must run by continuing to repair to the dominions of a prince who had just confiscated, in violation of every principle of justice, all the merchandize belonging to the French; he then expatiated on the advantages to be derived from his alliance with England, and concluded by asking their advice. In consequence of the decisions of this assembly, he forbade all future intercourse between his subjects and those of the duke of Burgundy; and in order to repair, as much as possible, the losses which the merchants and others would sustain, from ceasing to frequent the fairs at Antwerp, he established two *free* fairs in the city of Caen, where all foreign coins were to pass; and, for the purpose of inducing foreigners to attend these fairs, he renounced, in their favour, the *Droit d'aubaine*, and accorded them the privileges of natives.

The king of England, meanwhile, secure in the imaginary inability of Warwick to disturb his government, had disbanded his army, and resigned himself wholly to the enjoyment of those sensual pleasures, to which he was so much addicted. Even the frequent warnings of the duke of Burgundy, who apprized him of the storm that was gathering<sup>59</sup>, were inadequate to rouse him from this dangerous state of security. A vain confidence in his own prowess, and in the affections of his subjects, had rendered him incapable of sound reflection, and induced him to declare, that he should be perfectly satisfied could he once see Warwick set foot on English ground.

Edward had not long to wait for this desired satisfaction; Warwick landed at Dartmouth on the thirteenth of September, where he was joined by such numbers of his adherents, that in a few days he was at the head of a formidable army. The English monarch was then in the

<sup>59</sup> Phil. de Commines, tom. i. p. 193.

north of England, when he received the news of Warwick's descent; and so far was he from being discouraged at this event, that he sent a message to the duke of Burgundy, whose fleet was then at sea, to keep a strict watch, that he might prevent the earl's escape. A few days, however, proved sufficient to convince him, that his expectations were vain as his confidence was groundless. His camp was betrayed, in the vicinity of Nottingham, by the secret adherents of the house of Lancaster, and the partizans of Warwick; and Edward himself, with difficulty, effected his escape to the coast of Norfolk, where he put to sea on the third of October.

But Edward's danger did not cease with his embarkation. The Easterlings, or Hanse-Towns, were then at war both with France and England; and some of their ships hovering on the English coast, espied the king's vessels, gave chase to them, and had nearly overtaken them, when they were so fortunate as to enter, in safety, the port of Alcaer in Friesland. He had fled from England with such precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value along with him; and the only reward which he could bestow on the captain of the vessel that brought him over, was a robe lined with sable, and the promise of an ample recompence, if fortune should ever become propitious to him.

The unexpected arrival of Edward greatly embarrassed the duke of Burgundy, who hesitated, for some time, whether he should afford protection to the fugitive monarch, or abandon him to his fate. There were strong arguments to be offered on both sides of this question. During the bloody wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, Charles had long espoused the cause of the latter, from which he was himself descended by his mother's side. At his court, the wretched remains of the Lancastrian party found a refuge. "I have seen them in such great poverty," says Philip de Commines, "before the said duke (*of Burgundy*) knew they were there, that those who ask alms are not so poor; for I have seen a duke of Chester walking without shoes, in the train of the said duke, begging his bread from house to house, without making himself known." The hope of acquiring the ability to keep France in awe, and to repel the insidious machinations of her unprincipled monarch, had induced the duke of Burgundy to court the alliance of the victorious party. He had married Edward's sister, and though he did not withdraw his protection from the Lancastrian fugitives, he had neglected no measure which could tend to conciliate the friendship of the English monarch. He had recently accepted the order of the Garter, and, so long as fortune continued to smile on Edward, Charles, from policy, though not from inclination, had remained firmly attached to him; the case was now different, that prince was in a perilous situation, and it was even possible that he might involve, in his own ruin, whoever should attempt to afford him protection. Flanders, the richest province in the dominions of Charles, was indebted for its opulence and its excessive population to its numerous manufactures, the raw materials for which were imported from England: if Charles should come to an open rupture with that kingdom, he was aware that the commerce carried on by his Flemish subjects must experience an interruption, and in that case it was much to be apprehended, that that turbulent people, already discontented with the loss of a part of their privileges, would secretly favour the insidious intrigues of Lewis, and



eagerly embrace such an opportunity for revolt. To what dangers must Charles have been exposed, if, while his frontiers were attacked by the combined forces of England and France, he should likewise have the enmity of his own subjects to encounter? All these considerations urged him not to receive Edward. On the other hand, his mind revolted at the idea of resigning to his evil fortune a suppliant prince, his kinsman and ally; nor was he wholly without his fears, that such an ungenerous mode of proceeding might even prove prejudicial to his interest. Warwick was his personal enemy, and a forced reconciliation appeared to be almost equally dangerous with an avowed enmity. In this delicate conjuncture, the duke steered a middle course, which, though on great occasions, it seldom proves successful, and generally, indeed, is the expedient of a weak mind, answered his purpose. He received Edward in private, and, in public, affected to espouse the victorious party; he sent Commynes to Vauclair, the governor of Calais, whose time-serving disposition had now led him to declare for Warwick, to represent, that the alliance which subsisted between the English and Burgundians was of a nature not to be broken by a change of sovereigns; that it was an alliance between the two nations, and had for its exclusive object the interests of commerce; that the Burgundians were indifferent whether Edward or Henry swayed the English sceptre, and they would not interfere in revolutions which only affected the private fortune of a monarch. Charles likewise addressed a letter to the people of England, with this singular superscription, *To you my friends*<sup>61</sup>, in which he repeated the same arguments, adding, that being himself descended from the house of Lancaster, he had never failed to interest himself deeply in every thing which affected the fortunes of that family; that the most distinguished chiefs of the party were still at his court; and that his only object in contracting an alliance with the opposite party, was to favour and confirm the commercial intercourse that subsisted between the two nations.

Lewis, during these transactions, had not remained inactive; he had concluded a new alliance with the Swiss; he had dispatched a solemn embassy to Henry the Sixth, who had been recently taken from prison, and replaced on the throne, and procured that monarch's ratification of the treaty which had been signed, in his name, by Warwick and young Edward; he caused the greatest honours to be paid to that prince and his mother, Margaret of Anjou, and had made preparations for sending them to England, to the assistance of a monarch, too feeble of himself to direct the helm of state: nor was he less attentive to domestic arrangements; the utmost efforts of his policy were requisite to fix the wavering mind of his brother; to repress the attempts of the duke of Brittany, his rival's avowed partizan; to secure the attachment of the duke of Bourbon, and of the princes of the house of Anjou, who dreaded any augmentation of the sovereign power; and, finally, to inspire the nation with a desire of renewing the war, so that, whatever might be the event, he should himself be exempt from reproach.

Hitherto the king had strictly forbidden all observations and strictures on the treaty of

<sup>61</sup> Phil. de Commynes,

Peronne, but he now began to cause writings to be circulated, in which the perfidy of the duke of Burgundy, and the treachery of cardinal Balue, were censured in the strongest terms. The parliament of Paris, who had evinced the greatest repugnance at registering the treaty, seized, with avidity, the opportunity which now occurred for violating its conditions: they encouraged appeals from the Flemish tribunals, and sent one of their officers to Flanders, with citations to some of the duke's subjects to appear at Paris; Charles very properly threw the officer into prison, as well as one of the presidents of the parliament of Paris, who had been sent to receive informations, while such of the Flemings as had appealed to the parliament were executed as traitors to their country. These acts of violence were highly pleasing to Lewis, as he imagined they would furnish him with a pretext for reproaching his rival with being the cause of the rupture he meditated. The districts of Vimieu, Foullois, and Beauvois, had been ceded to the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Peronne, subject to the obligation of homage; and as Charles had taken possession of those districts without complying with the stipulated condition, which, indeed, he had never been called on to fulfil, the parliament declared that he had forfeited all right to them, and, accordingly, sent two of their members to take possession of them.

Harassed by these attempts, Charles wrote to the king and to the parliament; but finding his remonstrances treated with contempt, he summoned the king of Sicily and the duke of Brittany, either to enforce the observance of the treaty of Peronne, which they had guaranteed, or to declare in his favour, according to the engagement which they had contracted. Lewis, on his side, immediately sent envoys into Brittany, with orders, after concerting measures with the lord of Lescun, to represent to the duke, that while the king was studious to fulfil, with the utmost punctuality, all the terms of the treaty of Peronne, Charles had not yet done homage for the territories which had been ceded to him; that he had even neglected to procure the signatures of the Burgundian nobles, who were to have guaranteed the treaty; that, without any previous declaration of war, he had confiscated all the merchandize belonging to the French merchants, throughout his dominions; that he had recently imprisoned two officers of the parliament of Paris; that he had accepted the order of the Garter, and had, consequently, declared himself the knight of an English monarch; and, finally, that he afforded protection to Edward, the usurper of the English throne, and the avowed enemy of the house of Lancaster. The envoys required, that the duke of Brittany, as a vassal of the crown, should join his arms to the king's, in order to compel Charles to give full satisfaction for all these offences.

Though the charges exhibited by the king against the duke of Burgundy were all of them false, frivolous, or misrepresented, they nevertheless threw the duke of Brittany into the greatest embarrassment. His inclination prompted him to an immediate declaration in favour of Charles, his friend and ally; but some prudential considerations led him to reject all precipitate measures, and to act with more than usual moderation. For more than a century, the dukes of Brittany had been chiefly indebted for the support of their power and independence, to the assistance which they derived from England, and from their alliance with the dukes of Burgundy; but



Francis the Second now found himself in a situation, in which he had nothing to expect from the English, but to see his coasts insulted by their squadrons, while the armies of France forced an entrance into the heart of his dominions. He had no forces to oppose to such a powerful combination, and the duke of Burgundy was too much embarrassed with his own affairs, to afford him that speedy and effectual assistance which his circumstances seemed to require. Reduced to this dilemma, Francis resolved to temporize; he determined to deceive the king, by appearing to declare in his favour, and by actually endeavouring to give him a temporary advantage over his rival, with the view to bring them both, imperceptibly, as it were, to listen to such terms as would occasion much future embarrassment to Lewis, at the same time that they would secure, from regal encroachments, all the princes and nobility in the kingdom. This he meant to effect, by renewing the proposal for a marriage between the duke of Guienne and the heiress of Burgundy: the repugnance of Charles to that connexion was well known, but it was supposed, that in his present embarrassed situation he would rather listen to the suggestions of interest than the dictates of inclination<sup>1</sup>. The duke of Guienne, who, since the birth of a dauphin, had no longer the same motives for wishing to insinuate himself into the king's good graces, was extremely anxious for the alliance. The French princes and nobles, who held pensions, places, or domains under the crown, and who only expected to be favoured by the king so long as their services should be necessary to him, were studious to alarm his fears, and to increase his inquietude. The principal author and secret contriver of this intrigue, was the famous constable de Saint Paul, a man of genius, deep, artful, and designing, who having more to lose or to hope for than the rest of the nobility, was always careful to supply matter for dissention between Charles and Lewis: brother-in-law to the king, first officer of the crown; an able politician, and an intrepid warrior; he possessed greater consequence than any subject in the realm. His credit at the Burgundian court, where he had also enjoyed places of the highest importance, was equally great; his sons and his brother still commanded the troops of Charles; and as he was himself master of several strong fortresses on the confines of either territory, he hoped to derive from the troubles which he sought to promote, a considerable augmentation of fortune, and the establishment of an independent state. After he had exhausted all the arts of persuasion to obtain the duke of Burgundy's consent to a marriage, which he represented as the only possible security for public freedom, he had recourse to more powerful means; and seeking to make Lewis the instrument of his designs, he urged the necessity of profiting by a conjuncture, which might never more occur, when England and France were about to unite their forces, for humbling a proud prince, who threatened the monarchy with a total subversion; and the better to remove the king's mistrust, and to fix his irresolution, he promised not only to put him in possession of the towns on the Somme, but to make all Flanders, and the principal towns in Brabant, rise in his favour.

Lewis, with all his boasted penetration, was unable to pierce this mystery; he lent a favour-

<sup>1</sup> Commynes—Manuf. de le Grand.

able ear to the solicitations of the constable, and engaged in a war, with the secret motives for which he was totally unacquainted. Already were his troops advancing towards the confines of Picardy, while a great number of emissaries were sent into Burgundy and Flanders, to corrupt the fidelity of the officers and citizens, when a scruple occurred to the mind of Lewis, and retarded his operations. The treaty of Peronne had been registered, without any restriction, in the sovereign courts, and guaranteed by all the princes and nobility in the kingdom. Whether Lewis was afraid to break, of his own authority, an act which had thus become, in a certain degree, a national act, or whether, from the uncertainty of his success in the war, in which he was about to engage, he was unwilling to take the consequence upon himself; he convened an assembly of the notables at Tours. Before this assembly, the duke of Burgundy's conduct, both previous to, and after the treaty of Peronne, was set forth; the king's imprisonment, in violation of a promise confirmed by an oath; the odious conditions stipulated for his release; the rights of the crown openly violated; the French merchants despoiled of their effects; the officers of justice thrown into confinement; hostilities committed on the coast of Normandy, without any previous declaration of war; and the order of the Garter accepted from the hands of the most formidable enemy to the French nation. To these complaints, which were preferred in the king's name, the count of Eu, the last descendant of the house of Artois, added another of a more private nature; he said, that the duke of Burgundy unjustly held from him the town of Saint Valeri, which constituted a part of his lawful inheritance, because he had refused to take an unconditional oath of allegiance to him. After hearing these charges, this prostituted assembly, without any investigation of their merits, and, indeed, with a certain knowledge that many of them were false, and others, far from being criminal, were perfectly justifiable, declared the duke of Burgundy to be duly *convicted of high treason*<sup>62</sup>, and referred all farther proceedings, in this cause, to the parliament of Paris. The parliament sent one of their bailiffs to cite the duke to appear before them, but Charles threw the man into prison, and after keeping him some days in confinement, dismissed him without an answer. Although the duke was now fully aware of the king's designs, he did not expect to be attacked before spring, and had, therefore, as the winter was already far advanced, dismissed his troops. But he was extremely surprized to learn, from a private messenger, dispatched to him by the duke of Bourbon, that he had not a moment to lose, as the royal army had actually marched, and his subjects were ripe for a revolt. He was also informed, that some traitors had been suborned to make an attempt on his life; and this information was soon confirmed by the sudden evasion of the duke's natural brother Baldwin, who escaped to the court of France, where Lewis assigned him a splendid establishment, in reward of his infamous conduct<sup>63</sup>.

Charles immediately issued the necessary orders for re-assembling his troops; and, in the mean time, he advanced, at the head of five hundred horse to the frontiers of Picardy. Here he had the mortification to learn, that the town of Saint-Quentin had opened its gates to the

<sup>62</sup> Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 423.

<sup>63</sup> Meyer—Manus. de le Grand.



constable of France<sup>64</sup>; enraged at the news, he sent a herald to summon the constable, as his subject, to repair to his army, and on a refusal, couched in terms of insolence, he confiscated all his estates in Picardy and Artois. The constable revenged himself on his own children, who were in the duke's service, by seizing all the lands they possessed in France.

A. D. 1471.] Roye was the next town which, through the perfidy of its governor, the lord of Poix, surrendered to the French arms<sup>65</sup>; and Amiens soon followed its example. Charles, after the loss of this last place, no longer thinking himself in safety at Dourlens, retired to Arras, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his troops. As the enemy had already passed his frontiers in Picardy and Burgundy, he was aware of the danger to which he should be exposed, if, while he was opposing the French in those quarters with all his forces, the English should make an attack either on Flanders or Holland. In order, therefore, to avert that danger, he resolved to find them employment at home, and, if possible, to promote a second revolution in England.

Edward, who, since his flight, had hitherto resided in Holland, after his sister, the duchess of Burgundy, had in vain solicited her husband to take some decisive steps in his favour, demanded an interview with Charles, which his present apprehensions induced him willingly to grant. At this conference, Edward represented that delays must prove extremely prejudicial to his interests, as his friends and adherents in England would gradually forsake his cause, while the power of his enemy Warwick would daily receive confirmation and strength: that the duke, therefore, ought either to afford him speedy and effectual assistance, or wholly abandon him to his evil fate. In order to enforce this remonstrance, he imparted to Charles a secret engagement which his brother Clarence had contracted with him; he reminded him of the oath which he himself had taken to assist him, should he ever stand in need of his assistance; and he desired him to consider, that, by aiding him in his distress, he would act for the benefit of his own family, which might one day be in want of equal support, and, at the same time, reap the glory of having restored a near relation to his throne. He solemnly promised to unite with him, in opposition to France, as soon as he should be re-established in his regal dignity; and remarked, that the neutrality which the duke had hitherto observed, could be productive of no possible advantage, nor even prevent Lewis and the earl of Warwick from adopting such measures as would be equally destructive to his power and repose. This expostulation was not fruitless; the duke of Burgundy, though still afraid to furnish Warwick with a plausible pretext for attacking his dominions, contrived an expedient, which enabled him to accommodate the fugitive king without incurring the risk of a rupture with England. He caused four large vessels to be equipped, in the names of some private merchants, at the free port of Terveer in Zealand; to

<sup>64</sup> Commynes—Chron. Scandal—Manuf. de le Grand.

<sup>65</sup> Preuves de Commynes, No. 165—St. Hermite de Soliers.

which he added fourteen ships, secretly hired from the Easterlings, or Hanse-Towns<sup>66</sup>. This squadron, together with a sum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately set sail for England, on the eleventh of March (1471), with an army of fifteen hundred men, partly composed of English fugitives, and partly of Flemish. No sooner was Charles informed of his departure, than he issued a proclamation, prohibiting all his subjects from affording him assistance, under the severest penalties. He then hastened to place himself at the head of his army, which was now assembled, and amounted to eighty thousand fighting men.

In the French army, commanded by the king himself, were the young duke of Lorraine; the lord of Lescun, with a body of Breton nobles; and the duke of Guienne, who, in the belief that the war had been undertaken on his account, had thought his presence necessary to accelerate its conclusion. This last prince, during the march, dispatched a private messenger to the duke of Burgundy, with these words written with his own hand, and inclosed in a ball of wax:—*Take care to satisfy your subjects, and be under no uneasiness, for you will find friends.* Charles could not mistake the meaning of this message, as he knew what was required of him; the constable, with whom he was apparently reconciled, incessantly urged him to avert the storm which threatened him, by giving his consent to his daughter's marriage with the king's brother, assuring him, at the same time, that all the French nobility only waited for that event to abandon the king, and form a fresh union more durable than that which had shaken the throne during the war for the public good. The duke of Brittany had entered into the constable's views, and in order to superinduce the compliance of Charles, he exaggerated the danger of his situation; sent him word, by a messenger, that the king maintained a correspondence with the citizens of Antwerp, Bruges, and Bruxelles; and that he had even determined to besiege the city of Ghent, where the duke then was. But Charles ordered the messenger to tell his master that he was misinformed, and that he (the duke) was then on his road to pass the Somme, and offer the king battle.

In fact, after various feints, he suddenly attacked Pequigni, a well-fortified town, which commanded a bridge on the Somme. The place was taken by assault, and such of the garrison as escaped the sword, were made prisoners; the citadel, after a siege of three days, was likewise reduced<sup>67</sup>. Charles, encouraged by the success of this first attempt, made his whole army pass the Somme, and continuing his march towards Amiens, fixed his camp between that city and the royal army. Never did he prove the justice of the epithet *rash*, which had been bestowed on him, better than at present; his anxiety to bring Lewis to action made him forget that, by thus leading his whole force beyond the Somme, he left his dominions open to the excursions of the garrisons of Amiens and Saint-Quentin; rendered the approach of con-

<sup>66</sup> Phil. de Commines, tom. i. 206.

<sup>67</sup> Commines—Meyer—Le Grand.



voys a matter of extreme difficulty, and exposed his troops to the danger of perishing by famine. This single error decided the fate of the campaign, and might, possibly, have effected the total ruin of Charles, had he had an enemy to encounter less mistrustful, and less cautious, than Lewis. The constable, the marshal de Rohault, and the lord of Crussol, left Saint-Quentin, pillaged the rich province of Artois, and returned, laden with booty. Dammartin sallied forth from Amiens to attack a large convoy, which he dispersed, and conducted sixty waggons into the town, laden with all kinds of ammunition; frequent skirmishes occurred, in which the Burgundians were generally defeated; one, however, of a different description took place, in which the French, under the conduct of Dammartin, were worsted, and that nobleman with difficulty saved his life.

The disadvantageous post which the duke of Burgundy had inconsiderately chosen between the royal camp, and a garrison so numerous as that of Amiens, made most of the French officers urgent with the king to accept the battle, which Charles daily offered; this was particularly the advice of Dammartin, the most experienced general of the age, who offered to make a sally with his garrison, and attack the enemy in the rear, while Lewis engaged them in front. This project had so many partizans, that Lewis could not refuse to assemble a council of war, in order to deliberate thereon. De Beuil, who was the first that was called upon for his opinion, observed, that having never served with so large an army, he had not learned in what manner the manœuvres of such a cumbrous mass were to be regulated; that the French and English armies, which had signalized themselves by such famous exploits in the preceding reign, had seldom exceeded ten thousand men, and bore no resemblance to "that horrid multitude" which was now assembled, and which might, with greater propriety, be termed a people than "an army;" that he could not foresee what would be the event of a battle, but he was still less able to conceive by what means disorder and confusion would be avoided. Dammartin represented, that the enemy would be exposed to the same inconvenience, since they were equally numerous, and not so well disciplined; he observed, that, in order to avoid all partiality, it would be proper for every man to deliver his opinion in writing. This advice was adopted, and it was determined, by a majority of voices, to bring the enemy to battle; but when they came to regulate the plan and order of attack, the dispute was renewed, and the council separated without coming to any conclusion. Lewis, who had only assembled a council of war, out of deference to those who had proposed to fight, and who had no serious intention of exposing himself to the risk of an action, was highly pleased with this difference of opinion. He persisted in his first design, continuing to harass the enemy, by intercepting their convoys, and confining his own troops within fortified camps, where he could not be compelled to engage against his will. Plenty reigned in his camp, as well as in his walled towns; while the Burgundians were exposed to all the horrors of famine, and their numbers daily diminished by desertion and disease. The uneasiness which Charles experienced on this account, was greatly increased by the intelligence which he received from Burgundy: the troops which he had left for the defence of that duchy, had been defeated in several rencontres with the French, who  
were

were commanded by the dauphin of Auvergne, and the mareschal of Comminges; and the whole province was now exposed to the destructive excursions of the enemy, without the smallest prospect of relief. Charles carefully concealed this news from his army, whom he amused with fictitious accounts of imaginary victories; but, sensible that the dissipation of this error, which could not long be avoided, would only render the truth more dreadful, he was compelled to have recourse to a measure, which, though his haughty disposition could ill brook it, necessity enforced. He condescended to solicit a truce, and, in order to ensure a compliance with his request, he sent word to Lewis, that he was surprized a prince so wise as himself should have engaged in a war, of the true motives whereof he was ignorant; but, that he was willing to communicate to him the particulars of an intrigue, which would equally excite his displeasure and astonishment: the duke then entered into an explanation of several circumstances relating to the plan of the French nobles, and concluded by asking him, whether, after what he had heard, he meant to drive him to extremities? Lewis was mortified and ashamed at having become a dupe to his brother, and repented of his conduct in having hastily engaged in an enterprize, whence, he now conceived, that nothing but disgrace could ensue. His natural proneness to suspicion and mistrust, made him exaggerate the danger of his present situation; he lost sight of his enemy, though reduced to a state of humiliation, and to the necessity of suing for a favour, to think only of the perils to which he had been exposed, and with which he was still threatened. It occurred to his mind, that Edward, after he had triumphed over his enemies in England, might seek to recover Normandy; that the duke of Burgundy, consulting his real interests, might accede to the wishes of the duke of Guienne, and his partizans; and, that they might all join in a confederacy to despoil him of his authority, and, perhaps, of his rank. On the other hand, he could not but perceive, that Charles had only applied for a truce, in order to extricate himself from a perilous situation, and to put himself in a condition to renew the war with greater advantage; but the danger, from this quarter, was distant, whereas the other was urgent; it was necessary to come to a decision, and Lewis conceived that the best thing he could do, under the present circumstances, was to comply with the duke's request for a truce, which was accordingly concluded, on the twelfth of May, for one year; and the allies of either party were allowed three months to consider whether they chose to accede to it or not.<sup>69</sup>

This truce was equally disapproved by such of the king's subjects as had remained faithful to him, and by those whose professions of attachment had only served as a mask for their treachery. As they were all ignorant of the real motives which had led him to adopt a measure so contrary, in appearance, to the true interests of the state, they ascribed it to others, which neither did honour to his understanding, nor to his

<sup>69</sup> Garnier, tom. xvii, p. 445—Mezeray, tom. vi. p. 462.



courage. The Parisians stuck up papers in the metropolis, in which they inveighed, most bitterly, against the king's councillors; while the duke of Brittany, unable to conceal the contempt with which the conduct of Lewis had inspired him, publicly stigmatized him with the ignominious appellation of *The Royal Coward*. The duke of Burgundy was, perhaps, the only one who did him justice, but he remained silent on the subject, and was, indeed, so humbled at the step he had been compelled, through his own imprudence, to take, that he shut himself up for some time in his tent. Lewis, not thinking it prudent to develop the mystery, dismissed his troops, and took the road to Tours. He passed through the metropolis, and being apprized of the general discontent of the Parisians, he visited the principal citizens, and, by displaying that affability of manners which he so well knew how to assume, endeavoured to quiet their murmurs. On his arrival in Touraine he received intelligence of the new revolution which had just taken place in England.

Edward, after an ineffectual attempt on the coast of Norfolk, had landed, not without opposition, at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Finding no inclination in the people to receive him, he publicly declared, that he had relinquished all thoughts of the crown, and came only to recover the estates of his family. At York, he could not gain admission till he had taken a solemn oath, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, that he had no intention to claim the crown, an oath which he renewed at the high altar of the cathedral<sup>69</sup>. But this perjured usurper no sooner found himself sufficiently strong to throw off the mask, than he avowed the true object of his enterprize, and assumed the title which he had solemnly renounced.

The subjects of Henry and the friends of Warwick were alike infected with the general spirit of perfidy which so strongly marked these degenerate times: Warwick's brother, the archbishop of York, facilitated the entrance of Edward into London, and delivered his sovereign into the hands of an implacable rival. At Barnet, the two armies met, but the defection of the duke of Clarence, joined to some other untoward and unforeseen circumstances, proved fatal to the earl of Warwick, who, after a desperate action, in which he displayed his usual intrepidity, sustained a total defeat, and perished in the field. With him perished the hopes of his party. Margaret, the illustrious and unhappy consort of Henry, still destined to be the sport of fortune, had landed at Weymouth, on the evening of this fatal day. Buoyed up as she was with the flattering hopes of being restored to the splendour of royalty, and to those domestic comforts, and that mental felicity, to which she had so long been a stranger, when apprized of the fatal events which had just taken place, all her wonted fortitude forsook her; she sunk senseless on the floor, and remained speechless and inanimate for a considerable time.

<sup>69</sup> Hollingshed, p. 102.

When she revived, yielding to the dictates of despair, she took refuge in a sanctuary, with the design to effect her escape into France. But on being joined by many of the Lancastrian nobles, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to defend, to the utmost, the ruins of her fallen fortunes. At Tewkesbury, however, her hopes were finally destroyed; her troops, through the impetuosity of the duke of Somerset, were defeated, and she and her only son, the prince of Wales, fell into the hands of the victor. Edward, whose soul was a stranger to every virtuous impulse, whose mind never afforded even a momentary residence to any principle of honour, threw Margaret into the Tower, where her wretched husband was already confined, and caused her son to be murdered in his presence. Perjury and assassination were never neglected by this inhuman prince, when they could tend either to the gratification of his revenge, or his ambition. The death of Henry was all that was now wanting to quiet his apprehensions and confirm his power; and that monarch was, accordingly, found dead in his apartments in the Tower, in little more than a month after the battle of Tewkesbury.

This revolution in England was the means of producing another in the fortune and condition of the French princes. The duke of Burgundy, who, during the late campaign, had acted chiefly on the defensive, was now preparing for a renewal of hostilities on a more extensive plan; while Lewis, who had then profited by his alliance with Henry and Warwick, to keep the duke of Brittany in awe, finding himself without allies, and perceiving the number of his enemies daily encrease, now renounced all schemes of conquest, and only thought of disconcerting the projects of his adversaries.

Although the unexpected conclusion of a truce had deranged the plans of those who were anxious to promote a marriage between the duke of Guienne and Mary of Burgundy, yet it did not make them despair of finally accomplishing the object of their wishes<sup>70</sup>. They flattered themselves that the humiliating situation to which Charles had been reduced, would convince him of the necessity of securing allies; and, in this hope, they renewed their solicitations, and pressed him, with greater earnestness than before, to comply with the general wish of the nobility, and to cement, by a marriage so universally desired, a confederacy, of which he himself must inevitably reap the principal advantages. Thus urged, Charles evinced a disposition to favour their designs, though nothing, in fact, was farther from his thoughts. Meanwhile, the duke of Guienne, assured of success, was no longer studious to preserve appearances with his brother. In vain did Henry, king of Castile, at the instigation of Lewis, insist on the celebration of his marriage with his daughter Jane, to whom that prince had been affianced, and urged him to shew himself to his new subjects; the duke, who had only consented to that alliance the better to deceive his brother, positively refused to fulfil the engagement.

<sup>70</sup> Commynes—Godefroi—Le Grand.



which had been contracted in his name. He listened only to those who talked to him of his intended connection with the princess Mary, which he thought so far settled, that he sent the bishop of Montauban to Rome, to solicit the necessary dispensation from the pope.

Lewis had some suspicions of what was going forward, but he was still ignorant of the principal circumstances of the intrigue, as well as of the names of the parties who were engaged in it; but he obtained, by accident, that information which his utmost endeavours had proved inadequate to procure. Oliver le Roux, whom Lewis had sent to the court of Castile, had received orders on his return to stop some time at the court of the count of Foix, in order to sound the inclinations of that prince, and, if possible, to extort from him some useful intelligence. It so happened, that Le Roux was put into the same apartment which had been occupied, but a few days before, by Henry Miles, envoy from the duke of Brittany. In the corner of this chamber he perceived a heap of papers torn in pieces, and being impelled by an irresistible curiosity to read them, he succeeded in his attempts to join the different pieces, so as to be able to peruse their contents; and, finding they were dispatches of importance, he did not fail to communicate them to the king<sup>71</sup>. From one of these dispatches it was discovered, that the duke of Guienne and his partizans offered, as the first condition of the treaty of alliance, to restore to the duke of Burgundy the towns of Saint Quentin, Roye, and Amiens. Another contained the plan of an offensive league between Charles and Edward, who agreed to divide between them the richest provinces in the kingdom; Edward was to take possession of Normandy and Guienne, while Charles secured Champagne and the isle of France. These different projects alarmed Lewis, and divided his attention; but what disturbed him most was the fatal marriage of his brother with the heiress of Burgundy. Having learned that the duke of Guienne had already solicited a dispensation from the pope, he immediately dispatched an ambassador to his holiness, to request that he would either refuse it, or, if he had already granted it, that he would instantly revoke it; and, in order to superinduce a compliance with his request, he allured the sovereign pontiff with the prospect of a revocation of the Pragmatic Sanction.

While the king was thus endeavouring to attach the pope to his interest, he sent the lord of Bouchage into Guienne, with orders to concert his plans with Beauveau, bishop of Angers, one of his brother's favourites. This envoy represented to the prince, that he would expose himself to inevitable destruction, by violating an oath taken upon the true cross of Saint Lo; "*The danger attending which violation was so great, that he would infallibly die within the year, which had invariably been the case with all those who had perjured themselves upon the said cross*"<sup>72</sup>. He then observed to the prince, that he

<sup>71</sup> Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 453, 454

<sup>72</sup> Idem, p. 457.

ought not to consider the heiress of Burgundy as such an advantageous match, for, although the duchess had hitherto proved sterile, it was still possible she might give birth to a son, in which case the young princess would have but a very moderate fortune; that he ought not to lose sight of his rights to the crown; rights the more important as the king had but one son, and he was of a delicate and feeble constitution; that it was his interest, therefore, to oppose, with all his power, the daring enterprizes of the duke of Burgundy; that he could not be ignorant of the calamities which the house of Burgundy had brought upon France, in the preceding reigns; that Charles, who inherited the ambition and the hatred of his ancestors, no longer admitted any bounds to his pretensions, but visibly aimed either at securing the throne for himself, or, at least, of dismembering the monarchy; that the king could scarcely persuade himself that his brother had any serious intentions of forming an alliance with the common enemy; but that, in order totally to dispel his fears on that head, he ought to banish from his presence all those faithless servants who only made use of his name to frame the most dangerous plots: that they had already pressed the duke of Calabria, the lord of Beaujeu, and the duchess of Savoy, to enter into a league against the king; that they even talked of recalling the count of Armagnac, who had been formally proscribed by repeated sentences of the sovereign courts; and that such measures were, in fact, to be considered as real hostilities.

The duke of Guienne made no direct answer to these observations; but the lord of Lescun, to whom he had entrusted the government of his duchy, contrived an effectual expedient for defeating their effects. He proposed that the prince should marry the younger daughter of the count of Foix, and sent to ask the king's consent to this match, which Lewis was careful not to grant. The count of Foix, independent of the county whence he derived his title, possessed the county of Bigorre, and the principality of Bearn; his children were heirs to the kingdom of Navarre; he had already married one of his daughters to the duke of Brittany; and if the duke of Guienne had married the other, all those princes might have formed an alliance, which would only have left the monarch a doubtful and precarious authority over a considerable part of the kingdom. Unwilling, however, to alienate the affections of a powerful family, and to augment the number of his enemies, he would not openly reject his brother's demand; but wrote to Bouchage, ordering him artfully to elude the proposal—"Exert all the five senses which nature has given you, on this business," said the anxious monarch, "if you succeed, you will put me in Paradise."

Apprehensive lest, by his rejection of every match that was proposed to him, it should be imagined he meant always to keep his brother unmarried, an intention that could not fail to appear odious and tyrannical; and no longer daring to press his marriage with Jane of Castile, because he knew the prince's repugnance to a wife whose very birth was an object of dispute, Lewis, at length, proposed his eldest daughter,



ter, Anne of France, who was already promised to Nicholas, duke of Lorraine. To induce his brother to accept this proposal, he offered to cede to him, on the day of his marriage, Rouergue, Angoumois, the Limousin, and Poitou; and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with a guard of five hundred lances, to be paid out of the royal treasury. But the duke justly concluded that these offers were too splendid to be sincere; and as he was aware of the motive which had influenced his brother to make them, he did not condescend even to notice them.

After having employed to no purpose all the resources of policy, Lewis, who had now lost all hopes of either curing his brother's suspicions, or of conquering his obstinacy, turned his batteries against the duke of Burgundy himself; but as he was sensible that Charles was actuated by sentiments of hatred and revenge, he was afraid to make any direct overtures, which might perhaps be rejected, and would, in that case, certainly be rendered publick by the duke. In order to obviate this inconvenience, he sent a private person to Burgundy, who had orders to tell the duke, as from himself, that having had occasion to visit the court of France on some affairs of his own, he had an opportunity of entering into familiar conversation with the king, when the duke's name having been casually mentioned, Lewis had appeared to be impressed with sentiments of esteem and admiration for that prince; that, agreeably surprized at finding the monarch thus favourably disposed, he had ventured to tell him that Charles did not entertain a less favourable opinion of him, and that he would prefer his friendship to that of the princes who had so basely abandoned him in the hour of necessity; that this discourse had given the king such pleasure, that he could not refrain from observing that Charles and he were formed to be friends, and that if they had been more sensible of their true interests, they would have always lived in harmony with each other, and have aggrandised themselves at the expence of their respective enemies: that he had drawn up a plan of reconciliation, and that he should already have communicated it to the duke, could he have hoped that it would experience a favourable reception from Charles, but that hitherto he had strong ground for complaining of the unwillingness betrayed by that prince to repose any degree of confidence in him.

Charles's answer, who probably saw through this shallow artifice, was partly serious and partly ironical; he observed that these fine professions but ill-accored with the intelligence which he received from other quarters; that the king, if he had any real desire to become his friend, had it in his power to prove, in a very obvious manner, the sincerity of his intentions; that he should begin by restoring Saint-Quentin, Amiens, and the other places which he had taken from him, in violation of subsisting treaties; and that objects, so trifling in their nature, should not be suffered to operate as impediments to the designs of a prince who had such vast projects in contemplation. This answer was interspersed with many popular maxims, and trite observations.

Charles

Charles had, at this period, attained the summit of prosperity; the disgrace which he had experienced in the last campaign having been productive of more solid advantages than he could possibly have expected to derive from the most brilliant success. Immediately after the conclusion of the truce, he had convened the states of all the different provinces in his dominions, with the view to convince them that the king had only been induced to attack him in the hope of finding him wholly unprepared for resistance; that he should always be exposed to the same danger, unless Burgundy, in imitation of France, should adopt the mode of establishing a regular body of troops: he observed, that to preclude the possibility of being taken by surprise, and to secure the fortunes of individuals from the sudden depredations of the enemy, it was only necessary to grant an adequate supply for paying eight hundred lances, the annual expence whereof might amount to one hundred and twenty thousand crowns. The states accordingly granted the new subsidy, without reflecting on the consequences to which it might lead; they soon, however, became sensible of the fault they had committed: Charles, whose ambition increased in proportion to the means of gratification, doubled and even tripled the stipulated number of troops, and increased the original grant of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns to five hundred thousand. His court had become the center of political negotiations; his alliance was courted by all the neighbouring princes; and the only difficulty he experienced consisted in the choice of proposals, all advantageous in themselves, but incompatible with each other. The dukes of Guienne and Brittany, the constable, and several other great vassals of the crown, urged him to break the truce, and engaged to make the people rise in his favour: they offered him, as a preliminary to the treaty, the restitution of Amiens and Saint Quentin; but they required that the duke should cement the alliance by the marriage of his daughter with the duke of Guienne, and by an absolute renunciation of his plan for introducing the English into France.

On the other hand, Edward, who seemed disposed to enforce his pretensions to Guienne and Normandy, and who could not hope to succeed in his attempts to subdue those provinces, without the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, proposed to divide the kingdom of France between them<sup>73</sup>; but he wished first to be assured that the duke would not marry his daughter to the king's brother, otherwise he declared he would join Lewis in order to prevent an union that must prove more fatal to England than to France. The objections of the English monarch to the projected marriage between the heiress of Burgundy and the king's brother, were not devoid of foundation: as Lewis had but one son, whose health was in a doubtful state, the duke of Guienne was still considered as heir to the throne; and, on this supposition, the English had just reason to be alarmed at the prospect of an alliance which must one day have united the vast pos-

<sup>73</sup> Garnier.



sessions of the house of Burgundy to the crown of France, for what hopes could they then entertain of recovering Normandy and Guienne?—How could they even expect to keep Calais, the only place which they now possessed on the continent?

Edward's demand perfectly accorded with the secret views of Charles, who had never any intention of giving his daughter to the duke of Guienne; but he knew not what reliance he ought to place on a political connection with a monarch so indolent as Edward, and a government so unsettled as the English. Besides, in that case he must renounce all alliance with the French princes, and even expect to see them join their sovereign. These being apprized of the obstacles which Edward opposed to their plans, sent the lord D'Urfé to the duke, to represent to him, that they were sufficiently powerful to make the king accede to whatever conditions they might choose to impose; that his alliance with Edward would only tend to disgrace him in the opinion of the nation; and, they finally observed, that if he seriously thought of introducing the English into France, he could have no regard for the welfare of the kingdom:—This reproach appeared so extraordinary to the duke, that he could not refrain from laughter:—" *I have a greater regard,*" said Charles, *" for the welfare of the kingdom than M. D'Urfé imagines, for instead of one king that France now has, I wish she had six!"*

Lewis, unable to penetrate the secret designs of the duke of Burgundy, with regard to his daughter's marriage; and ignorant, probably, of the obligations which he had contracted with the king of England, was also anxious to open a negociation; not with the intention of concluding any treaty, but merely with the view of amusing his enemy, and of preventing him, as long as possible, from adopting any decisive measure. The answer which his obscure agent had received from Charles, was by no means sufficient to deter Lewis from the pursuit of his scheme; and when he imagined that the duke's curiosity was raised to the pitch he wished it to attain, he sent him the plan of a peace, of which the following were the principal articles: that "*A treaty of confederation and fraternity,*" should be concluded between the king and the duke; that the duke should accept the order of Saint Michael, and the king that of the Golden Fleece; that the dauphin should marry the duke of Burgundy's daughter, and, in case any thing should occur to prevent that connection from taking place, that Charles should engage not to give her to the duke of Guienne; that the king should give up the constable and the count of Nevers, with all their possessions, to the duke; in return for which concession the duke should, on his part, equally abandon the dukes of Guienne and Brittany to the king's discretion; and, finally, that the king should restore to the duke of Burgundy, the towns of Saint-Quentin, Amiens, Roie, and Montdidier.

Of all these conditions, the last was the only one which Charles was willing to accept; he therefore resolved, if possible, to secure that as a preliminary to the projected treaty, and then to give his sentiments on the others. With this view he affected to  
approve.

approve the project of reconciliation, and even appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with the king's envoys; but, as he was aware that fear was the only motive which could induce Lewis to court his friendship and alliance, he wisely concluded that by encreasing his apprehensions, he should facilitate the conclusion of the treaty; thus, while he continued the negociation, he hastened to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Castile, and with Juan, king of Arragon, father to Ferdinand. This last prince declared, that although in his former treaties with France, he had engaged to observe a strict neutrality in any contests which might arise between Lewis and Charles, yet he thought himself sufficiently authorized, by the conduct of the king of France, to revoke the promise he had made; that, in future, he would, on all occasions, espouse the quarrels of the duke of Burgundy, who, on his side, engaged to consider the interests of Burgundy and Arragon as inseparable; and both princes agreed to conclude neither peace nor truce with France, but by mutual consent.

Strengthened by this alliance, the duke of Burgundy immediately issued a declaration, which set forth that the king, by an infraction of the treaty of Peronne, had incurred the penalty denounced, by a particular article of that treaty, against either of the contracting parties, who should be guilty of any violation of its terms; and that, therefore, all the provinces and dominions of the house of Burgundy were wholly exempted from the jurisdiction of the French parliament, and from the obligation of homage to the king. In consequence of this declaration, the duke erected a sovereign court at Malines, to decide in all cases of appeal; and forbade his subjects, under pain of death, to apply in any case whatever to the parliament of Paris.

Lewis, feigning ignorance of this declaration, sent Peter Doriote, and the lord of Craon, to confer with the duke's ministers, on the subject of the proposed reconciliation; and these envoys had orders to obtain a renewal of the truce which was about to expire, and, at the same time, to delay, by every means in their power, the final conclusion of the treaty.

While the king thus sought to amuse his most formidable enemy, he directed his principal attention to Guienne, which he had resolved immediately to invade. As he wished to employ Tanneguy du Châtel on this service, and was afraid to leave the province of Roussillon, of which that nobleman was governor, without some experienced general, especially at a time when it was liable to be attacked by all the forces of Arragon, he engaged du Lau to procure, by an offer of twenty-four thousand crowns, the cession of that government from du Châtel. The offer was accepted; but du Châtel expressly stipulated that, in case he should be compelled, on any account, to leave France, he should be at liberty to retire into Roussillon, and to exert the authority of



governor; a precaution which plainly shews what little confidence was reposed in Lewis, even by those whom he honoured with *his* confidence.

All such as were discontented with the government, and all the personal enemies of Lewis<sup>74</sup>, now repaired to Guienne, which was destined to become the scene of war. They were all received with great cordiality by the duke, who, endeavouring to strengthen his party by the acquisition of allies, had lately recalled the count of Armagnac, and restored to him a part of his former possessions. The duke of Nemours and the count of Foix secretly supported his cause, and incited the nobility and inhabitants of the principal towns in the neighbouring provinces to rise in his favour. In short, the duke and his friends appeared firmly resolved to repel with the utmost vigour any attack that might be made by his brother, and even to revenge such an insult by carrying the war into the heart of his dominions. The determined spirit, and the general fermentation which prevailed on this occasion, were chiefly owing to the indefatigable exertions of the lord of Lescun, whose active genius and intriguing disposition rendered him a worthy opponent of the artful and hypocritical Lewis. This nobleman had endeavoured to incite to an unanimity of sentiment and action, the courts of Guienne, Brittany, Arragon, Savoy and Burgundy, whose united efforts might threaten France with destruction on every side. But in Guienne, where opposition might have been least expected, he experienced contradictions which his utmost zeal and abilities were scarcely able to overcome. Colette de Jambes, lady of Monforeau, being jealous of the minister's influence and power, had contrived to form a party against him, at the head of which was the lord of Malicorne, the duke's principal favourite. This lady, who, if the accounts of contemporary writers may be credited, was, both in mental and personal endowments, the most accomplished woman of the age, had, at a very early period of her life, been married to Lewis d'Amboise, Viscount of Thouars; but, after her husband's death, she had conceived an attachment for the duke of Guienne, by whom she had two daughters. As the chief object of Lescun's plan was to procure a wife for the duke, it is not to be wondered at that she should have raised up every opposition to it in her power; that minister, however, seemed to acquire fresh zeal from the obstacles which he had to encounter, and persevered, in the pursuit of his scheme, with astonishing diligence. Lewis, on his side, made his troops advance, and gave his final orders to his generals; Dammartin was to make an irruption into the duchy on the side of Gascony, Crussol on the side of Saintonge, and Tanneguy du Châtel on the side of Poitou.

<sup>74</sup>-Comines. Belcar. Hist. de Languedoc, par Dom Vaissète. Chroniq., Scandal. Cabinet de Louis XI.  
MS. de le Grand.

While

While affairs were in this critical situation, and the flames of war were ready to extend from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, while the formidable opposition which Lewis had reason to expect in Guienne, had disabled him from putting the other parts of his dominions in a proper state of defence, and while that monarch had just cause to fear the united attacks of three powerful enemies; an event occurred so unexpected and mysterious, that it could not fail to be ascribed to the infernal machinations of a prince, to whom it was productive of such signal advantages. Intelligence was received in the French army that the lady of Monforeau was at the point of death, and that the duke of Guienne was also dangerously ill. It has always been believed that they were both poisoned by eating a peach which had been previously prepared for the purpose; and that John Faure de Vercors or Versois, a Benedictine monk, abbot of Saint John d'Angeli; and an officer of the duke's household, named Henry de la Roche, were the authors, or rather the instruments employed in the perpetration of this crime. It appears, however, that, immediately after its commission, no suspicions were entertained of them, as the monk continued in favour, and was even appointed one of the executors of the lady of Monforeau; but, it must not be forgotten that he wrote to the king on the subject, informing him that his brother had but a few hours to live, as appears from a letter written by Lewis to the count of Damartin <sup>75</sup>.

In proportion as the duke of Guienne grew weaker, his ardour for the accomplishment of his plans encreased: he dispatched couriers to his allies; put his towns and fortresses in a proper state of defence, and issued orders for the immediate collection of his troops in every part of his appanage. Fearful of being abandoned at this critical period, he exacted a new oath of allegiance from his officers, by which they bound themselves to serve him against all men, not excepting the king. Many of them, however, sensible of his approaching end, refused to take the oath, and hastened to make their peace with Lewis.

A. D. 1472.] The king, who only wanted to gain time, sent fresh ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, with a proposal to submit the difference between them to arbitration; and with an offer to accept the pope's legate as the umpire. He, at the same time, endeavoured to intimidate the duke of Brittany, who was strengthening the fortifications of his towns, and arming his subjects. But Francis sent a spirited answer to the king, reproaching him with his duplicity, and his insidious attempts to disturb the tranquillity of his dominions; after which he conjured the duke of Burgundy not to disappoint the hopes of his allies by any farther delays.

Lewis, informed of these solicitations, and perceiving, by the duke of Burgundy's

<sup>75</sup> Garnier, tom. xvii. p. 474, 475.



preparations, that he might expect to be immediately attacked, sent orders to his plenipotentiaries to accede to any terms which Charles might wish to impose. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the king consented to restore the towns of Amiens, Saint-Quentin, Montdidier, and Roye, to the duke of Burgundy; and to give up to him the constable, and the count of Nevers, a prince of the house of Burgundy, but an avowed enemy to the reigning branch, which had despoiled him of a part of his possessions: the duke, on his side, consented to renounce all alliance with the dukes of Guienne and Brittany. Neither party had the smallest intention of fulfilling the terms of this agreement; the object of Charles was to get possession of the towns which had been taken from him, after which he meant publicly to declare, that he pardoned the constable, and the count of Nevers, and therefore expected that the king would be equally indulgent to the dukes of Brittany and Guienne, otherwise he should march to their relief. The intention of Lewis was only to gain time, and, immediately after his brother's death, to declare that he did not think himself bound to keep his word with a prince who had not dealt openly with him.

The treaty was no sooner signed than Charles demanded immediate possession of the towns which were to be restored to him; but the plenipotentiaries not being authorized to comply with his demand, advised him to make his army advance to the frontiers, and to send some confidential servant to the king, to exact from him an oath to observe the treaty, and to procure the necessary orders for the evacuation of the places in question; but, the lord of Quingei, who was intrusted with this commission, was unable to obtain any satisfactory answer from Lewis, who continued to put him off from day to day. The duke of Guienne was, by this time, at the point of death, and the natural goodness of his disposition led him, in his last moments, to dismiss all sentiments of hatred from his mind, and to ask from his brother the same forgiveness of injuries which he so willingly extended to him: he appointed Lewis his sole legatee, earnestly beseeching him to confirm a few legacies which he had bequeathed to some old servants of approved fidelity. His death spread consternation and alarm throughout his palace; and most of those who had hitherto persevered in their attachment to the unfortunate prince, now courted the good graces of his tyrannical brother. Malicorne, his chief favourite, was the first to convey the *welcome* tidings to Lewis, and to acquaint him with the last requests of his deceased master. Lescun, however, persisted in his hatred of a monarch, whom he had now but too great reason to detest; he had discovered the assassins of the prince, and thrown them into irons, when finding their infamy detected, they confessed their guilt, and openly accused the king of having instigated them to the commission of the dreadful deed. Lescun being compelled to quit Guienne, took the two criminals with him to Brittany, where he delivered them to the duke, with this solemn exhortation: "In order to revenge the best of masters, and most faithful of friends, I resign into your hands these traitors, who have basely taken away the life of their lawful prince, in the hope that you will make a signal example of them. Think on what you owe  
" to

“to the memory of a prince who so richly deserved your friendship: his soul now demands from God an exemplary vengeance on these his assassins; may he see, from the mansions of the dead, in what manner I fulfil my engagements!” “They shall have the reward they merit,” replied the duke; “and would that those who urged them to the commission of the crime were equally in my power; they should not easily escape.”

Lewis, pretending that by his brother's death he was released from the necessity of fulfilling the engagements which his plenipotentiaries had contracted with the duke of Burgundy, now openly declared to the lord of Quingei, that he should not confirm a treaty, in the conclusion of which the duke had displayed a want of candour, and betrayed the most pernicious designs<sup>76</sup>. Charles, enraged at the idea of having thus suffered himself to be deceived by the shallow arts of his rival, gave a full scope to his resentment, and published a violent manifesto, in which he recapitulated the particulars of the plot, which, at the king's instigation, had been formed against his life, by his natural brother, Baldwin, John de Chassa, and John d'Arson; he added, that Lewis, persisting in his infamous designs of destroying all the princes of the blood-royal of France, had just caused his brother to be put to death, by *poison, witchcraft, and diabolical invocations*, as was proved by the confession of the two culprits whom he had seduced. For these two attempts, pursued the duke, one against the first peer of the realm, the other against the first prince of the blood, he deserves to be pronounced guilty of homicide; of high-treason against the crown, the princes of the blood, and the public welfare; a traitor, a parricide, and an idolator; each of these assertions he supported by quotations from the scriptures, from the Decretals, and from the fathers of the church; and he concluded by exhorting all christian-princes to unite their arms against this common enemy.

This manifesto, however, which was distributed in every town in the kingdom, produced but little effect. Lewis, intent on the reduction of Guienne, did not deign to answer it; and he even suffered the long space of eighteen months to elapse, before he adopted any measures for clearing himself from the heavy accusations which had been preferred against him. At the expiration of that period, he appointed commissioners to try the two criminals, who were still confined in the Breton prisons; but while they were engaged in the investigation of this infamous transaction, the abbot of Saint John d'Angeli was found dead in his cell, with evident marks of violence about his person; what became of the other culprit, Henry de la Roche, is not known; nor have any of the proceedings of the commissioners, nor the other examinations of the criminals, been preserved. It was commonly believed, however, that the king had not scrupled to conceal the first crime, by the perpetration of a second, and every part of his conduct, no less than his character, tended to confirm this belief. It



was justly observed, that he had made no attempt to justify himself till after he had effected a reconciliation with the duke of Brittany, and had drawn the lord of Lescun into his service; and that the criminals had disappeared at such a critical period, it was impossible to suppose they had died a natural death. It was likewise remarked, that Lewis d'Amboise, one of the commissioners, was, soon after, promoted to the bishopric of Albi; and that Peter de Sacierges, who had officiated as secretary to the commission, was made a master of requests. It must be confessed that all these circumstances amount only to a presumptive evidence, but then the presumption is so strong, that, combined with the known disposition of Lewis, and other considerations which naturally present themselves to the mind, it appears to us irresistible. Brantome relates a story which, were it better authenticated, would settle the matter beyond all possibility of dispute: he pretends, that the secret of this murder was discovered by means of a fool who had lived with the duke of Guienne, and on his death had been taken into the king's service. "This good king," says the jovial historian, "being one day at Cleri  
 "repeating his prayers and orisons at the shrine of the Virgin, whom he called his good  
 "patroness, and none being present at the time except this fool, who was at a little dis-  
 "tance from the king, and whom his majesty believed to be so stupid, so vain, and so  
 "foolish, that he could pay no attention to any thing that was said, he proceeded thus  
 "to pray aloud—Ah! my good lady, my little mistress, my great friend, in whom I  
 "have always placed my trust, I beseech you to pray to God for me, and to become my  
 "advocate with him, to intreat him to pardon me my brother's death, whom I caused  
 "to be poisoned by that wicked abbot of Saint John: to you, my good patroness and mis-  
 "tress, I confess my crime." It is needless to comment on the improbability of this story, which Brantome acknowledges to have received from an old canon of eighty, who had, himself, heard it from another person; but if it does not tend to the confirmation of the king's guilt, it certainly does not diminish its probability.

After his brother's death, Lewis entered Guienne, which he reduced without the smallest opposition<sup>77</sup>; the inhabitants of the different towns only stipulating for the preservation of their privileges. These the king cheerfully confirmed, it being a maxim with him to favour the growth of the municipal government, which he justly considered as the first cause of the humiliation of the aristocracy. He even granted permission to the inhabitants of Rochelle to carry on a free trade with the English and the other enemies of the state, a privilege which might tend to the introduction of a neutral power, and the establishment of an independent republic in the heart of the monarchy. He again made the city of Bourdeaux the seat of the parliament, which, on the cession of Guienne to his brother, had been transferred to Poitiers; and finding his presence necessary in another quarter, he even concluded an accommodation with the count of Armagnac, and con-

<sup>77</sup> *Manusc. de la Grand.*

sented to leave him in possession of that part of his territories to which he had been lately restored by the duke of Guienne. He then appointed the lord of Beaujeu, governor of the province, and marched towards Brittany with an army of fifty thousand men.

The duke of Brittany, though he had spared no pains to put his dominions in a proper state of defence, still found himself unable to cope with an enemy so powerful as Lewis; and as he was in daily expectation of a strong reinforcement from England, he resolved to propose a short truce to the French monarch, during which, he observed, effectual means for a final accommodation might be adopted. The king, conscious of his superiority in the arts of negociation, accepted the proposal; not perceiving, that by that means he would lose the favourable moment for action, and that his enemy was only seeking to gain time in order to facilitate the reception of those succours which he expected from his allies.

The duke of Burgundy, meanwhile, had spread devastation throughout the fertile province of Picardy; with an army of eighty-thousand men he had passed the Somme, and invested the town of Nesle<sup>78</sup>, whose inhabitants massacred the herald which he had sent to summon them to surrender. In revenge for this barbarous act, Charles, after he had reduced the place, inhumanly ordered the garrison and citizens to be massacred, without distinction of age or sex; some few, who had escaped the rage of the soldiery, had their right hands cut off, and were sent, in that situation, to the king; after which the town was reduced to ashes.

The garrisons of Roye and Montdidier, terrified by the fate of their fellow soldiers, resigned those towns to the victor, whose next attempts were directed against Beauvais. That place, though destitute of troops, resisted his efforts; and neither the demolition of the suburbs, nor the formidable force of the enemy, could induce the brave citizens to surrender. Even the women here performed prodigies of valour; they lined the walls in those parts which were most open to attack, and exposed themselves to every kind of danger. One of these heroines forced a standard from the enemy, and bore it off in triumph to the town. This vigorous and unexpected defence gave time for the arrival of troops, which was facilitated by the neglect of Charles completely to invest the place. The duke was now foiled in every attack; a strong body of forces, detached by the king, under the conduct of Dammartin, harassed his troops, and intercepted his convoys; and, after a general assault, in which he was repulsed with the loss of one hundred and twenty killed, and one thousand wounded<sup>79</sup>, he raised the siege, entered the country of Caux, seized the towns of Eu, and Saint Vallery, delivered Longueville to the flames, and extended his devastations as far as the gates of Rouen, before which

<sup>78</sup> Meyer—Commines—Le Grand—Chron. Scand.—Cabinet Satyr.

<sup>79</sup> Commines.



city he remained four days, in order to fulfil his engagement with the duke of Brittany, who had appointed that spot for the junction of the two armies.

While the duke was thus employed in committing devastations in Normandy, the garrisons of Amiens and Saint Quentin had penetrated into the heart of his dominions, and laid waste the country with fire and sword. The war, too, raged with equal violence in Champagne and Burgundy: the count of Rouffi, eldest son to the constable, who commanded the duke's army at the same time that his father was placed at the head of the French troops, carried desolation into the environs of Tonnerre, Joigny, Troyes, and Langres, burning all the towns and villages which fell into his hands. The duchy of Burgundy was exposed to similar depredations from the dauphin of Auvergne, who commanded for the king in that quarter; and such were the acts of violence committed on either side, that an ancient chronicler observes, the French and Burgundians, mad with rage, were less eager to make conquests, than intent on mutual destruction<sup>80</sup>. The duke of Burgundy, urged by the solicitations of his subjects, the ravage of his provinces, the dearth of provisions which prevailed in his army, and his desire of inflicting vengeance on the constable for sacking his towns, at length found himself compelled to leave Normandy, and return to the banks of the Somme, where he reviewed his army, which had suffered so much in this fruitless expedition, as to be wholly inadequate to any enterprize of importance.

Lewis, in reward of the valour and fidelity displayed by the citizens of Beauvais, to whom he chiefly ascribed the success of this campaign, granted them privileges equal, if not superior, to those which were enjoyed by the nobility<sup>81</sup>: he allowed them to hold fiefs, and re-re-fiefs, exempt from the usual contributions, and from all the services attached to that species of possession; he accorded them a general exemption from all imposts whatever, except such as they might levy themselves for the support and repair of their fortifications; and he allowed them a total freedom of choice in the election of their municipal officers. The women, who had signalized their courage and fidelity, in, at least, an equal degree with the men, were not forgotten; it was ordained, that, at an annual festival to be celebrated at Beauvais, in honour of Saint Angadresme, whose relics had been exposed on the walls during the siege, the women should take precedence of the men, both in the procession and at church; that, as well during this ceremony, as at any other time they chose, they might wear silks, furs, and belts of gold; ornaments which had hitherto been confined by the laws to people of distinction, and which the citizen's wives had been long anxious to acquire the privilege of wearing; and, lastly, Lewis granted to Jane Fourquet, the young heroine who had taken the stan-

<sup>80</sup> Chron. Manusc.—Commines—Meyer.

<sup>81</sup> Histoire de Beauvais—Manusc. de le Grand—Preuves de l'Histoire de Duclos—Chron. Scandal.

dard from the enemy, and to Colin Pilon, whom she had just married, a total exemption from taxes throughout the kingdom.

The truce between the king and the duke of Brittany having expired, Lewis entered the dominions of Francis, and reduced Chantocé, Machecou, and Ancenis<sup>82</sup>. He then advanced as far as Pouancé, and offered battle to the duke, who was alike unwilling to risk an action, and to conclude a peace. Being compelled, however, by his subjects to sue for an accommodation, he appointed Souplainville and Defeffarts, two friends of the lord of Lescun, who still governed the councils of Brittany, to treat with the king. Lewis, who was anxious to attach Lescun to his interest, from the conviction that he then should have nothing to apprehend from the side of Brittany, gave the deputies a *carte-blanche* for themselves and their friends. Lescun asked and obtained the government of one half of the duchy of Guienne; the county of Comminges; the order of Saint Michael; a pension of six thousand livres, and a gratification of twenty-four thousand crowns. Souplainville procured for himself a present of six thousand crowns, and a pension of twelve hundred livres; with the offices of mayor of Bayonne, bailiff of Montargis, and some other places of authority in Guienne. Defeffarts was appointed bailiff of Meaux, master of the rivers and forests in Champagne and Brie, with an annual pension of twelve hundred livres, and an immediate gratification of four thousand crowns. The duke of Brittany, himself, obtained a pension either of sixty or eighty thousand livres, for authors differ as to the sum; and, on these conditions he concluded a truce for a year, and consented to leave the towns which Lewis had reduced in the possession of that monarch, till such time as a final treaty of peace should be signed. The only stipulation which he made in favour of his ally, the duke of Burgundy, was, that he should be allowed to accede to this truce if he chose it; and of this privilege Charles was induced, by the state of his army, and by some other considerations, so far to avail himself, as to consent to a cessation of arms for a few months.

About this period Philip de Commines, the historian, quitted the court of Burgundy, and entered the service of Lewis<sup>83</sup>, as he has neglected to explain, in his memoirs, the reasons for this desertion of a master who had loaded him with honours and rewards, and to whose family he was indebted for the distinction which he enjoyed, his conduct is justly exposed to the charge of ingratitude.

A. D. 1473.] The success of the king's arms during the last campaign, had by no means restored tranquillity to France. The count of Armagnac, undismayed by his former disgrace, observing that the king was engaged in Brittany, that the duke of Burgundy was suffered to ravage Picardy and Normandy, and the king of Arragon was pre-

<sup>82</sup> Commines—Meyer—Dom Lobineau—Le Grand.

<sup>83</sup> Notes de Godefroi sur Varillas.



paring to attack the county of Roussillon, thought the moment favourable for obtaining possession of Lectoure, which was then regarded as the key to Guienne and Gascony. For this purpose he corrupted some of the officers of the garrison, by whose means he secured the place and its governor, the lord of Beaujeu, whom Lewis had appointed his lieutenant-general in Guienne.

At the same time, the king of Arragon made an irruption into Roussillon, and exhorted his old subjects to shake off the French yoke, and return to their lawful sovereign. The citizens of Perpignan, moved by his exhortations, flew to arms, and compelled du Lau, the governor of the province, to shut himself up in the citadel. The example of the capital was followed by several other towns; Elne, Argiles, and Canet expelled their garrisons, and Salies, Collioure, and the citadel of Perpignan, were soon the only places that remained in possession of the French.

The uneasiness which Lewis experienced on the receipt of this news, was farther increased by intelligence, that the duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood, and father-in-law to the count of Armagnac, had entered into a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, for surrendering to that prince all the towns and fortresses he possessed in Normandy and Maine; a measure which, had it taken effect, must have been attended with the most serious consequences. In this delicate conjuncture, Lewis was at a loss how to act; his first care, however, was to persuade the duke of Burgundy to prolong the truce for a year, which he effected, with some difficulty, through the mediation of the duke of Brittany, whose good offices he had secured by the voluntary restitution of the town of Ancenis, and by the payment of one quarter of his yearly pension.

Another enemy which Lewis had to encounter, was Nicholas d'Anjou, duke of Lorraine, and titular duke of Calabria, who had been affianced to the princess Anne, daughter to the king, but, who having conceived a disgust at the conduct of Lewis, in offering the hand of his destined bride to the duke of Guienne, had retired into Flanders; where Charles had sought to attach him to his interest by making him a tender of his daughter, the sole heiress to all his dominions. The king, however, was freed from all apprehensions from that quarter, by the death of Nicholas, who expired suddenly, not without suspicions of having been poisoned.

Immediately after the prolongation of the truce, the king secured the person of the duke of Alençon, whom he delivered into the hands of the parliament of Paris. But the count of Armagnac was a more formidable enemy, since he had thrown a strong garrison into the castle of Lectoure, and made every preparation for an obstinate defence. Lewis, not daring to leave his frontiers exposed to the attacks of the duke of Burgundy, employed the militia of the southern provinces to reduce the count; but after that nobleman had sustained a siege of two months, the season being far advanced, and the king of Arragon having embraced the

the opportunity to complete the reduction of Roussillon, the king sent orders to his generals to open a negociation with him. The terms required by the count, were these: he demanded a safe conduct that he might appear at court, and justify himself to the king, with regard to the crimes of which he was accused; such an establishment for the countess, his wife, as would enable her to live in a manner suitable to her rank and birth; a general amnesty for all his followers and partizans; and a confirmation of the privileges of the citizens and other inhabitants of Lectoure. These conditions were immediately accepted by cardinal Jouffroi, bishop of Albi, who commanded the expedition, and, in order to give the greater solemnity to the agreement, that prelate is said to have broken a consecrated wafer, one half of which he gave to the count, and the other he swallowed himself. Every thing being thus arranged, they were proceeding to fulfil the articles of the capitulation, when the king's troops, profiting by the security of the garrison, entered the town, and forced their way to the count's house, where one Gorgias massacred him with his poniard. For this abominable act of treachery, which Lewis himself had doubtless commanded, that execrable tyrant rewarded the assassin with a silver cup filled with money, and a commission in his own guards. The countess of Armagnac, and her female attendants, were stripped by a brutal soldiery; the houses of the citizens were pillaged; their wives and daughters ravished; and the old men and children inhumanly massacred; after which the town was reduced to ashes. That nothing might be wanting to complete the horror of the scene, the countess, who was pregnant, was dragged to the castle of Buzet, where the savages compelled her to swallow a noxious draught, calculated to destroy the infant in her womb; and which, in the short space of two days, put a period to her own existence. Several of the count's partizans were afterwards brought to the scaffold.

After the death of the count of Armagnac, Lewis made a fruitless attempt to recover the county of Roussillon; foiled by the talents and courage of the old king of Arragon, he was compelled to accept a truce for two months; and, after throwing supplies into the citadel of Perpignan, and the towns of Salies and Callioure, the army returned to France.

The duke of Burgundy had been induced to consent to the prolongation of the truce with France, by an opportunity which presented itself at that time for extending his dominions on the side of the Rhine<sup>44</sup>. From Sigismund, the prodigal and voluptuous duke of Austria, he acquired, for the sum of eighty thousand German florins, the county of Ferrette or Pfirt, and the Landgraviate of Alsace, subject to redemption by that prince or his heirs; and, by the will of Arnou, duke of Gueldres, he succeeded to that duchy, and to the county of Zutphen, to the prejudice of Adolphus, who, on account of his unnatural conduct, had been disinherited by his father.

<sup>44</sup> Histoire de Lorraine par Dom Calmet—Harcei Annal. Brabant.



Lewis profited by this interval of repose to marry his two daughters; Anne, the eldest, who had been affianced to the duke of Lorraine, he gave to Peter of Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, and presumptive heir to the duke of Bourbon. The youngest, Mary, who was greatly inferior to her sister, both in personal and mental endowments, married the duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, to whom she had been promised in her infancy. Each of the princesses had one hundred thousand crowns assigned them for their marriage portion.

During a fruitless negociation for a peace that was opened between Lewis and the duke of Burgundy, the constable perceiving the impossibility of a perfect reconciliation between such inveterate rivals, resolved to make some attempt towards the establishment of that independence to which he had so long aspired. With this view he had the audacity to expel the king's troops from the town of Saint Quentin, of which he was governor, to introduce a garrison of his own, and to exact an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants. Lewis, enraged at the rebellious conduct of this powerful subject, immediately suppressed his pensions, and seized on all the estates which he possessed in France; but, on cool reflection, these proceedings appeared to him imprudent, since they might force the constable to claim the protection of the duke of Burgundy; he, therefore, determined to temporize, and expressed a willingness to listen to the constable's justification. Saint Paul then informed him, by letter, that having detected a correspondence between the duke of Burgundy and the garrison of Saint Quentin, the only mode that occurred to him of preserving the place from the attempts of the enemy, was to take possession of it himself, and garrison it with troops and officers on whose fidelity he could rely. Lewis, pretending to be a dupe to this artifice, endeavoured to draw the constable to court, by sending him word that he wished to consult him on matters of the highest importance. But Saint Paul was too well acquainted with the king's disposition to fall into the snare; he declined the interview, and entered into a private negociation with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and with some of the discontented nobility of France.

A. D. 1474.] At the commencement of this year, one John Hardy had formed a plan for poisoning the king, at the instigation, it is said, of Ithier, a rich merchant, who had formerly been in the service of the duke of Guienne, but, since the death of that prince, had retired into Flanders. Two of the king's domestics, to whom Hardy had applied for assistance in the prosecution of his scheme, revealed it to Lewis, and the criminal was accordingly tried by the municipal officers of Paris, who sentenced him to be quartered alive. Soon after this event, the truce between the king and the duke of Burgundy was prolonged to the first of May, 1475.

The prolongation of this truce alarmed the king of Arragon, with whom Lewis had lately concluded a fraudulent treaty, which he resolved to break on the first favourable opportunity

opportunity that should occur. In order to sound his intentions, the Arragonian monarch sent ambassadors to France, to complain of the conduct of the French governors, who were guilty of continual infractions of the treaty; and, if they should find it impossible to obtain redress, they were then to assert the claims of Arragon to Roussillon and Cerdagna. Lewis refused an audience to these ambassadors, and referred them to a council whom he had appointed to receive their complaints. The council, in compliance with the instructions they had received, put them off from time to time, on the most frivolous pretexts, and, in short, convinced them, by their conduct, that the chief object of their embassy must remain unaccomplished. Finding this to be the case, they proceeded to enforce the pretensions of their master to the disputed territories. The counties of Roussillon and Cerdagna had always—they observed—formed a part of the kingdom of Arragon, till the treaty of 1462, when they had been first ceded to the king of France, on condition that he should pay the Arragonian monarch the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, and supply him with six hundred lances, and a suitable train of artillery, till such time as he should have completed the reduction of Catalonia; that the king of France, however, had not only neglected to fulfil this last part of the agreement, but had even fomented the revolt of the Catalonians, and openly sent succours to John of Anjou, duke of Lorraine, who had placed himself at the head of the rebels.

These were facts that would not admit of confutation; but Lewis was neither to be swayed by reason or justice, in opposition to the suggestions of interest. The ambassadors therefore were dismissed, but means were found to detain them on the road, till such time as a French army had entered Roussillon, and reduced the town of Elne, the governor of which they beheaded. They then took Figuières, and proceeded to invest the strong town of Perpignan.

Fresh conferences were now opened between the king and the duke of Burgundy; and their plenipotentiaries, having met at Bouvines, unanimously agreed to consider the constable as the chief obstacle to the conclusion of a peace; it was he, they observed, who, in order to gratify his own insatiate ambition, had been the first promoter of the war for the public good; it was he who had first suggested the idea of a marriage between the duke of Guienne and the princess of Burgundy; and it was he who had engaged the king to break the treaty of Peronne, by promising to put him in possession of Amiens and Saint Quentin: since that time, they added, he had been studious to foment the animosity which subsisted between the king and the duke, by calumnious assertions, and by false reports; a perfidious friend, a dangerous spy, fertile in the invention of plots and stratagems, he would never, they averred, permit the restoration of peace and concord. His ruin was, therefore, resolved on; and Lewis, who had not forgotten his audacity, in the affair of Saint Quentin, cheerfully confirmed the resolution of the plenipotentiaries. It was agreed that the king should cede to the duke of Burgundy, Saint Quentin, Ham, and Bohain; and that the duke should, in return, secure the constable, and deliver him

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up to Lewis; but notwithstanding every precaution that prudence could suggest for keeping secret the principal object of this negociation, the constable gained intelligence of what was in agitation. He immediately wrote to the king, observing, that the duke of Burgundy, enraged at his inability either to surprize or seduce him, was endeavouring to promote his ruin, but as it would be an easy matter for him to justify his conduct, he entreated the king not to force him to an involuntary acceptance of the duke's offers. Lewis, whose suspicions were ever awake, imagined that the duke of Burgundy had, himself, informed the constable of the object of their negociation, in order to induce him to court his protection; and, under this impression, he dispatched a courier to his plenipotentiaries, ordering them to retract any offers they might have made; and, at the same time, he accepted the constable's proposal for an interview, which accordingly took place, on a bridge, between La Fere and Noyon, where the same precautions were adopted that had been employed to so little purpose, at the fatal conference on the bridge of Montereau. Lewis listened with attention to the constable's justification of his own conduct, and pretending to be convinced by his arguments, he loaded that imperious vassal with caresses, and permitted him to return. But the deep dissimulation of Lewis was not unmarked by the penetrating eye of Saint-Paul, who now plainly perceived that his destruction was fully resolved on. He had but one means of averting the impending danger; which was, by surrendering the towns in his possession to the duke of Burgundy, but in that case he must have renounced his favourite project of independence, and have submitted to the mercy and caprice of a master to whom he had given just cause for offence. The obstinate struggle which took place in his mind between fear and ambition, prevented him from adopting any decisive resolution. Three times did he invite the Burgundian troops to take possession of Saint Quentin, and as often did he shut the gates against them.

The duke of Alençon was now brought to trial by the parliament of Paris, and being convicted of conspiring against the state; of maintaining a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the kingdom; of homicide; of confiscating the current coin of the realm; and of an intent to deliver his towns to the duke of Burgundy; he was pronounced guilty of high treason, and condemned to die.—All his possessions were declared to be forfeited to the crown<sup>85</sup>. His punishment, however, was changed into perpetual imprisonment, and the greater part of his estates were restored to his son, the count of Perche. The duke died in prison, about two years after his trial.

An insurrection of the people of Bourges, on account of an extraordinary tax for the repair and support of the fortifications of that city, though speedily quelled, alarmed the jealous and suspicious temper of Lewis, who conceived it to be the effect of some gene-

<sup>85</sup> Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 97.

ral plan for overturning his government. He therefore established an armed inquisition in Bourges, the members whereof had full power of life and death over all the inhabitants, of whatever rank; and they were strictly enjoined by Lewis, to be diligent in their search, and severe in their punishments; the tyrant even designated some of the principal citizens, who, he desired, might be hanged at the doors of their own houses. Fortunately, the commissioners were more just and merciful than their sovereign; some few only of the insurgents were executed, though many of the inhabitants were banished, and still more of them fined. The municipal officers were deposed; and a mayor and twelve aldermen chosen in their stead; the king reserving to himself the right of naming them.

But the attention of Lewis was soon called to objects of a more alarming nature, to dangers of greater magnitude, which threatened no less than the subversion of his throne, and the destruction of the monarchy. We have already observed, that immediately after the defeat of the Lancastrians by Edward the Fourth, that monarch had proposed to assist the duke of Burgundy in conquering the kingdom of France, but that the duke had then been induced to reject the proposal, through fear of offending the French nobility, with whom he had formed an alliance. This objection, however, being now removed by the death of the duke of Guienne, the project was revived. Edward, still stimulated by a spirit of revenge against Lewis, for the assistance which he had already afforded to the house of Lancaster, and urged by his fears for the protection which he might still afford to the friends of that family, determined to attack his dominions; and, though the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, during Edward's exile, had not been such as could inspire him with any sentiments of esteem for that prince, the political interests of their states proved the means of maintaining a close connection between them; and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invasion of France. A league was accordingly formed, in which Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army exceeding ten thousand men, and to make an incursion into the territories of Lewis; Charles promised to join him with all his forces; the king of England was to lay claim to the crown of France, and to obtain, at least, the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; while the duke was to acquire Champagne, and to exonerate all his dominions from the burthen of homage to the French monarch; and neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other<sup>86</sup>.

The duke of Brittany also joined the league, and was to obtain the county of Poitou as his portion of the spoil; he required to be supplied with a body of English troops, to the amount of three thousand; and promised to do more good to the cause of the confederates in one month, by the secret correspondence which he maintained in France,

<sup>86</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xi. p. 804, 843.



than the combined forces of England and Burgundy could effect in six; for which purpose, however, he deemed it necessary to dissemble with Lewis<sup>87</sup>. The constable, too, was not idle on this occasion; he secretly engaged to receive the English into Saint Quentin, and into the other towns which he occupied on the river Somme.

If Charles had been as careful in the regulation of his own conduct, as he was in directing the future operations of his allies; if he had employed the interval of tranquillity allowed him by the truce in forming alliances with the neighbouring princes, in disciplining his troops, and in preparing magazines; if, intent on his principal object, he had rejected all schemes that were foreign from it; it is certain that France would have been exposed to the most imminent danger, and that Lewis, in spite of his courage and activity, must, infallibly, have been subdued. Independent of the combined forces of England, Burgundy, and Brittany, he had to dread the efforts of the constable, whose office, birth, fortune, and abilities, gave him a great influence over the minds of the French nobility. The duke of Bourbon was discontented with the king, and was also the friend and ally of the house of Burgundy; René d'Anjou, titular king of Sicily, ascribing all his losses and misfortunes to Lewis, had already conceived a design of making Charles his heir; the duke of Nemours was enraged at the humiliation he had lately experienced, and at the assassination of his kinsman, the count of Armagnac; the duchess of Savoy, sister to Lewis, allured by the hope of marrying her son to the heiress of Burgundy, had embraced the party of Charles, and had prevailed on the duke of Milan to follow her example; the king of Naples, whose son was at the court of Burgundy, might be reckoned as another enemy; and the king of Arragon, and his son prince Ferdinand, were actually at war with France. What forces could Lewis have opposed to enemies thus numerous and powerful? His attempts to defend one province must have left all the others open to attack; the most splendid victory could only have secured the preservation of a town, while a single defeat might have proved fatal to the monarchy. Charles, who was the soul of the confederacy, had it now in his power to decide on the fate of France; but, hurried away by the native impetuosity of his mind, and by his inordinate ambition, he had not courage to resist the deceitful allurements of fortune: with a view to extend his dominions on the side of Germany, and to forward the accomplishment of his favourite project, the erection of his territories into a kingdom, he undertook to restore the bishop of Cologne, who had been deposed by the people<sup>88</sup>. This engaged him in a war with the whole Germanic body; and the obstinate defence made by the strong town of Nuiz on the Rhine, in the siege of which his whole army was employed, disabled him from fulfilling his treaty with Edward, and, of course, disconcerted all his projects, with regard to the conquest of France.

<sup>87</sup> Garnier.<sup>88</sup> Meyer. *Annal. Fland.*Harxi *Annales Ducum Brabantie, ac tumultuum Belgicorum.*  
Comines. MS. de le Grand.

Lewis, meanwhile, formed an alliance with the Swiss cantons, and promoted a reconciliation between them and Sigismond, duke of Austria, who was anxious to recover the county of Ferrette, and the Landgraviate of Alsace, which he had pledged to the duke of Burgundy. All the Imperial towns on the Upper Rhine joined this confederacy, and, as they had an evident interest in preventing Charles from forming any establishments in their vicinity, they supplied Sigismond with the sum that was requisite for the redemption of his territories. Charles refusing to accept the money, the allies entered the county of Ferrette, and restored it to the duke of Austria; the Swiss then penetrated into Franche-Comté, defeated the provincial militia, took the towns of Blamont and Gramont by assault, and, after cutting in pieces a body of troops under the command of the count of Romont, a prince of the house of Savoy, returned to their mountains, laden with booty.

A. D. 1475 ] During these transactions, the king of England had been employed in making the most formidable preparations for his projected enterprize, and in forming farther alliances in order to ensure its success. He concluded treaties with the emperor, and with Ferdinand, king of Sicily; he also prolonged the truce with Scotland to the year 1515, and secured the friendship of the Scots, by concluding a contract of marriage between their prince and his then youngest daughter, the princess Cecilia, both of them infants. All the necessary preparations being, at length, completed, Edward sailed from Sandwich about Midsummer, and landed safe at Calais with a powerful army, consisting of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers, attended by all the principal nobility of England. His first step was to dispatch a herald to Lewis, to claim the crown of France, and to deliver him a defiance, in case of refusal. Lewis, instead of suffering his resentment to dictate an answer to the proud challenge he had received, gave the herald who brought it the most cordial reception; he assured him that he entertained the highest respect for his master, the king of England, who, he knew, had been urged to undertake the present expedition by the duke of Burgundy, and the constable; whose advice had been influenced by the most interested motives, and who would not fail to abandon their ally, the moment their own private views should be gratified. Lewis then made the herald a present of three hundred crowns; and promised him the farther sum of one thousand, if he would employ his good offices in effecting an accommodation. The herald, who was a native of Normandy, won by the condescension not less than the liberality of Lewis, readily promised to promote his views to the utmost of his power; and advised him to address all his proposals for peace to the lords Howard and Stanley, who had great influence over Edward, and who were averse from his present conduct. The French monarch then committed the herald to the care of Philip de Commines, with a strict charge to spare neither pains nor expence in making him contented with his reception.

The king now exerted himself to the utmost in order to put his kingdom in a proper  
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state of defence, and no resources were neglected which human foresight or activity could supply. The army which he had sent into Roussillon, was still engaged in the siege of Perpignan, which would probably have resisted every attempt to reduce it, but for the death of Henry, king of Castile, which called off the attention of the king of Arragon to another quarter. The dreadful situation to which the town was, by this time, reduced, may be conceived from the circumstance of a woman, who, having lost one of her children by hunger, cut the body into pieces, and used it as the means of preserving her own life, and that of her remaining child<sup>99</sup>. The inhabitants, unable any longer to support their complicated distresses, capitulated, and obtained the liberty, for such as should not chuse to remain in the town, to retire into the territories of the king of Arragon. Lewis, enraged at the resistance he had experienced, ordered the most opulent citizens of Perpignan, and all the principal nobility in the environs, to be massacred; but Boufle, who had been appointed governor of the province, exerted, on this occasion, the humanity of a Christian, and the dignity of a man; he peremptorily refused to obey the orders of this vindictive and blood-thirsty tyrant; and, by a spirited remonstrance, saved the destined victims from unmerited destruction.

The king, by the reduction of Perpignan, being enabled to form a junction of his forces, ordered his whole army to advance to the frontiers of Picardy; where they speedily reduced the towns of Tronquoi, Montdidier, Roie, Brai-upon-Somme, and Corbie. They then penetrated into the province of Artois, burnt a number of fortresses, and advanced to the very gates of Arras. The garrison, of that town, having made an injudicious sally, sustained a total defeat, and James de Saint-Paul, brother to the constable, was taken prisoner, with several other officers of rank.

Edward, in the mean time, had advanced into Picardy, expecting to be joined by the forces of the duke of Burgundy, according to the promise of that prince; but the army which Charles had led into Germany was, from the attacks of the enemy, and from the hardships of a winter campaign, rendered wholly unfit for farther service. To pacify Edward, who was greatly disgusted with his conduct, the duke repaired in person to the English camp, apologized for this breach of treaty, and assured him that the constable would surrender to him the strong town of St. Quentin; but when the English army approached that place, Saint-Paul fired upon them from the ramparts, and, by an unexpected sally, put great numbers of them to death. The duke of Burgundy, who was still with the English army, being neither able to account for this singular conduct of the constable, nor to support the severe reproaches of the English monarch, departed abruptly, and left Edward in a violent rage, bestowing execrations on his treacherous allies, and expressing

<sup>99</sup> MS. de le Grand.

his disgust at an expedition from which he was not likely to derive either honour or emolument.

During these transactions, a man arrived at Compiégne, from the English camp, who asked to speak with the king; he proved to be a lacquey in the service of the lord of Graffai, and having been the first prisoner that was taken, he was dismissed, according to a custom which then prevailed, without a ransom. On quitting the camp, he had met the lords Howard and Stanley, who had given him some money, and told him to recommend them to the good graces of the king, his master, in case he should find an opportunity of speaking to him. Proud of his commission, the man resolved on fulfilling it without delay; and, immediately after his arrival at Compiégne, though the night was far advanced, he insisted on seeing Lewis; but his request was refused; and, being taken for a spy, he was thrown into prison. Lewis, however, having paid him a visit, ordered him to be released, and determined to send him as a herald to Edward. The man, whose name was Merindot, having received his instructions, and being provided with the dress of a herald, which he was ordered not to put on till he should approach the English camp, lest, the object of his mission being discovered by the partizans of the duke of Burgundy, he should be prevented from proceeding, set out on his journey. The present disposition of Edward was highly favourable to the success of his negotiation; and he acquitted himself so well, that that monarch was induced to hold a council in his camp, near Peronne, on the thirteenth of August, in which the poverty of the army, the near approach of winter, and the treacherous neglect of his allies, were urged as strong incitements to the negotiation of a truce; and a commission was, accordingly, given to lord Howard and three others, for that purpose. The admiral of France, Saint-Pierre, and the bishop of Evreux, were appointed by the king to confer with the English plenipotentiaries.

Lewis, anxious to bring this affair to a speedy termination, ordered Doriote, who had succeeded to the high office of Chancellor, on the death of Juvenal des Ursins, to affix the great seal to six blank sheets of parchment, which he meant to employ for the purpose of attaching Edward's chief ministers and counsellors to his interest<sup>oo</sup>. He then sent the chancellor, with Matthew Beauvarlet, and Michael Gaillard, to Paris, to prepare what money he wanted; and these commissioners obtained from the parliament all the different sums which had been lodged in that court till such time as the pretensions of the various claimants could be established; but they were obliged to enter into a private obligation to restore them whenever they should be called upon for that purpose. The presidents of the parliament also borrowed, in their own names, of James Erlan, two thousand crowns, which they delivered to the commissioners, who pledged themselves

<sup>oo</sup> MS. de le Grand.



for the repayment of the money before the first of October following. These facts, with many others of a similar nature which occur in the History of France, prove that the king never borrowed money in his own name; and that those whom he appointed to borrow for him, were obliged to become security for the re-payment, and actually to pay the money, if the king neglected to pay it himself. By this means the state never contracted any debts.

As Lewis was resolved on peace, the plenipotentiaries experienced no obstruction in the accomplishment of their task; and a truce, for seven years, was concluded on the nineteenth of August, on such terms as the English chose to prescribe, which certainly were not very honourable to Lewis. It was stipulated—That the king of France should pay the sum of seventy-five thousand crowns to the king of England, within fifteen days; that he should, moreover, pay him fifty thousand crowns a-year, during their joint lives; that the dauphin of France, when of age, should marry the princess Elizabeth, one of Edward's daughters; and that Edward should withdraw his army from France, as soon as he should have received the seventy-five thousand crowns. In this truce such of the allies as chose to accede to it were comprehended<sup>91</sup>. By one article of the treaty, Lewis engaged to pay Edward fifty thousand crowns, for the release of Margaret of Anjou; in consequence of which, that unfortunate princess was suffered to return to her native country, where she passed the remainder of her days in tranquil privacy, till the year 1482, when she died. This act of generosity would reflect honour on Lewis, did not his subsequent conduct to the relations of Margaret, afford just grounds for believing that he was entirely swayed by motives of interest<sup>92</sup>.

When every point had been thus amicably adjusted, an interview took place between the two monarchs, on a bridge over the Somme, at Pequigni, near Amiens, in the center whereof a strong barrier was erected, and where such other precautions were adopted, as the treacherous spirit of the times seemed to justify. Edward and Lewis here swore, in the most solemn manner, to a strict observance of the treaty: after which, they passed some time in friendly and familiar conversation.

Lewis was not only anxious to acquire the friendship of Edward, but the confidence of the English nation, and of the chief persons in the English court. With this view he was profuse in the distribution of presents; he bestowed annual pensions, to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns, on several of Edward's favourites; on lord Hastings, one of two thousand crowns; on the lords Howard, Stanley, and others, in proportion; and these noblemen were not ashamed thus to receive the wages of corruption from a foreign potentate. Lord Hastings, indeed, refused for some years, to give a re-

<sup>91</sup> Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 51, 21.

<sup>92</sup> Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 161.

cept for his pension; that no proof of his infamy might be preserved in the public registers of France. As the two armies, after the conclusion of the truce, remained some days in the vicinity of each other, Lewis sent the English troops a present of three hundred cart-loads of the best wine his country produced; he likewise admitted them freely into Amiens, the place of his residence, where he defrayed all their charges, ordering every innkeeper to supply them with whatever they should require, without exacting any payment. In consequence of this indulgence, they flocked thither in such multitudes, that above nine thousand of them were once in the town at the same time, when they might have easily secured the king's person; but Lewis concluding, from their dissolute manner of living, that no danger was to be apprehended, was careful not to betray the smallest signs of suspicion or mistrust; and when Edward, informed of this disorder, desired him to shut the gates against them, he replied, that he never would consent to exclude the English from any place where he resided; but that Edward, if he pleased, might recal them, and fix his own officers at the gates of Amiens to prevent their return <sup>93</sup>.

The extreme eagerness of Lewis to acquire the confidence and friendship of the English, had induced him to make some imprudent advances, which afterwards caused him no small trouble to evade. During the conference on the bridge of Pequigni, he told Edward, that he should be glad to be favoured with a visit from him at Paris, where he would introduce him to the beauties of that metropolis; and, should any offences requiring pardon be the consequence of such introduction, he would assign him the cardinal de Bourbon for a confessor <sup>94</sup>, who would not fail to give him absolution. This hint made a deeper impression than Lewis intended. Lord Howard, who accompanied him on his return to Amiens, told him, in confidence, that if he were so disposed, it would be very possible to persuade Edward to take a journey with him to Paris, where they might indulge themselves in mirth and recreation. Lewis, at first, pretended not to hear the offer, but, on Howard's repeating it, he expressed his concern, that the war in which he was engaged with the duke of Burgundy, would not permit him to wait on his royal guest, and do him the honours he intended. "Edward," said he, privately, to Commynes, "is a very handsome, and a very amorous prince: some lady at Paris may like him as well as he shall like her, and may invite him to return thither in another manner. I am very glad to have him, for a friend and brother, beyond the sea; but I am not fond of his company; his predecessors took up their residence somewhat too long at Paris and in Normandy. It is better that the sea be between us."

<sup>93</sup> Philip de Commynes, l. iv. p. 289.

<sup>94</sup> This cardinal was Charles of Bourbon, youngest brother to John the Second, duke of Bourbon. When only nine years of age he had been nominated to the archbishoprick of Lyons, in addition to which he afterwards obtained the archbishoprick of Bourdeaux, the bishoprick of Poitiers, besides several rich abbeys. His crest was a hand grasping a flaming sword, with this motto—*N'Espoir ne Peur*.



Lewis, anxious to hasten the departure of the English, paid, without delay, the stipulated sum, when the English monarch embarked at Calais, and arrived in England on the twenty-eighth of September. Thus ended an expedition which had given such serious alarm to the king of France, and which had been attended with such considerable expence, that the money he had received from Lewis, together with his pension, formed but a very inadequate compensation to Edward, who could only boast of having humbled his adversary. But that adversary, regarding interest as the sole test of honour, not only bore his humiliation with patience, but conceived that he had obtained a very important advantage over Edward, by purchasing his departure on such easy terms. This, indeed, was a source of triumph to Lewis, though he was careful to conceal his joy, and strictly prohibited his courtiers from treating the English with that mockery and derision to which he thought they had fairly subjected themselves. One evening, however, when he was off his guard, his exultations got the better of his prudence, and he indulged himself in raillery at the easy simplicity of Edward and his council; but, while he was talking, he perceived a man standing in one corner of the room, who had overheard all his conversation. He proved to be a Gascon merchant, settled in England who had come to ask the king's permission to export a few pipes of wine, without paying the usual duties. Lewis was immediately sensible of his indiscretion, and he offered the Gascon such advantages in his own country, as engaged him to remain in France. "It is but just," said the king, "that I should pay the penalty of my talkativeness<sup>95</sup>."

Edward, previous to his embarkation, had sent to apprise the duke of Burgundy of the truce which he had concluded with Lewis, and to inform him, that he was at liberty to accede to it if he chose<sup>96</sup>. But Charles told his envoys, that he had not invited the English into France to procure him a truce, but merely to furnish them with the means of repairing their former losses; that he had believed Edward to be worthy of the rank he enjoyed, but after his late conduct, he was at liberty to depart as soon as he thought proper; and to convince him, pursued the duke, that I stand in no need of his assistance, I engage to conclude neither peace nor truce with France, till three months after his return to England. He was not, however, faithful to his word, for, yielding to the earnest solicitations of Lewis, he was prevailed on to send plenipotentiaries to Soleure, a small town in the duchy of Luxembourg, where a truce for nine years was signed between France and Burgundy, on the thirteenth of September. The constable was the first victim of the reconciliation between the two princes; Charles swore never to pardon him, and engaged, if he should fall into his hands, to deliver him up to the king; in return for which Lewis engaged to cede to the duke the towns of Saint Quentin, Ham and Bohain, with all the treasures which the constable had amassed.

<sup>95</sup> Commynes—Garnier, tom. xviii, p. 171.

<sup>96</sup> Commynes—Meyer—Le Grand.

Lewis farther promised to give no assistance, either directly or indirectly, to the young duke of Lorraine, whom he had incited to take up arms against Charles; he also engaged to assist Charles against the emperor, the citizens of Cologne, and all their adherents. Edward, who was preparing to embark for England, when he heard of this negociation, sent Thomas Montgomery to the king, to entreat him to make no concession to his proud vassal, and to tell him, that if he stood in need of assistance, he would himself return in the ensuing spring, with all his forces, and aid him to subdue the duke of Burgundy. This offer, however, Lewis deemed it prudent to reject.

At the same time that the king signed a truce with the duke of Burgundy, he prolonged one which he had concluded, about six months before, with the king of Arragon, for a year; and, immediately after, he entered into an offensive and defensive league with the king of Portugal, against prince Ferdinand and his father; by which he engaged to lead an army into the kingdom of Arragon, after Alphonso should have effected the expulsion of Ferdinand from the kingdom of Castile.

Although the duke of Brittany had, as an ally, been comprehended in the truce which Lewis had signed with the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, and although Edward had expressly declared to the king himself, that if any attack were made on the duke, he would assist him with all his forces, yet Lewis resolved to profit by the present interval of tranquillity to make him accede to such terms as he should chuse to dictate. Francis, unable to oppose his efforts, appointed plenipotentiaries, who signed a treaty with Lewis at the abbey of Saint Victoire, near Senlis; by which the duke renounced all alliance with the enemies of the state, and engaged to assist the king with all his forces in defence of the kingdom, whenever called on for that purpose, but not to march beyond the limits of his duchy.

Lewis now profited by the absence of the duke of Burgundy, who was engaged in an attempt to reduce the duchy of Lorraine, to execute his schemes of revenge against the constable. Saint-Paul, apprized of his intentions, renounced all his vain projects of independence, and only thought of saving his life. In this emergency he applied to Charles, to whom he offered to surrender all the places in his possession, provided he would afford him protection. The duke, notwithstanding his late engagements with the king, accepted his offer, granted him a safe conduct, and sent a body of troops to take possession of Saint Quentin. But he was anticipated by Lewis, who suddenly advanced, with twenty thousand men, to the gates of that town, some of whose inhabitants he had previously engaged in his interest; and, at his approach, Saint-Paul fled to Mons. Saint Quentin then opened its gates to the king, who, with equal facility, acquired possession of Ham, Bohain, and Beaurevoir. When Lewis had thus dispossessed the constable of all his places, he called upon Charles to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of Soleure. Charles was then engaged in the siege of Nanci, and as he was at a  
loss



loss how to act, he wished to defer his answer till he had reduced that city, but Lewis insisted on an immediate reply, and sent orders to the lord of Craon, to advance, with a strong body of troops, to the confines of Lorraine. The duke of Burgundy, conscious of his inability to complete the reduction of that province, if opposed by the king of France, ordered Hugonet and Imbercourt to repair to Mons, and at the expiration of eight days to deliver up the constable to the king's envoys. He expected before that time to be master of Nanci, when he might send a counter-order to his ministers; but the place held out some days longer than he expected, and the counter-order arrived *three hours* too late. The constable was delivered into the hands of the admiral of France, and the lord of Saint Pierre, who had advanced to the frontiers to receive him: he was thence conveyed to Paris, and having been convicted of high-treason by the parliament, he suffered decapitation. Lewis ceded the towns of Saint Quentin, Ham, and Bohain to Charles, with all the treasures and moveable effects of the constable, reserving only for himself the estates which Saint-Paul possessed in France. On this occasion Lewis observed, "*That he and the duke of Burgundy had been engaged in a fox-chace; that Charles had carried off the fox's skin, which was valuable, but that the flesh, which was good for nothing, had fallen to his share*"<sup>97</sup>.

A. D. 1476.] Charles had, by this time, added the country of Lorraine to his former dominions; but though he possessed the courage and ambition of a conqueror, he had neither the prudence nor the policy of a statesman. Ever ardent in his enterprizes, and swayed by a resistless impetuosity of temper, he listened to the complaints of the count of Romont, whose territories the Swifs had invaded, and inconsiderately engaged in a war with that virtuous and hardy people, who were formidable from the possession of that courage which freedom inspires, as well as from their exemption from the luxurious vices of their continental neighbours.

In vain did the Swifs endeavour to deprecate the wrath of Charles; he was deaf to every proposal, however submissive or advantageous, and entered, with his troops, a bleak and mountainous country, which could only recompense his hazard and toils with an unprofitable harvest of barren laurels. After reducing some inconsiderable places, he laid siege to Granson, which was defended by a garrison of five hundred Swifs, who, after a spirited resistance, surrendered at discretion. Charles immediately consigned them to the provost of his army, who hanged four hundred on the neighbouring trees, and drowned the rest in the lake of Neuchâtel. Soon after the town had surrendered, the duke was informed that an army of Swifs was advancing to attack him; but he disregarded the intelligence, and pursued his march. As the chief strength of his army consisted in cavalry, he must certainly have crushed the enemy, could he have drawn them into the even plain; but he was no sooner convinced they were really approaching,

<sup>97</sup> Garnier.

than he imprudently entered the defiles of the mountain, where there was no room for his forces to act. He had not even taken the precaution of preparing his men for action; so that the van of his army was defeated, before the center and rear knew they were engaged; the consequence of this imprudent step was a general dispersion of his troops, who fled with the utmost precipitation. His loss in men was inconsiderable, but his military chest, his superb plate, and his jewels, the most splendid in Europe, were the prey of the victors. So little were the Swifs acquainted with objects of luxury, or the value of riches, that they tore up the most magnificent tents to convert them into cloaths for themselves; mistook the duke's plate for pewter, and sold a considerable part of it as such; and one of them having found a large diamond enclosed in a case, thought it was a piece of glass, and threw it on the ground, but he afterwards put it in his pocket, and sold it to a priest for a florin; the priest, equally ignorant of its value, sold it again for three livres; and it is now one of the most valuable jewels in the French crown, being estimated at eighteen hundred thousand livres, about seventy-five thousand pounds sterling. After this victory the Swifs re-took Granson by assault, when they took down the bodies of their countrymen from the trees to which they were suspended, and replaced them with an equal number of Burgundians.

Charles had so long been accustomed to the smiles of fortune, that he could ill brook the frowns of the fickle goddess. His late disgrace had such an effect on his mind, that it brought on a severe fit of sickness; but determined on revenge, he speedily raised a fresh army, and formed the siege of Morat, in the canton of Friburgh, a small town, but strongly fortified, and defended by a garrison of eighteen hundred men<sup>98</sup>. The duke was repulsed in three different assaults; and, after he had passed fifteen days before the place, he was informed that the Swifs army, reinforced by the confederate cities of the Upper Rhine, was advancing to give him battle. Highly pleased at the intelligence, he hastened to reconnoitre the enemy, but his usual precipitation prevented him from ascertaining their numbers, which amounted to thirty thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, whereas his own forces did not exceed twenty-five thousand effective men. He was advised by his officers, to raise the siege of Morat, and fix his camp in an open plain, where his cavalry, having full scope for exertion, would give him a great advantage over the enemy; but his blind rage led him to reject this prudent council, and leaving two hundred lances to guard his lines, he advanced to meet the Swifs, who were commanded by René, the young duke of Lorraine, whose territories the duke of Burgundy had seized.

On the approach of Charles, René posted his infantry behind a thick hedge, imperious by the cavalry; while Charles sent his free archers, supported by a body of horse,

<sup>98</sup> Communes—Meyer—Chron. Scand.—Haræus Annal. Brab.



to dislodge them; but this manœuvre, failing of effect, caused the loss of the battle; for attempting to withdraw his archers, who were severely handled by the enemy, protected, themselves, by the hedge, he threw his whole army into disorder, and the Swiss, profiting by the occasion, rushed forward and completed their confusion. From sixteen to eighteen thousand of the Burgundians were left dead on the field; and amongst them were the count of Marle, one of the sons of the late constable de Saint Paul; James du Mas; Grinberghe, Rosembois, Mailli and Bournonville, all brave and experienced officers.

Charles was now afraid that Lewis, his inveterate and most dangerous enemy, would avail himself of the present conjuncture to break the truce and attack his dominions; he therefore sent the lord of Contai to sound his intentions, and to inspire him, if possible, with sentiments of justice and generosity<sup>99</sup>. Lewis promised to observe the truce, from a conviction, that he could not more effectually achieve the destruction of the duke, than by abandoning him to his own unbridled passions, and by leaving him to pursue the war against the Swiss, which he still persevered in with incredible obstinacy; but he attacked him in a manner less honourable, and more insidious, by endeavouring to corrupt his best officers. The count of Campobasso, a native of Naples, and exiled from his country as a partizan of the house of Anjou, held the principal place in the favour of Charles; and Lewis, being informed that this man had some cause for complaint against the duke, endeavoured to seduce him from his service. Campobasso offered more than was required of him; he promised to deliver up his master to the king, alive or dead. Lewis, either from abhorrence of a treachery which dissolved all ties between a prince and his servant, or from a belief that the plan had been concerted with the duke himself, revealed the design to Charles. But the character of Lewis induced the duke to despise the intelligence: "If it were true, the king would never impart to me so important a secret," was the reply of Charles; who even redoubled his marks of confidence and attachment to the perfidious Neapolitan.

The duke of Burgundy, overwhelmed with shame and indignation, passed his melancholy hours at La Riviere; abandoning himself to despair, he suffered his beard and nails to grow, refused to change his dress, and secluded himself from the sight of his most confidential ministers. His extreme anxiety occasioned an affection of the heart, which prevented the free circulation of the blood, and resisted the efforts of medical skill. The duke of Lorraine, secretly assisted by Lewis, took this opportunity to recover his native dominions; and the rapid progress of his arms, with the reduction of Nanci, roused Charles from his lethargy, and made him hasten to the relief of that province. He determined to invest the capital; but, as the winter was far advanced, his

<sup>99</sup> Commynes—Le Grand.

most experienced officers advised him to station his troops in some of the neighbouring towns, and to wait patiently till the garrison of Nanci should have consumed all their provisions, when they would be obliged to surrender at discretion. But these tardy measures by no means accorded with the eager impatience of Charles, who listened only to the dictates of indignation; so that, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and the general discontent of his troops, he gave orders to open the trenches. He then shut himself up in his tent, and left Campobasso to direct the operations of the siege. This Italian traitor, who, it was believed, had once suffered from the ungovernable rage of Charles the indignity of a blow, determined, at all events, to betray the duke; having failed in his application to Lewis, he now offered his services to the duke of Lorraine, to whom he promised to give sufficient time to collect his troops, and even to deliver, for a stipulated reward, his master to him, alive or dead.

The money which René had received from Lewis had enabled him to raise an army of eight thousand Swiss, which was joined by considerable reinforcements from the confederate cities of Germany, and by several detachments of French troops, who, by the orders of Lewis, demanded to serve as volunteers, so that he soon found himself at the head of eighteen or nineteen thousand men. The Burgundian army, on the contrary, was so weakened by the losses they had sustained during the siege, by sickness and desertion, that when it was reviewed by the count of Chimai, it was found to contain only three thousand effective men. When the count informed Charles of this circumstance, who was wholly ignorant of the state of his camp, that prince burst into a transport of rage, and exclaimed,—“ Were I alone, I would fight the enemy !”—At length, however, the duke opened his eyes to the danger of his situation, when he immediately dispatched orders to the governors of his provinces, to send him a reinforcement of troops, and to arm all his vassals without delay; but before these orders could even be received by those to whom they were addressed, the enemy appeared in sight. On their approach, the count of Campobasso quitted the Burgundian army with his company, which consisted of two hundred lances, and went over to the duke of Lorraine; the next day his example was followed by two other Italian captains. The Germans and Swiss detesting this perfidy, and thinking it a disgrace to hold any commerce with such traitors, refused to admit them into their ranks, and compelled René to dismiss them. Campobasso and his treacherous companions, being obliged to leave the camp, took their post on the bridge of Bouxieres, in order to cut off the retreat of such of the Burgundians as should escape the sword of the enemy.

A. D. 1477.] Charles, whose army was now reduced to little more than two thousand men, called a council of war, the members whereof were unanimous in their opinion on the necessity of raising the siege, and avoiding an action; they advised Charles, if he were averse from the evacuation of the province, to intrench himself under the walls of Pont-à-Mousson, and there wait for the reinforcements which must



soon arrive from Hainaut, Brabant, and the duchy of Luxembourg; and they represented to him, that all delays must necessarily turn to his advantage, since his army would daily acquire an accession of strength; whereas that of the enemy, being chiefly composed of mercenary troops, would soon disperse from want of pay and subsistence.

The duke of Burgundy, who appears, at this period, to have acted under the influence of infatuation, paid no attention to advice, which nothing but the most fatal presumption, or insanity itself, could have rejected. He reminded his officers of the glory they had acquired by their former achievements, and bade them recollect the ever-memorable siege of Nuiz, when, with an army inferior, in the proportion of one to three, he had braved the undivided forces of the empire. "If we have since," pursued Charles, "sustained some losses, they have not afforded any opportunity for triumph to the enemy, who have hitherto kept themselves enclosed in inaccessible places, not daring to face us in the open field; shall we now then, when the opportunity for which we have been so long anxious occurs, hesitate one moment to attack them?—In short, to whatever situation fortune may reduce me, it shall never be said that I fled before a *child*:"—Alluding to the duke of Lorraine.

On the morning of the fifth of January, Charles left his lines and advanced towards the enemy; the rival armies soon met, and though the cold was excessive, and the snow fell in great abundance, the action immediately commenced. The event was such as might naturally be expected from the extreme disproportion of numbers; Charles, after fulfilling all the duties of a great general, and a brave soldier, was at length attacked by Charles de Beaumont, seneschal of Saint Dié; having already received several wounds, and now finding himself faint with loss of blood, he called out to his adversary, who did not know with whom he was engaged—"Save the duke of Burgundy;"—but Beaumont, who was deaf, thinking he said "*Long live Burgundy*," aimed a furious blow at his head, which felled him, lifeless, to the ground. We are told that Beaumont, being afterward convinced of his error, died with regret, either at having killed a prince for whose military talents he entertained the highest respect, or else at having lost the considerable sum to which, had he taken him, he would have been entitled for his ransom. Besides the duke of Burgundy himself, there perished in this action, his virtuous kinsman, De Bievres; Contai, distinguished for his inviolable attachment to his sovereign; and the lords of Croi and Vieuville. The principal prisoners were, Anthony and Baldwin, bastards of Burgundy; the counts of Nassau, Rhetel and Chimai; Joffe de Lalain; the Marquis of Rothelin; young Montaigne; Oliver de la Marche, and the brave Galiot<sup>100</sup>.

Immediately after the action, the duke of Lorraine entered his capital, amidst the ac-

<sup>100</sup> Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 248, 249.

clamations of his subjects. It was not known what had become of the duke of Burgundy, as he was not among the prisoners, and no one knew that he was killed; it was generally believed that he had fled. But the next day his death was ascertained by a page, who had been taken by Campobasso on the bridge of Bouxierres, and who had seen him fall. Being conducted to the spot, the body was found covered with blood and dirt, and the face so disfigured, that his own brother only knew him by some private marks; by a scar in the neck, from a wound which he had received at the battle of Montlheri, and by the extreme length of his nails, which had not been cut since the period of his first defeat. While the body lay in state at Nanci, the duke of Lorraine, who went to view it, took the lifeless hand of his departed kinsman, and bursting into tears, exclaimed—"Fair cousin, God rest your soul, you was the cause of great uneasiness, and of great grief to us." Charles was interred, with all the honours due to his rank, in the chapel of Saint Nicholas, whence his remains were transferred, in 1550, to the church of Saint Donatus, at Bruges. Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year of his age, Charles, the last duke of the royal branch of Burgundy, to whose name the just appellations of—"the Bold, the Terrible, and the Rash"—had been annexed by his people. The death of this prince forms an epoch in the general history of Europe; since it produced an important change not only in the affairs of his own dominions, but even in those of all the neighbouring princes; and greatly contributed to the formation of a political system which, in subsequent times, became an object of universal attention.

The king was at the castle of Pleffis-les-Tours, when he received the news of the duke of Burgundy's death: the fall of an enemy affords, to a base and abject mind, a theme for exultation, and a subject for triumph; such a mind was that of Lewis, who was neither anxious to repress, nor careful to conceal, the sensations of joy which he experienced on this occasion. He immediately dispatched couriers to all the different towns in the kingdom, to all the persons of distinction, and particularly to the duke of Brittany, to inform them of the happy event. He performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin, at Pui in Anjou; and, as a mark of his gratitude, promised to surround the tomb of Saint-Martin with a silver balustrade.

The death of Charles opened a wide and flattering prospect to the ambition of Lewis. His daughter, Mary, sole heiress of the house of Burgundy, had been successively promised by her father to several different princes, according as their alliances were favourable to the ambitious projects he entertained. This rendered the union with her an important object to all the potentates of Christendom; and the essential advantages of acquiring possession of her territories, at that time the most opulent and best cultivated of any on this side the Alps, were perfectly understood. As soon, then, as the untimely death of Charles opened the succession, the eyes of all the European princes were turned towards Mary; and they felt themselves deeply interested in the choice which she was about to make of the person on whom she would bestow that rich inheritance.

Lewis.



Lewis, from whose kingdom several of the provinces which she possessed had been dismembered, and whose dominions stretched along the frontier of her territories, had every inducement to court her alliance. He had likewise a good title to expect the favourable reception of any reasonable propositions he should make with respect to the disposal of a princess who was the vassal of his crown, and descended from the royal blood of France. There were only two propositions, however, which he could make with propriety: the one was the marriage of the dauphin, the other, that of the count of Angoulême, a prince of the blood, descended from a younger branch of the house of Orleans, with the heiress of Burgundy. By the former he would have annexed all her territories to the crown, and have rendered France the most respectable monarchy in Europe; but the great disparity of age between the two parties, Mary being twenty, and the dauphin only eight years old; the avowed resolution of the Flemings, not to chuse a master possessed of such power as might enable him to form projects dangerous to their liberties, together with their dread of falling under the odious and oppressive government of Lewis, were obstacles in the way of executing this plan, which it was vain to think of surmounting. By the latter, which might have been accomplished with facility, Mary having discovered some inclination to a match with the count of Angoulême, Lewis would have prevented the dominions of the house of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power; and, in return for such a splendid establishment for the count of Angoulême, he must have obtained, or would have extorted from him, concessions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But Lewis had so long been accustomed to the intricacies of an insidious policy, that he could not be satisfied with what was obvious, and simple; and was so fond of artifice and refinement, that he brought himself to consider these as his ultimate object, not as the means only of conducting affairs<sup>1</sup>. From this principle, no less than from his unwillingness to aggrandize any of his own subjects, or, perhaps, from the desire of oppressing the house of Burgundy, which he hated, he neglected the straight path, which would naturally have been pursued by a prince of less art and inferior abilities, and followed one more suited to his own genius.

He proposed to render himself, by force of arms, master of those provinces which Mary held of the crown of France, and even to push his conquests into her other territories, while he amused her with insisting on the impracticable match with the dauphin. Having previously corrupted the leading men in the provinces of Burgundy and Artois, he sent an army into the former, under the command of the prince of Orange, whom he had allured into his service by splendid promises; the lord of Craon, and Charles d'Amboise, lord of Chaumont. These generals were accompanied by the bishop of Lan-

<sup>1</sup> Robertson.

gres; John de Caulers, William Allegrin, and Peter Tarquain, judges in the court of parliament; who were invested with full powers to take possession of the province in the king's name. These deputies addressed themselves to the states of Burgundy, who were then assembled at Dijon, and summoned them to acknowledge the authority of Lewis, within the space of twelve days at farthest.

The king maintained that his claim to the duchy of Burgundy was not to be disputed, since that duchy had been ceded, as an appanage, by king John to his son Philip; and it was a law, generally received, that no appanage could be possessed by a female, but, in default of heirs male, must revert to the crown. To this plea it was objected by Mary, and her council, that the duchy of Burgundy was different from all other appanages, inasmuch as it never had constituted a part of the domain of the crown, and therefore it ought not to be annexed to it; they, moreover, urged, that should this objection with regard to the duchy be over-ruled, still there were several lordships in Burgundy, to which the king could have no possible claim; the county of Charolois had been purchased of the count of Armagnac by one of Mary's ancestors; the counties of Maçon and Auxerre, too, had been ceded to her grandfather, Philip the Good, by the treaty of Arras, and it was expressly stipulated in the deed of cession, that it was to descend to his heirs, male *and* female; of this part of her inheritance, therefore, there could be no possible pretension for despoiling her: these reasons, however, were deemed insufficient by the states, who had been bribed by Lewis to betray their sovereign, and, on the twenty-ninth of January, the whole province took the oaths of allegiance to the king of France.

During these proceedings in Burgundy, another army had advanced to the frontiers of Picardy, secured the towns on the Somme, and pushed its conquests into the province of Artois. Abbeville, Arras, Ham, Rohain, Saint-Quentin, Montdidier, Montreuil, and Peronne, were either surrendered to Lewis through the treachery of their governors, or else opened their gates in consequence of his intrigues with the inhabitants.

In pursuance of the plan which he had adopted for deceiving the heiress of Burgundy, by protestations of friendship and proposals of marriage, while he was employed in despoiling her of her provinces; he sent one Oliver, who from his barber had become his chief favourite, in the capacity of an ambassador to Ghent<sup>2</sup>. This man had orders to seduce the inhabitants of Ghent from their duty to Mary, and, if possible, to excite an insurrection; but his design being discovered, the populace threatened to throw him into the river, so that he was obliged to decamp with precipitation.

<sup>2</sup> Commynes.—Meyer.—Le Grand.



Soon after this event, Hugonet, chancellor of Burgundy; Guy de Brimieu, lord of Imbercourt; the bishop of T rouanne; the count of Grandpr , and Gruthuse, arrived at the French court, as ambassadors from Mary. They came to inform the king, that the young princess had taken the reins of government into her own hands, and had appointed a council, consisting of the duchess-dowager, the lord of Ravestein, Hugonet, and Imbercourt; she, therefore, requested his majesty to address himself to them whenever he had any proposals to make, or affairs to negotiate with her, and to give no credit to applications from any other quarter. The letter, containing this information and this request, was written partly by Mary herself, partly by the duchess-dowager, and partly by the lord of Ravestein<sup>3</sup>. The king, after he had read the letter, asked the ambassadors, What else they had to communicate? and on their reply that they had nothing farther to impart, he expressed his surprize, declaring it was his intention to marry the dauphin to their young mistress, and, consequently, to take charge of her dominions; that he expected to govern all those provinces which were to revert to the crown, in his own name, but that the others he should only keep till the princess came of age and did homage to him. The ambassadors making no reply, the king added, that the only means of preventing the continuance of a bloody war, and of securing the inheritance of Mary, was by accepting the proposals he had just made. The ambassadors persisted in affirming that they had no instructions on that head; but Hugonet and Imbercourt, who had the chief management of public affairs, thought it prudent to yield to the necessity of the times. They saw the king at the head of a numerous army, possessed of greater power than all his enemies united, and he no sooner appeared than all the towns opened their gates to him: whereas the duchess of Burgundy was wholly destitute of support; she enjoyed, as yet, but a precarious authority; her country was drained both of men and money; while the towns refused to obey her, and insisted on the restoration of their ancient privileges. In this situation, they conceived that a marriage with the dauphin would be the most fortunate event that could occur for their sovereign; and as they had no doubt of the king's sincerity, they promised to accelerate the conclusion of the business as much as possible; and, for this purpose, they consented to surrender the province of Artois into the hands of Lewis, on condition that it should be restored to Mary, after she had done homage, unless she should marry any of the king's enemies, in which case the province was to be annexed to the crown of France.

Although Hugonet and Imbercourt had exceeded their power in signing this treaty, yet their conduct had certainly been swayed by the best of motives. Soon after their return to Flanders, Mary, whose only resource consisted in the attachment of her subjects, assembled the states at Ghent, who promised to protect her, but fixed the diminution of her power as the price of their protection. They created a council of regency, who

<sup>3</sup> Commines.—Chron. Scand.—Le Grand.—Heuterus rerum Belgicarum.

seized the reins of government, and sent ambassadors to the king, to request he would observe the treaty of Soleure, and protect the heirs of Burgundy, as, by that treaty, he was bound to do. Lewis received them with extreme coolness; and when they observed, that it was the intention of the duchess to regulate her conduct, in future, by the advice of the states; the king interrupted them—"Stop"—said he—"you are deceived; I know the intentions of your mistress better than you do; and, so far from submitting to be guided by the advice of the three estates, she has already formed a secret council, composed of persons who are averse from peace, and who will disavow you." The ambassadors thinking themselves insulted, affirmed that they had advanced nothing but what they were able to prove, and offered to shew their instructions: "And I"—replied Lewis—"can shew you a letter, the writing of which you must know, and which will convince you that Mary has reposed her confidence in four persons, by whose advice alone her conduct is regulated." He then not only shewed them the letter, but allowed them to take it away with them. The ambassadors immediately returned to Ghent, and shewed the letter to the states of Flanders, who reproached their sovereign with duplicity; excited a popular insurrection; and, having seized Hugonet and Imbercourt, brought them immediately to trial, tortured them with extreme cruelty, and, unmoved by the tears and entreaties of Mary, beheaded them in her presence<sup>4</sup>.

Lewis, who probably had only meant, by his treacherous conduct, to excite an insurrection in Flanders, was extremely enraged when he heard of the death of the two ministers; he declared the inhabitants of Ghent guilty of high treason; annulled the sentence they had pronounced against Hugonet and Imbercourt, and took the children of the former under his protection. His indignation was greatly increased by the consideration that their death disconcerted the measures he had adopted with regard to the province of Artois<sup>5</sup>. To counteract the effects of this event, he immediately raised a powerful army, and, after leaving a strong garrison in Arras, advanced against Hesdin. In the course of this expedition, Lewis displayed the cruelty of his disposition; twelve deputies from Arras he caused to be seized and executed, after he had received them with kindness, and regaled them with apparent hospitality; he violated the faith of treaties, and after a town had capitulated, he would frequently select such as he knew to be most attached to their lawful sovereign, and put them to death, in cool blood. Yet still his progress was rapid; the important city of Cambrai opened her gates to him, while the address of his favourite, Oliver, procured him possession of Tournay. At the siege of Bouchain, death had nearly put a stop to all his ambitious schemes, for Tanneguy du Châtel was killed by a cannon-ball as the king was leaning on his shoulder. Bouchain, however, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating; and le Quesnoi was taken by as-

<sup>4</sup> Phil. de Comines.

<sup>5</sup> Idem.—Cabinet Satirique.—Heuter. rer. Belg.—Le Grand.



fault. Avesne, making an obstinate resistance, Lewis, who was ever more formidable from his stratagems than his arms, invited the principal officers of the garrison to his camp, under pretence of holding a conference, while Dammartin stormed the town, and resigned it to pillage<sup>6</sup>.

Another army, under the command of Desquerdes and du Lude, laid siege to Saint Omer, which was valiantly defended by Philip, son to Anthony, bastard of Burgundy. Lewis, enraged at the gallant resistance made by this youthful warrior, threatened to massacre his father, before his eyes, unless he surrendered the place; but Philip replied—That, tenderly as he loved his father, he would still do his duty, nor ever consent to deliver up a town with the defence whereof he had been entrusted. The king did not think proper to put his threats in execution; but the war continued to rage with greater violence than ever; he sent four thousand mowers to Dammartin, advising him to treat them with a few barrels of wine, in order to encourage them to destroy every thing that came in their way, and he desired that the country might be so effectually destroyed, that the inhabitants might never wish to return to it<sup>7</sup>.

So long as the war was confined to the provinces of Burgundy, Luxembourg, Hainaut, and Artois, the Flemings were rather pleased than displeased at the success of the French arms; they kept their princess in a kind of captivity, and as they did not like to see their sovereigns possessed of too much power, they would not have been sorry to see her reduced to the rank of countess of Flanders. But when the French approached their frontiers, and the garrison of Tournay spread devastation throughout their country, they then perceived the necessity of defending themselves from the attacks of such dangerous invaders, and accordingly levied an army of twenty thousand men. At a loss for a leader, they fixed their eyes on Adolphus of Gueldres, who, by his unnatural conduct, had obliged his father to disinherit him. They took him from prison to place him at the head of their troops; and encouraged him by a promise to give him their princess in marriage, if he succeeded in delivering their country from the destructive incursions of the garrison of Tournay. Stimulated by such powerful motives, Adolphus directed his march to that city; but a dispute arising between the militia of Ghent and that of Bruges, his army was thrown into confusion, and the garrison of Tournay seized this opportunity to make a vigorous sally, in which the Flemings were defeated, and Adolphus lost his life.

While Lewis was thus endeavouring, by a conduct the most base and perfidious, to dispossess the heiress of Burgundy of her lawful inheritance, the states of Flanders had opened a negotiation with the emperor, Frederick the Third; and they now concluded

<sup>6</sup> Comines.—Heuterus.—Chron. Scand.—Le Grand.

<sup>7</sup> Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 306.

a treaty of marriage—which Lewis in vain attempted to prevent—between their sovereign, and his son, Maximilian, archduke of Austria. The illustrious birth of that prince, as well as the high dignity to which he had the prospect of succeeding, rendered the alliance honourable for Mary; while, from the distance of his hereditary territories, and the scantiness of his revenues, his power was too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy or fear of the Flemings. Thus Lewis, by the caprice of his temper, and the excess of his refinements, put the house of Austria in possession of that noble inheritance; and lost an opportunity which he never could recal, of making that important acquisition, which would have rendered him the most formidable potentate in Christendom. Thus, too, the same monarch who first united the interior force of France, and established it on such a footing, as to make it formidable to the rest of Europe, contributed, far contrary to his intention, to raise up a rival power, which, during two centuries, thwarted the measures, opposed the arms, and checked the progress of his successors.

During the celebration of these important nuptials, the French troops spread over the Netherlands, reduced to ashes the towns of Orchies, Turquoin, Fresne les Buffleaux, Saint-Sauveur, Marchiennes, and Harbec. In Burgundy, too, the flames of war raged with equal fury; John, prince of Orange, whom Lewis had allured to his service by a promise to make him his lieutenant-general in Burgundy, and to restore his family possessions, finding himself deceived by that monarch, who refused to fulfil his promises, excited a revolution in the duchy, and procured from Mary the dignity which had been withholden from him by Lewis. Two Burgundian captains, Claude and William de Vaudrai, collected a body of troops, and seized the towns of Vesoul, Rochefort and Auxonne. Craon, whom Lewis had appointed governor of Burgundy, with unlimited power, attempted to retake Vesoul, but the garrison made a sally during the night, and cut his whole army to pieces. When the king was informed of this revolution, he was unable to restrain his anger; he wrote immediately to Craon, ordering him, in case he could get the prince of Orange into his power, *either to burn him alive, or else to hang him first, and then commit his body to the flames.* He ordered a criminal process to be instituted against the prince, who, though absent, was pronounced a traitor, and as such condemned to die. The prince, however, continued his operations, and, in a short time, expelled the French from all the places they possessed in the county of Burgundy, except the town of Grai, of which an old warrior, of the name of Salazar, was governor. This place was invested by Chateau-Guyon, who had a numerous body of cavalry, and some regiments of infantry under his command, and daily expected to be joined by fresh reinforcements. Craon, however, prevented the junction of these troops, by defeating the army under Chateau-Guyon, whom he made prisoner; but, while he was obtaining this advantage in the county of Burgundy, Toulonjon and Marigni entered the duchy, reduced several towns, and excited a general ferment. The towns, however, were soon retaken by Craon, who, having expelled Toulonjon and Marigni from the duchy, returned to the county, and defeated a detachment of the garrison of Dôle. Not doubt-



ing but that the inhabitants, alarmed at this disaster, would soon surrender the place; he laid siege to it, and, after he had battered the walls for a week, he ordered an assault to be made, without considering whether the breach was practicable; in consequence of this neglect, he was repulsed with loss; in a second assault he was equally unsuccessful, and in the two he lost a thousand men. Having received intelligence that the enemy were advancing to give him battle, he raised the siege with precipitation, and retreated towards the duchy, but he was overtaken by the two brothers, de Vaudrai, who attacked the French, and obtained a complete victory. The victors then formed the siege of Grai, but as they could not expect to reduce, by open force, a place so strongly fortified, so advantageously situated, so well supplied with provisions and ammunition of all kinds, and defended, moreover, by such an experienced officer as Salazar, they began by corrupting the inhabitants, and having established a correspondence in the town, they approached the walls one windy night, and, planting their ladders about sixty of the most determined mounted the wall, and opening one of the gates, introduced their companions. The whole army entered the town, before the French could assemble their troops; Salazar, perceiving that the citizens had joined the enemy, set fire to the place, in the hope that his men would effect their escape, during the confusion which the conflagration must necessarily occasion; but they all of them perished; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could save his own life, and reach Dijon in safety.

These losses made the king determine to attend to the proposals of Maximilian; although there was no prospect of concluding a peace, Lewis thought a truce might be of use to him, as it would give him time to repair the losses he had sustained in Burgundy; to ascertain with greater precision the resources of his new adversary; and to sound the dispositions of the neighbouring powers.

Maximilian, almost immediately after the celebration of his nuptials, had sent ambassadors to the king to complain of his violation of the treaty of Sôleure, in attacking the dominions of the house of Burgundy; at the same time, he offered to make peace with Lewis, and declared that if his proposal should be rejected, the king would find that he neither wanted courage nor ability to defend himself. Lewis replied, that he had only taken up arms to defend the rights of his crown, as he was bound to do by his coronation-oath; that Mary kept from him provinces which had reverted to the crown on the death of Charles, the late duke of Burgundy; that she was in possession of others, for which she ought to pay homage; and that he was willing to conclude a truce, provided the sacrifice of his lawful rights should not be required as the price of it. He accordingly appointed plenipotentiaries to confer with those of Maximilian; and these ministers having met at Lens, concluded a truce, without expressing any term for its duration, and stipulating only that four days notice should be given by either party who should be inclined to break it. This truce was strictly observed in the Netherlands, but it was not published in Burgundy. Lewis, incessantly harassed by complaints from  
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that province against Craon, and imputing to the avarice of that general all the calamities of the war, deprived him of his government, and banished him to his own estate. He was succeeded by Charles D'Amboise, better known by the name of Chaumont, who, to great military talents, joined the more amiable endowments of an humane, disinterested, and virtuous mind.

The ardour with which Lewis had engaged in the war, had not made him lose sight of other matters equally essential to the promotion of his ambitious projects. Foreseeing that the authority of Maximilian would no sooner be acknowledged in the Netherlands, than that prince would endeavour to secure the English monarch in his interest, he prudently resolved to anticipate him. With this view he sent the archbishop of Vienne, and three other envoys to England; and he took care to embark with them a considerable sum of money, as well for discharging the arrears of Edward's pension, as those of his ministers and favourites. These golden arguments proved so convincible, that the archbishop found no difficulty in prolonging the truce, which was originally concluded for only seven years, but which it was now agreed to continue during the life of the two kings, and for one year after<sup>8</sup>. Lewis also concluded treaties of alliance with the duke of Lorraine, and the republic of Venice.

Spain was now the only power from whom the king had any reason to apprehend an attack; and in order to remove these apprehensions, and to be at liberty to direct his whole force against the house of Burgundy, he resolved to acknowledge Ferdinand and Isabella as the sovereigns of Castile, on which condition he obtained the prolongation of a truce which he had before concluded with those princes<sup>9</sup>. Adolphus, king of Portugal, who had always flattered himself that Lewis would enable him to enforce the pretensions of his niece Jane to the throne of Castile, and who had been some time at the court of France, soliciting the necessary assistance for that purpose, was no sooner apprized of this treaty, than he gave up his cause for lost, and even began to entertain apprehensions for his personal safety, which the coolness he experienced at the French court was but too well calculated to confirm. Impressed with these ideas, and having no other mode of returning to Portugal but by a French vessel, he gave it out that he intended to retire from the world, and to consecrate the remainder of his days to prayer and penitence. He wrote to his son, prince Juan, bidding him an eternal adieu, and ordering him to proceed to his own coronation without a moment's delay; and after he had sent off the letter, he left the court, and retired to some private place. It was reported that he had undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but he was sought for with such care, that his residence was discovered in a village near Honfleur. Lewis, having received

<sup>8</sup> Comines—Dom Calmet—Ferreras—Le Grand.

<sup>9</sup> Ferreras, Hist. D'Espagne—Le Grand.



intelligence from his spies, that Ferdinand and Isabella were actually engaged in a negotiation with Maximilian, became anxious to oppose the extension of their power, by means of a rival, who, though frequently defeated, was still formidable; he, therefore, pressed Alphonso to return to his dominions, and made the province of Normandy defray the expence of his voyage. On the return of Alphonso, his son resigned, with chearful alacrity, the sceptre he had so lately assumed; nor could the reiterated commands of his father suffice to make him replace the diadem on his brows.

The sanguinary disposition of Lewis encreased with his years; he had nourished an incessant desire of vengeance against James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, one of the first nobles of the realm, and who had appeared a zealous confederate in the "*League for the public good*:" he was also accused of having maintained a correspondence with the late constable, and of having joined the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy in inviting the English into France. The duke, to avoid the resentment of his implacable master, had retired to the fortress of Carlat, in the mountains of Auvergne; whither the lord of Beaujeu was sent with a powerful army. The duchess of Nemours, daughter to the count of Maine, and cousin-german to the king, had just lain-in; and a false report, that her husband had fallen into the hands of the enemy, having reached her ears, occasioned her almost immediate death. The duke, distracted at the loss of a consort whom [he highly cherished, gave himself up to despair; and though Carlat was deemed an impregnable fortress, and he had been careful to supply it with sufficient provisions for a considerable length of time, he entered into a negociation with the lord of Beaujeu, and resigned himself into his power, on the most solemn assurances that his life should be safe, and that he should be allowed the privilege of justifying his conduct. But Lewis, who disregarded all those ties which even men of common honesty respect, caused his noble prisoner, in violation of this solemn contract, to be thrown into a cold damp dungeon, at the castle of Pierre-encise, where, we are told, the hardships he sustained made his hair turn perfectly white<sup>10</sup>; he was thence conveyed to the Bastile, and some vague accusations of an attempt to corrupt his guards were used as a pretence for confining him in an iron cage. Commissioners were appointed to try him, but the king, displeased with their disposition to lenity, referred the decision of the cause to the parliament of Paris, to whom the commissioners were afterwards joined, with some other judges of the provincial courts. Three members of the parliament, having spoken in favour of the prisoner, were immediately deprived of their places by the king's arbitrary will; and when the parliament remonstrated on the illegality of this proceeding, they were severely reprimanded by the tyrant. Not even the shadow of a proof was produced against the duke; but he was unhappily allured, by the hopes of mercy, to make an ample confession, on which alone his condemnation was pronounced. Being declared guilty or

<sup>10</sup> Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 330.

high-treason, he was sentenced to lose his head, and his property was confiscated to the crown. The king's inhumanity extended beyond the sentence; by a refinement of cruelty, unprecedented in the annals of tyranny, he commanded the duke's two sons—the eldest of whom had but just completed his ninth year—to be placed immediately under the scaffold prepared for the execution, that the blood of the father might drop on the heads of his children<sup>11</sup>. It is degrading to human nature to find men capable of executing commands so truly diabolical!

The insufficiency of the proofs which had been adduced against the duke of Nemours led the king, immediately after his execution, to publish an edict, by which all persons who should be privy to any plot formed against the person of the king, the queen, or the dauphin, and who should not deliver up the author of such plot to justice, were declared guilty of high-treason, and subjected to the punishment annexed to that crime.

A.D. 1478, to 1480.] Soon after the publication of this edict, the king annexed the county of Boulogne to the crown; but a difficulty occurred on the occasion: this territory was a fief, subject to the county of Artois, and as the king was not in possession of the whole of that province, and might, possibly, on the conclusion of a peace, be compelled to restore the towns he had taken to the house of Burgundy, Artois being a part of Mary's inheritance, which could not be disputed on the same ground as the duchy of Burgundy, he would, in that case, become a vassal to one of his own vassals. To obviate this objection, Lewis, in virtue of his royal authority, transferred the sovereignty of the county he had just annexed to the crown, to *the Image of the Virgin*, which was holden in great estimation at Boulogne; to this image he presented a golden heart, in weight equal to thirteen marks, as a feudal tribute, and bound his successors to do homage to the image, and to pay the same tribute, on their accession to the throne<sup>12</sup>.

Of all the alliances which Lewis had been studious to form, the most advantageous was that which he concluded with the Swiss; exclusive of a pension of twenty thousand livres which he consented to pay them, he destined an equal sum to be distributed annually among the principal men of the nation, by which well-timed liberality he acquired such credit with the Swiss, that they not only engaged to make no opposition to the conquest of Franche-Comté, but even to assist him in reducing it; and they likewise conferred on him the title of *first ally* of the cantons.

While the king was thus anxious to secure the friendship and assistance of the neighbouring powers, he spared neither pains nor expence, to allure to his service such of the Burgundian nobility as still remained attached to Mary and Maximilian. With this

<sup>11</sup> Garnier, tom. xviii. p. 340.

<sup>12</sup> Idem.



view he ceded to Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, the county of Ostrevant, the hundred of Bapaume, and the lordship of Bouchain; and he was equally generous to all the traitors whom he had already detached from the service of their lawful sovereign. But while he was thus liberal in his gifts, he took care to oppress his people, by an almost annual increase of imposts. He this year claimed from the states of Languedoc, an additional contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand four hundred and twenty-four livres, which sum, he said, was absolutely necessary to enable him to unite to the crown the provinces of Burgundy, Artois and Flanders, which were *unjustly* withholden from him.

Conscious, however, of the invalidity of his claims to the two last provinces, he had recourse to a most curious expedient for procuring a title. He caused a criminal process to be instituted against the late duke of Burgundy, for felony and treason, in order to obtain a sentence of condemnation against him, which would be attended with a confiscation of all the territories which he had holden of the crown of France. The preparations for this trial of a *dead vassal* alarmed Mary and Maximilian, who claimed the assistance of the empire; and Frederic accordingly sent a remonstrance to Lewis on the injustice of his conduct, but it was not by arguments that he was to be deterred from the pursuit of his ambitious projects.

The king opened the campaign by the siege of Condé, a small town, but important from situation, as it lay between Tournay and Valenciennes: as the garrison only consisted of three hundred men, it was soon obliged to surrender. Immediately after its reduction, Maximilian, having assembled the militia of Flanders, and the auxiliary troops which he had received from the emperor, advanced as far as Valenciennes with the view to bring the king to a decisive action. But Lewis, unwilling to risk, on the event of a battle, those solid advantages which he had derived from his dishonest policy, distributed his forces in the fortified towns, and retired to Cambrai. He soon after concluded a truce with Maximilian, by which he consented to restore all the places he had taken in Hainaut and Franche-Comté; to withdraw his troops from Tournay, and to evacuate the town of Cambrai.

The public, who were unacquainted with the king's motive for signing such a treaty, at a time when he was rather in a situation to prescribe terms than to make concessions, loudly censured his conduct. But Lewis, alike heedless of the censures and complaints of his people, continued to pursue his own system of policy. The considerations by which he had been influenced in the conclusion of the late truce, were these: he had received information that Maximilian, profiting by the opportunity afforded him by a meeting of the imperial diet, had represented, in strong terms, the consequences of the king's attempts on provinces which were not holden of the crown of France, and had acquired a great number of partizans; that the emperor Frederic having terminated all his disputes with the king of Hungary, that monarch had engaged to send him a supply  
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of the empire against the Swiss, if they continued to furnish France with troops; and, lastly, that a league was forming against France, into which not only the princes of the empire, but the Venetians, the kings of Arragon and Castile, had promised to enter. He therefore prudently resolved to disarm these princes by an appearance of moderation, and by a voluntary cession of places which, sooner or later, he must have been compelled to surrender, since he could have no possible pretensions for retaining them. This shew of justice and equity, by effecting a dissolution of the German league, ruined the hopes of Maximilian, and reduced him to the forces of his own territories. The motive which superinduced the evacuation of Tournay was equally politic: the garrison of that town, by incommoding the Flemings, obliged them, in their own defence, to preserve their allegiance to Maximilian; the king therefore imagined, that so soon as the danger should be removed to a greater distance, and they should have nothing to fear for themselves, their spirit of sedition would return, and far from seconding the efforts of their prince, they would encrease his embarrassment, and rejoice in his disgrace. The event justified his opinion.

The latter years of the reign of Lewis were passed in alternate hostilities and negotiations, the former marked by no event of importance, the latter distinguished only for a spirit of treachery and deceit, that was visible in every transaction in which that infamous monarch had any concern. His interference in the affairs of Italy forms a single exception to the general remark. The wealth of the family of Medici, acquired by trade, and the magnificent spirit of the first Cosmo, gave him such an ascendancy over his countrymen, that though the forms of a popular government were preserved, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth. A considerable degree of his power he transmitted to his descendants; his grandsons, Laurence and Julian, having rendered themselves obnoxious to pope Sixtus the Fourth, that pontiff did not scruple to engage some envious citizens of Florence in a conspiracy against their lives. The church was fixed on as the scene of action; Julian perished by the daggers of the assassins, but Laurence was preserved amidst the tumult by the zeal and fidelity of his friends. At the same moment the troops of Sixtus entered the territories of Florence, and extended their devastations to the gates of the city. The house of Medici, unequal to the contest, implored the protection of the king of France. Lewis, though the slave of superstition the most abject, asserted, on this occasion, the pretensions of Laurence against the sovereign pontiff; and the court of Rome, after an ineffectual display of those arts for which she was celebrated, was compelled to recall her censures, and yield to the powerful mediation of the king of France.

The sovereignty of Genoa, which had been formerly ceded by France to the duke of Milan, was now again offered to the acceptance of Lewis, who wisely refused the dangerous honour: to the ambassadors who were sent to make him the offer, he returned this laconic answer—" *The Genoese give themselves to me, and I give them to the devil!*"



The king's turbulent and suspicious spirit would never suffer him to be at ease so long as there was a prince or nobleman in his dominions, possessed of sufficient power and authority to enforce respect and to render himself formidable. Though the duke of Brittany had observed a perfect neutrality during the late hostilities, Lewis seized some of his towns, and, in order to intimidate the duke into a compliance with whatever demands he might chuse to prefer, he purchased, of the remaining heirs, all the rights of the house of Penthièvre to the duchy of Brittany<sup>13</sup>. He also suborned a man of infamous character, whose name was Doyac, to stand forward as the accuser of the duke of Bourbon; and the parliament of Paris displayed a willingness to favour the nefarious projects of their sovereign. But the popularity of the duke of Bourbon secured him from the wicked attempt; while the perjury of Doyac, which ought to have incurred the severest punishment, was rewarded by Lewis with the government of Auvergne.

In 1479, Lewis made an attempt to complete the reduction of Franche-Comté. Chaumont d'Amboise, with a strong body of troops, after defeating the militia of the province, laid siege to the town of Dole; which, having been betrayed by the garrison, was immediately reduced to ashes, while the citizens were inhumanly massacred by the French. Most of the other towns, intimidated by this act of severity, opened their gates on the approach of the troops. In the Low Countries, however, the French were not equally successful. Virton, a strong town in the duchy of Luxembourg, was retaken by the marshal of Burgundy; at the same time that Maximilian, with an army of twenty thousand men, laid siege to Terouanne. The marshals Desquerdes and de Gié were sent to oppose this formidable force; and at the village of Guinegatte the hostile armies met. The German cavalry were broken by the impetuous charge of the French, who, inconsiderately, pursued them to a great distance, while the archers, thinking the day was won, hastened to seize the enemy's baggage; but the count de Romont, who commanded the Flemish infantry, immediately attacked them, and put them to flight, so that the cavalry, on their return from the pursuit, found the enemy in possession of the field. Yet the slaughter appears to have been nearly equal on both sides. Lewis soon obtained a more decisive advantage, by the capture of fourscore vessels belonging to the Flemings, which were taken by admiral Coulon, and carried into the ports of Normandy.

Maximilian, weakened by the loss he had sustained at the battle of Guinegatte, was obliged to raise the siege of Terouanne; and to confine his hostile operations to the reduction of the fortress of Malaunoi, the governor of which he caused to be hanged. Lewis, in revenge, ordered his grand provost to select fifty prisoners, of the highest rank, seven of whom were executed on the same spot where the governor had suffered; ten were hanged before the gates of Douai, ten before Lisle, and as many before Arras. After

<sup>13</sup> Histoire de Bretagne par Lobineau.—Le Grand.

these acts of barbarity, so congenial to the soul of Lewis, that monarch closed the campaign by reducing seventeen fortified castles and villages, in the county of Guines, all of which he first plundered and then reduced to ashes.

A. D. 1481.] Lewis began to be tired of a war whence he could not hope to derive any farther advantage; and the means of retaining the conquests he had already made, now solely occupied his thoughts. But nature was oppressed by this continual and unwearied application to business; frequent faintings warned him to prepare for a future state; and at a village, near Chinon in Touraine, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy: he remained some time speechless and motionless, and though his voice and intellects returned, his health was considerably impaired.

But this attack, far from inspiring Lewis with sentiments adapted to his situation, only served to render him more suspicious, mistrustful, and despotic. When he felt the first symptoms of the disorder, he had moved towards the window of the apartment, but his attendants imagining the air would be prejudicial to him, seized him in their arms, and conveyed him to the fire-side. This effect of their concern for his safety, was now construed into an act of presumption, that merited punishment; and the faithful attendants were accordingly dismissed from their places, and banished from court. The king, jealous of his authority, was apprehensive, lest his officers, by accustoming themselves to contradict him on points of indifference, should, by degrees, take upon themselves the principal management of affairs, under pretence that he was not in a condition to conduct them himself.

The death of Charles, count of Maine, the last prince of the second house of Anjou, who had lately succeeded to a part of the dominions of René, titular king of Sicily, added, at this juncture, the county of Provence to the crown; but while Lewis was employed in securing this new acquisition, a second stroke of an apoplexy again warned him of his approaching end. He revived, however, and performed a pilgrimage to Saint-Claude; but though this journey was apparently undertaken from motives of religion, its real object was a matter of policy: viz. to restore tranquillity to the dominions of the house of Savoy, and to release the young duke from a state of domestic captivity. As soon as he had accomplished this object, and declared himself the protector of his infant nephew Charles, he returned considerably exhausted by a journey, the length of which was ill-proportioned to the weak state of his body.

A. D. 1482, 1483.] Though arrived at the last stage of life, when all schemes of ambition ought to have been totally expelled from his mind, the death of Mary of Burgundy, from a wound which she received by a fall from her horse in hunting, and which her



modesty prevented her from disclosing even to her husband<sup>14</sup>, again directed his thoughts to the insidious machinations of a dishonest policy. He excited the inhabitants of Ghent, with whom he had long maintained a secret correspondence, to revolt, and urged them to profit by the present occasion for the full recovery of their ancient privileges. They so far listened to his advice, as to take the two infant children of Mary from their father, and to send a deputation to Paris to sue for peace.

The deputies were received with the utmost magnificence, and though the capital was then exposed to the destructive ravages of pestilence and famine, false joy and artificial plenty were exhibited wherever they went. Soon after their departure, the king resolved to accomplish a project which he had formed for procuring the hand of Margaret of Austria, the infant daughter of Mary and Maximilian, for his son, the dauphin. The hatred of Maximilian formed, indeed, a serious obstacle to his wishes, but an event soon occurred by which he was enabled to surmount it.

The bishop of Liege had brought up in his family a young orphan of distinction, named William de la Mark, who, from the ferocity of his manners, had acquired the appellation of *The Wild Boar of Ardennes*<sup>15</sup>. This youth, after committing various acts of violence, assassinated the bishop's chancellor, in his palace, and almost in sight of his master. The prelate, justly enraged, banished the culprit from the territory of Liege. Although the punishment was greatly inadequate to the crime, la Mark breathed nothing but vengeance, and repairing to the court of France, he offered his services to the king, engaged to promote, in his favour, an insurrection of the Liegeois, and to open an entrance for the French into Brabant. Lewis, who never refused protection to villainy, where his interest was concerned, received la Mark with distinction, conferred on him the title of his lieutenant and governor in the county of Liege, and gave him a company of one hundred lances, with a sum of thirty thousand livres, to enable him to levy recruits. After every thing was prepared for his departure, the king proclaimed a revocation of his gifts, and published an order for him to quit the kingdom. This was done for the purpose of more effectually deceiving the bishop of Liege; the project accordingly succeeded; la Mark approached Liege, corrupted the magistrates, seduced the troops, excited a revolt, and, to crown his infamy, assassinated his benefactor. He then entered the city of Liege in triumph, and persuaded the inhabitants to declare for France. The French troops had, during these transactions, entered Artois, and reduced, through the treachery of the governor, the strong town of Aire.

Alarmed at these losses, and having no army then ready to oppose the progress of the French, Maximilian was prevailed on to consent to the marriage of his daughter with the

<sup>14</sup> Comines—Chron. Scand.—Heuter. Rer. Belgic.

<sup>15</sup> Comines.—Le Grand.

son of his unprincipled foe. By the treaty signed on this occasion, it was stipulated, that the young archduke, Philip, should, on assuming the reins of government, do homage to the king for the county of Flanders. That, should Philip die without posterity, his sister Margaret, wife to the dauphin, should succeed not only to Flanders, but to Hainaut, Brabant, Luxembourg, Holland, and the duchy of Gueldres; and if Margaret should not become wife to the dauphin, or should die without posterity, then the counties of Burgundy, Artois, Mâcon, Auxerre, and Troyes should revert to her brother Philip, who should do homage for the same; but, in that case, the towns of Lisle, Douai, and Orchies, should be restored to the king; and finally, that the king, immediately after the treaty should be signed, should restore his conquests in Luxembourg, and Hainaut; should recall all the French who were then in the country of Liege, and should engage to afford no farther assistance either to William de la Mark, or to the Liegeois. By the conclusion of this treaty, which was fully ratified by either party; and by the death of the king of England, which occurred about the same time, Lewis was freed from all his enemies, and had the satisfaction of seeing his dominions restored to a state of perfect tranquillity.

As the king found his health declining apace, he had, during these transactions, paid a visit to the dauphin, who was kept almost in a state of captivity, at the castle of Amboise, where—except the officers of the household—none were permitted to approach him but servants and persons of the meanest condition. Lewis was accompanied by several of the princes, and others of the nobility, in whose presence he thus addressed his son:—“ My son, I know not what term the Supreme Being has prescribed to the duration of my existence, but age and habitual infirmities warn me it is time to prepare for my last hour. Both my own wishes and the laws of the realm designate you for my successor; learn, then, the full extent of the obligations which that title imposes. You are destined to ascend the first throne in the world, and to bear the appellation of *Most Christian King*; for that rank, and for that august prerogative, you are indebted to your ancestors, who, by their valour, and their zeal in the cause of religion, have exalted themselves above all the princes in Christendom. If you are anxious to partake the glory which they have so well deserved, let your bosom be inspired with a noble ardour and endeavour to resemble them. Their example, my son, will suffice to teach you what to do, mine will better instruct you what to avoid; for, although, with the aid of the Almighty, and with the assistance of our brave subjects, the sceptre of France has not suffered degradation in my hands; although I have successfully defended the rights of the crown, and have even extended the limits of this kingdom; yet must I not conceal my faults: this confession may tend to your instruction better than any advice I can give you. Know, then, my son, that on my accession to the throne, having deprived of their places those officers who had served the state, and the king my father, with zeal and fidelity, that inconsiderate step has caused torrents of tears and of blood to flow, and has embittered my whole life. My son, the confession

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“ which I now make ought to render you more wise. The flame is not so far extinguished, but that it may be easily rekindled, unless, by a conduct more prudent than mine was at that period, you succeed in gaining the confidence of your faithful subjects; promise, then, that when you ascend the throne, you will, in all matters of importance, take the advice of the princes of your blood, and the members of your council; that you will not deprive any one of his place, unless he shall have previously been found guilty of prevarication; and as what I now require of you, is of the utmost importance, reflect seriously before you give me your answer.”

The dauphin then retired into an adjoining apartment, with the lord of Beaujeu, his governor, and the officers of his household, and in a few minutes he returned, and swore to fulfil the promise which the king exacted from him. The particulars of this interview were committed to paper, and transcribed to all the sovereign courts in the kingdom. Lewis then sent to the duke of Orleans, and made him swear that he would not oppose any of the regulations which he might chuse to establish, with regard to the regency, and that he would not engage his relations, the duke of Brittany and the count of Foix, to assist him in exciting troubles in the kingdom, and in procuring for himself a greater share in the administration than it should please the king to assign him. Both the duke's oath and the dauphin's were inserted in the registers of the parliament. It is rather extraordinary that Lewis should expect that others would be bound by an engagement which—notwithstanding its solemnity—he himself had invariably treated with contempt.

As Lewis approached nearer to the grave, his terror at the thoughts of his dissolution increased; although in the dreadful situation to which sickness had reduced him, death ought rather to have been considered as a friend than a tyrant, yet were all his hours most anxiously employed in the hopeless endeavour to prolong a miserable existence. All the precautions which he had hitherto adopted with the view to preserve himself from the secret machinations of his enemies, now appeared insufficient. At the most happy periods of his life, he was attended, wherever he went, by a body of troops and a train of artillery; and, since the assassination of the Medici and the duke of Milan, he had always armed himself with a pike, which a page carried at his side in the day, and which the king placed at the head of his bed during the night. But when he found his strength too far exhausted, by age and sickness, to suffer him to make use of this weapon in case of attack, he resolved to shut himself in some inaccessible place.

His favourite residence of Pleffis-les-Tours was, after much consideration, chosen for the purpose of retirement; he caused the castle to be surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, over which were thrown two bridges, that were never let down but at one particular hour; within the ditch an iron railing was erected, the walls of the fortress were covered with iron spikes, and the gates defended by bastions. A guard of four hundred archers

archers paraded round this gloomy prison night and day, with orders to fire on any one who should dare to approach without first making himself known. Eighteen thousand caltrops were distributed on the neighbouring plains, to prevent the approach of cavalry; and in the interior court of the castle were two rows of large iron chains, with cannon-balls fastened to the end of them, to which criminals, often for the most trivial offences, were fastened. These chains were called *Les fillettes du roi*. The avenues which led to this abode of misery were lined, on either side, with gibbets instead of trees, on which Tristan the provost—who was truly worthy to administer to the rage and caprice of a sanguinary tyrant—caused the wretched victims of his master's suspicions and revenge, to be placed. No one resided in the castle, except four or five officers, who, by their tyrannical conduct, had become the objects of public execration, and who from their expectations of falling, on the death of Lewis, into the hands of justice, were most interested in the prolongation of his life. The princes of the blood, and even the king's own daughters, were forbidden to enter the place, without an express invitation. When Anne of France, her husband, the lord of Beaujeu, and the count of Dunois brought the young dauphiness from Flanders, Lewis, having descried from the windows of his palace their numerous train, was greatly alarmed, and immediately sent some of his officers to search them, in the apprehension that they might have arms concealed beneath their cloaths.

But though Lewis had thus secluded himself from the world, he took care that the world should not forget him; instead, however, of deserving attention by acts of virtue, he only sought to render himself conspicuous by his vices. Every day, and almost every hour, were orders the most absolute and tyrannical dispatched to different parts of the kingdom. He dismissed, without any reason, all his old servants; and the new ones who succeeded them, were soon dismissed in their turn; when asked the motive of this conduct, his reply was—*Nature takes delight in variety*. Nor were these sudden dismissal confined to his household, for there was scarcely a post in the kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, but experienced a similar change.

Lewis was equally anxious to engage the attention of foreigners, whom he, also, wished to believe that his health was perfectly re-established. He sent envoys or ambassadors to foreign courts on the most frivolous pretexts; and these representatives of sovereignty had often no other business to negotiate, than the purchase of some trifling article for their master. From Spain, he exported, at a great expence, mules and sporting dogs; from Italy, horses and curiosities; from the kingdoms of the north, élks, reindeer, and furs; and young lions, and other scarce animals, from the coast of Africa; and, as his only object in purchasing these articles was to make people talk of him, his agents could not oblige him more than by paying a most extravagant price for them. They were conveyed to the palace with great pomp and parade, and when they arrived, he did not even deign to look at them.



All the stores of medicine were exhausted in vain to restore his drooping health; no remedy which the skill of the regular professor could suggest, or the ingenuity of the daring empiric devise, was left unemployed; we are told by a contemporary writer, that among other remedies, he was ordered to drink the blood of a child, in order to correct the acrimony of his own; and, that a great number of children were, accordingly, bled for the purpose. As hunting had always constituted his principal amusement when he was in health, he now ordered a number of large rats to be caught and turned loose in his apartments, where he hunted them with cats. But as he soon became tired of this kind of amusement, his attendants devised another more suitable to his situation. They assembled the peasants of Poitou, and dividing them into bands, distributed them in the meadows round the castle, where some of them played on their rustic pipes, while others danced and sung; Lewis looked at them from the different windows of the palace, and endeavoured to partake of their innocent pleasures; but if he perceived that any one took notice of him, he instantly retired, and did not dare to appear at the window again that day.

As all human remedies had proved inefficacious, he had recourse to others of a different description: he sent to different parts of Europe, for all the relics he could procure which were holden in any tolerable degree of estimation. Friar Rosat, a monk of Lombardy, and five or six of his brethren, brought him a great number from Italy; and he not only paid all the expences of their journey, but received them most magnificently. Some canons of Cologne obtained, in exchange for some curious relics, the confirmation of a rich donation which he had already made to their cathedral. A poor tradesman, from Aix-la-Chapelle, received sixty livres for a small silver image, which he said had touched some very famous relics. The king sent two thousand crowns to Saint James in Galicia, and he sent to Marseilles for the ring of Jobin. The holy oil from Rheims was taken to him with great ceremony, and he obtained permission from the pope to be anointed with it a second time; but the wily pontiff exacted for this indulgence—which had already caused an insurrection at Rome—the cession of the counties of Valence and Die, in Dauphiny, to which the church of Rome had preferred some obsolete claims.

It is very extraordinary that, impressed as the mind of Lewis certainly was with the fear of death, and, moreover, a slave to the most abject superstition, its most prominent and most disgusting features should still have retained their former strength. Having recommended himself to the prayers of Bourdeille, archbishop of Tours, that prelate thought the opportunity favourable for impressing him with a due sense of his errors; and he accordingly represented to him, with a truly apostolic zeal, that the most acceptable offering he could make to God would be that of a contrite heart; that gifts to the church could not expiate sins; that he had violated the privileges of the church by illegal acts of violence against its ministers; that he had either imprisoned or expelled from their sees, the bishops of Laon, Séz, Castres, Coutances, Saint-Flour, and Pamiers, whose only offence was that of being connected, either by the ties of blood or friendship,

friendship, with some persons who had incurred the king's displeasure; that he had despoiled several families of their patrimony; and that he had retained, against all law and equity, the inheritance of the house of Tremoille.

Lewis, enraged at the freedom of his censures, replied, that he had asked him for prayers and not for advice; that such complaints were an attack on the sovereign authority, and bore a strong resemblance to threats; that Bourdeille meddled with too many affairs; and that he defied him, and all the prelates he had mentioned, to find any flaw in his conduct. The king then ordered the chancellor to institute a process against the archbishop and the other prelates; and Bourdeille was finally compelled to ask pardon, for having discharged his duty.

But though Lewis—as he told the archbishop—asked for prayers and not for advice, yet did he wish for those prayers less for the salvation of his soul, than the re-establishment of his health. As he felt an inconvenience from the north-wind, whenever it blew for some days together, he ordered general processions to Saint-Denis; but being ashamed to avow his weakness, he commanded the prayers, that were said on those occasions, to be offered up for the health of the king and the dauphin, and for the preservation of the fruits of the earth. We are told that his chaplain was, one day, reciting an orison to Saint Eutropius, and when he came to pray “*for the health of the soul and of the body,*” he was interrupted by the king, who told him he ought not to ask for so many things at a time, and requested him only to pray for the health of the body. There is a letter of his still extant, addressed to Peter Cadouet, a monk; in which he says—“Master Peter, my friend, I request you with all possible earnestness to pray incessantly to God, and our lady of Salles, in my behalf; that it may please them to send me a quartan ague, for I am afflicted with a malady which my physicians tell me cannot be removed without it; and as soon as I have it, I will let you know.”

But while the king, depending on the efficacy of prayers, processions and relics, neglected the proper means of conciliating the mercy of a God whom he had grievously offended by the magnitude of his offences, a third stroke of an apoplexy (on Monday, the twenty-fifth of August) frustrated all his hopes of life. He lay motionless so long, that it was believed he was dead; on his revival, he forbade his attendants, however ill he might be, to mention the word death in his presence, since he did not think he should have resolution enough to hear it; “It will suffice,” said he, “to say, *speaking little*; I shall understand what you mean.” This prohibition, however, was disregarded; and his favourite, Oliver le Daim, accompanied by a physician, and a hermit, who had come from Calabria to assist him with his prayers, approached his bed, and apprizing him that he had but a short time to live, advised him to think of his conscience. But Lewis, as if anxious to dissemble to the last, replied, without betraying any emotions of terror;—“I hope that God will assist me, for I am not so ill as you think I am.”



From this moment, however, he appears to have been convinced of the certainty of his speedy dissolution; he sent for the lord of Beaujeu, whom he had appointed, conjointly with Anne of France, to govern the state during his son's minority, and imparted to him his last will: he then dispatched the chancellor to the dauphin of Amboise, and told all who went to see him, *to go to the king, and serve him with fidelity*. He sent also for the marshal Desquerdes, and advised him never to lose sight of the dauphin, for the first six months; he ordered him to give up all thoughts of the plan they had concerted together for taking Calais from the English, and not to molest the duke of Brittany, who, in future, he said, would only seek to live in peace; he added, that what would have been proper, had he lived, would be extremely dangerous during a minority; and, besides, that the kingdom stood in need of a peace for five or six years, in order to recover its strength.

At length he complied with all the forms required by the Catholic religion, and received the sacrament; he said, that on account of the particular devotion which he had always entertained for the holy Virgin, he should not die till Saturday; in fact, he expired on that day, which was the thirtieth of August, 1483, in the sixty-first year of his age, exclaiming, with his last breath—"Our lady of Embrun, my good mistress, assist me." He was buried, eight days after his decease, at the church of Notre-Dame, at Cleri.

To mark the different shades of vice; to distinguish the most prominent features of infamy, from those of inferior magnitude, is a task unpleasant in itself, and one from which neither amusement nor instruction can be derived: yet what else can be done in the delineation of a character, in which not a single good quality appears? That disposition to tyranny which Lewis evinced at an early period of his life, and which he was more studious to encourage than anxious to repress, affords strong grounds for believing that, at whatever period he had been called to ascend the throne, his reign must have abounded with schemes to oppress his people, and to render his own power absolute.—Subtle, unfeeling, and cruel, a stranger to every principle of integrity, and regardless of decency, he scorned all the restraints which a sense of honour, or the desire of fame, impose even upon ambitious men. Sagacious, at the same time, to discern his true interest, and influenced by that alone, he was capable of pursuing it with a persevering industry, and of adhering to it with a systematic spirit, from which no object could divert, and no danger could deter him<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Robertson.

In proportion as Lewis the Eleventh stripped the nobility of their privileges, he added to the power and prerogative of his crown. In order to have such a body of soldiers at his command, as might be sufficient to crush any force which his disaffected subjects could draw together, he not only kept on foot the regular troops which his father had raised, but took into his pay six thousand Swiss, at that time the best disciplined and most formidable infantry in Europe<sup>17</sup>. From the jealousy natural to tyrants, he confided in these foreign mercenaries, as the most devoted instruments of oppression, and the most faithful guardians of the power he had acquired. That they might be ready to act on the shortest warning, he, during the latter years of his reign, kept a considerable body of them encamped in one place.

Great funds were requisite, not only to defray the expence of this additional establishment, but to supply the sums employed in the various enterprizes which the restless activity of his genius prompted him to undertake. But the prerogative that his father had assumed, of levying taxes without the concurrence of the states-general, and which he was careful not only to retain but to extend, enabled him to provide, in some measure, for the encreasing charges of government.

What his prerogative, large as it was, could not furnish, his address procured. He was the first monarch, in Europe, who discovered the method of managing those great assemblies, in which the feudal policy had vested the power of granting subsidies and of imposing taxes. He first taught other princes the fatal art of beginning their attack on public liberty, by corrupting the source from which that liberty should flow. By exerting all his power and address in influencing the election of representatives, by bribing or intimidating the members, and by various changes, which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Lewis acquired such entire direction of those assemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely subservient, in promoting the most odious measures of his reign. As no power remained to set bounds to his exactions, he not only continued all the taxes imposed by his father, but made immense additions to them. Charles the Seventh levied taxes to the amount of one million eight hundred thousand livres; Lewis the Eleventh raised four millions seven hundred thousand livres. The former had in pay nine thousand cavalry, and sixteen thousand infantry; the latter augmented the cavalry to fifteen thousand, and the infantry to twenty-five thousand<sup>18</sup>.

In consequence of an extension of territory, by acquisitions of various kinds that were made during the reign of Lewis, France was formed into one compact kingdom, and the steady unrelenting policy of that prince not only subdued the haughty spirit of

<sup>17</sup> Comines.—Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Francoise*, tom. i. p. 183.

<sup>18</sup> Comines.



the feudal nobles, but established a species of government, scarcely less absolute, or less terrible, than Eastern despotism.

But fatal as his administration was to the liberties of his subjects, the authority which he acquired, the resources of which he became master, and his freedom from restraint in concerting his plans as well as in executing them, rendered his reign active and enterprising; and from this era, the kings of France, no longer fettered and circumscribed at home by a jealous nobility, have exerted themselves more abroad, have formed more extensive schemes of foreign conquests, and have carried on war with a spirit and vigour long unknown in Europe.

The military order of Saint Michael was instituted, by Lewis the Eleventh, in 1469; it consisted of thirty-six knights, the sovereign included; besides a chancellor, a secretary, a treasurer, and a herald. Lewis also instituted two parliaments, that of Bourdeaux, which his father had promised to establish, in 1462; and the parliament of Burgundy, in 1476.

An important discovery was made in the surgical art during this reign;—the mode of curing the stone by the operation of cutting. An archer of Meudon, who had been long afflicted with this dreadful disease, was, in 1474, convicted of various robberies, and condemned to die: but the physicians and surgeons of Paris represented to the king, that a great number of persons, of all ranks, being afflicted with the stone, it would be expedient to try, on this man, whose life was already forfeited to the laws of his country, an experiment which might prove of advantage to society. Lewis complied with their request; and the operation was performed with such success that the man was perfectly cured in a fortnight; when the king not only granted him a pardon, but assigned him a reward.

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## CHARLES THE EIGHTH.

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A. D. 1483.] CHARLES, either from the delicacy of his constitution, or from motives of jealousy, had been deprived of all the advantages of education; the orders of his father, to prevent his application to study, had been so rigorously enforced, that, on his accession to the throne, he could neither read nor write. Ashamed of his ignorance, the youthful monarch no sooner became his own master, than he pursued his studies with indefatigable zeal; he even acquired a taste for books, and engaged Robert Gaguin, general of the Mathurins, to translate, for his use, the commentaries of Cesar, and the life of Charlemagne. It was easy to perceive, from the admiration which he betrayed on perusing the accounts of the martial achievements of those heroes, that a thirst for military glory formed one of the leading features of his mind. But his utmost efforts proved inadequate to supply, in a full degree, the want of an early education; he always retained an invincible repugnance to business; displayed a want of penetration in his choice of ministers, and abandoned himself, without reserve, to favourites who, too often, abused his confidence: but, with these failings, Charles was frank, generous, and magnanimous; and “*So good*”—says Philip de Comines—“*that a better creature never existed!*”

Although, by the laws of the realm, Charles was of age to assume the reins of government since he had entered his fourteenth year, yet it was not deemed prudent to entrust them to such feeble hands. Lewis, therefore, had, by his will, ordained, that the administration should be vested in his eldest daughter, Anne of France, wife to Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu; the king had been influenced in his choice, by the considera-  
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tion that the princes of the blood would not think themselves degraded in being subjected to a princess who, by her birth, was placed above them : that Anne, moreover, could have no interest in defrauding the lawful heir of his right, since her sex precluded her from wearing the crown herself, and her husband could have no possible claim to it ; and, lastly, that if, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken, civil commotions should arise, nobody was better calculated for quelling them than herself. In fact, all the historians of that age concur in describing her as possessed of a profound genius, a strong mind, and all the graces peculiar to her own sex, combined with all the virtues that characterize the greatest of the other.

These considerations, however, were insufficient to deter those who had, as they supposed, stronger claims to the regency, from standing forward to assert them ; and to protest against the partial and improper conduct of the late king. The chief of these competitors was the queen-dowager, whose claims were founded on the rights of nature, and on customs fundamentally established and universally observed since the commencement of the monarchy. Lewis, although he had married against his father's commands, had never a sincere attachment for his wife, whom he treated with the utmost brutality, generally confining her in some distant fortrefs, and holding no commerce with her but such as was merely sufficient for the purpose of procuring heirs. But neither the unworthy treatment which that princess experienced from her tyrannical husband, who withheld from her those caresses which he lavishly bestowed on the meanest of his subjects, nor the order which Lewis is said to have given on his death-bed, to prevent her from approaching her son, and to banish her into Dauphiné, could deprive her of her rank, or debar her of her rights. And there is every reason to believe that the reins of government would have been placed in her hands, had she been earnest in the assertion of her claims ; but the retired life to which she had been so long accustomed, had rendered her averse from the bustle of the world ; and her death, which occurred within three months after the decease of Lewis, delivered Madame—for by that appellation was the eldest daughter of the king now distinguished—from a dangerous rival, and encouraged the pretensions of other competitors.

The first of these was Lewis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who had been compelled, by the late king, to marry his daughter Jane, a princess whose person was extremely disgusting, and so deformed, that she was supposed to be incapable of bearing children. The illustrious birth of his consort afforded but a poor compensation for her natural defects, in the opinion of a young prince who is represented as a model of beauty, and as being extremely addicted to amorous enjoyments. He concealed, however his displeasure, during the life of Lewis the Eleventh ; but the death of that monarch and that of the queen, the youth and inexperience of his successor, and the general discontent of the nation, all combined to furnish him with a favourable opportunity for disclosing his real sentiments. It was requisite that he should first endeavour to set aside

so much of the late king's will as related to the regency of Madame; after which he would find no difficulty in procuring a divorce from his wife, in contracting a marriage that might secure him the possession of a sovereignty, and in enforcing his claims to the duchy of Milan. The execution of these various schemes, however, surpassed the strength of his mind; and, it is probable, he would have been induced to abandon them had he been left to himself; but he had a friend who was capable of giving him advice, and who persuaded him to persevere in the prosecution of his plans. This friend was the count of Dunois, son to the celebrated bastard of Orleans, whose talents for political negotiations are said to have been unequalled. The duke was farther supported by the count of Angoulême, his cousin-german; his brother-in-law, the viscount of Narbonne; his cousin, the duke of Brittany; the duke of Alençon, and many others of the nobility, who were eager to pay their court to the presumptive heir to the throne. Independent of the oath which Lewis the Eleventh had exacted from the duke, binding him to an observance of his will, with regard to the regency, two other motives for excluding him from that dignity were now urged; first—That as he was presumptive heir to the throne, it would not be prudent to intrust him with the care of the king's person; and secondly, that as he was still a minor, having but just completed his twenty-third year, and not old enough to be entrusted with the disposal of his own property, it could not be expected that the management of the public revenue should be confided to him.

These objections to the duke of Orleans induced the duke of Bourbon, against whom no such objections could be urged, to stand forward as a claimant. Though of the blood-royal, he was so far removed from the throne, that there was no danger of his aspiring to ascend it; his age, his experience, the services he had rendered the state under Charles the Seventh, the persecutions he had experienced from Lewis the Eleventh, all spoke in his favour. If, said he, the duke of Orleans be excluded on account of his youth, with what propriety can Madame be preferred, who is equally young, and of a sex unfit for command? If, on the contrary, Madame has only been chosen in order to favour her husband, and the lord of Beaujeu is to govern the state under the name of his wife, can I suffer—pursued the duke—my younger brother, whose claims are so inferior to my own, to obtain a preference over me, and to acquire a right to command me?

The two competitors repaired to court, each of them followed by a powerful party. Madame endeavoured, by the bestowal of honours and rewards, to make them desist from their pursuit; on the duke of Orleans she conferred the government of Paris, the isle of France, Champagne and Brie, with a seat in the council; the count of Dunois was appointed governor of Dauphiné; and the dignity of constable and lieutenant general of the kingdom, which he had been long anxious to obtain, was conferred on the duke of Bourbon.

But



But the princes were unwilling to barter their claims for such precarious emoluments; they, therefore, filled the council with their creatures, and thwarted all the measures of the new government. Perceiving, however, that the prudence of Madame rose superior to all their manœuvres, they united in a request that the states-general might be convened, and the arrangement of the administration be left totally to them<sup>1</sup>.

This proposal threw Madame, and all those who were really attached to the king, into the utmost consternation, as they imagined it was only advanced with the view to set the nation in a ferment, in order that the princes might profit by the general confusion. They had received intelligence, that the duke of Orleans had entered into an association with the duke of Brittany and the arch-duke Maximilian, the two greatest enemies to the sovereign power; and that he had sent to Italy to solicit the young duke of Lorraine to return to France, and claim the succession of his grandfather, René of Anjou. Their terror too was increased, on considering what had recently passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. They had not forgotten, that, on the death of Charles the Bold, the states of Flanders had possessed themselves of the supreme power, had kept their lawful sovereign in a state of captivity, and had massacred her two principal ministers in her presence; that, on a more recent occasion, the duke of Gloucester had procured a declaration from the parliament of England, tending to bastardize his nephews, whom he afterwards murdered, and to place the diadem on his own brows. Though the duke of Orleans was not capable of such a flagrant act of villainy, yet was it impossible to say to what lengths his impetuous passions, inflamed by the artful suggestions of his perfidious advisers, might carry him. It was afterward discovered, that Peter Landois, prime minister to the duke of Brittany, had fabricated papers, and composed a memorial, in which he had attacked the legitimacy of Charles the Eighth. He affirmed that Lewis the Eleventh despairing to have a son, and wishing to detach from his brother's party the chief nobility of the kingdom, who did not hesitate to expose their lives and fortunes in his defence, because they considered him as the presumptive heir to the throne, had compelled the queen to adopt this child. Landois did not deny that Charles might be the king's son; but he maintained, that the queen not being his mother, he could have no right to the crown.

Whatever danger might attend a convention of the states under such circumstances, a formal refusal to convene them would have been still more dangerous. The people, who must soon have been made acquainted with it, would have immediately been led to conclude, that government had no intention of redressing their grievances, and would, perhaps, have proceeded to extremities. If the princes, in that case, had joined the people, Madame must have been lost without resource, and the young monarch might, possi-

<sup>1</sup> Comines—Godefroi sur Charles VIII.—Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne—Lenglet, Preface de Comines.

bly have been involved in her ruin. Though pressed on all sides, she continued, for some time, to elude the proposal; but finding that the princes were determined, of two evils she chose the least. The states were accordingly summoned to meet on the first of January, 1484, at Orleans; but, the consideration that that city was the capital of the appanage of the duke of Orleans, and that the loyalty of its inhabitants might therefore be justly suspected, induced Madame to change the place of their meeting to Tours. Tranquillity was now re-established at court; the princes directed their attention to the election of deputies at the provincial assemblies; while Madame, who, during this interval, remained in possession of the sovereign authority, endeavoured to secure the suffrages of the people by more honourable means than that of corrupting their representatives.

She began by confirming the judges and other magistrates in the possession of their respective posts<sup>2</sup>; and then directed her attention to the means of affording relief to the people. But before she diminished the receipts, she wisely took care to lessen the expences. The six thousand Swiss that had been taken into pay, by Lewis the Eleventh, she prudently dismissed, and, after paying all that was due to them, sent them back, in an honourable manner, to their own country; she likewise disbanded several companies of the national troops. By the adoption of these salutary measures, Madame was enabled to relieve the people, by remitting the last quarter of the taxes of the present year, at the same time that she promised them a more considerable diminution which was to take place as soon as proper regulations could be made with regard to the demesnes of the crown. To forward this plan, all the numerous grants made by the late king were revoked, and orders were dispatched to the treasurers of the different provinces to reunite them to the royal domains.

Madame, apprehensive that the people might be led to believe that she would instil into the mind of her brother the same principles of government which she had seen practised in the preceding reign, was careful to obviate suspicions of that nature, by the adoption of a very different line of conduct. Lewis having, on mere suspicions, sentenced a great number of persons to imprisonment or exile, his daughter ordered the prison-doors to be thrown open, recalled those who had been banished, and loaded with favours such as her father had persecuted with the greatest inveteracy. The prince of Orange, who had been hanged in effigy for having promoted a revolution in Burgundy, was now restored to the possession of his estates in Franche-Comté: D'Urfé and Poncet de la Riviere, whom Lewis had always regarded as his personal enemies, were promoted to places of trust and importance: Philip of Savoy, count of Bresse, was recalled from Germany, where he had been compelled to seek an asylum, and admitted to a seat in the

<sup>2</sup> Godefroi—Recueil de pieces sur Charles VIII.—Lancelôt, Memoire de l'Academie des Belles-Lettres, t. viii. Histoire de Lorraine par Dom Calmet.



council; and, lastly, having received information of the offers which had been made by the princes to the duke of Lorraine, she dispatched a courier to that prince, who was then in Italy, where he commanded the Venetian forces, to exhort him to repair to court, promising to restore him the inheritance of his grandfather, René of Anjou.

At the same time that Madame endeavoured to conciliate the affections of those whom her father had persecuted, she delivered into the hands of justice his two greatest favourites, Oliver le Daim and John Doyac, to whom he had been most liberal in his donations, and whom, on his death-bed, he had particularly recommended to his son. Among a variety of crimes of which Oliver le Daim was accused, the following seems most to have fixed the attention of the judges. A gentleman having been arrested by the king's orders, and being threatened with death, his wife applied to the favourite to intercede in his behalf. Her youth, her charms, and her tears made a strong impression on Oliver; but incapable of harbouring any generous sentiment, he demanded the enjoyment of her person as the reward of the service she required. This infamous proposal was, at first, rejected by the lady, with the disdain it was calculated to incur; but having obtained permission to visit her husband in prison, she was overcome by his tears and intreaties, and, at length, consented to purchase his life with the sacrifice of her own honour. Oliver, however, being afraid that as soon as she had obtained the favour she asked, she would absent herself, for ever, from his sight, procured an order from the king to put the prisoner to death, and he commissioned Daniel, one of his satellites, to put the unfortunate gentleman in a sack, and throw him into the river. The crime was discovered by some fishermen who drew up the body in their nets, and the lady had now the mortification to perceive, that the very means which she had employed for saving the life of her husband had proved the cause of his death. So long as Lewis lived she kept her grief to herself, conscious that the publication of her shame would be productive of no possible advantage; but after the death of that tyrant, she boldly stood forward, and demanded justice on the assassin of her husband; and Le Daim, having confessed the crime, was hanged together with his accomplice Daniel.

Doyac, who had been a common informer, and who had been employed by Lewis to calumniate the duke of Bourbon, escaped the gallows, but to undergo a punishment equally ignominious, and more painful: he was sentenced to be whipped in different parts of the metropolis, to have one ear cut off, and his tongue pierced with a hot iron. He was then conveyed to Montferrand in Auvergne, the place of his birth, and the seat of his pretended triumph over the duke of Bourbon, where he was again whipped, lost his other ear, and was afterwards banished the kingdom.

Cottier, the king's physician, was involved in the same disgrace with the other favourites of Lewis; but his insupportable pride and his extreme avarice formed the only grounds

grounds of accusation against him : he was despoiled of all the estates which he had extorted from his master, and was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty-thousand crowns<sup>2</sup>.

A. D. 1484.] On the fourteenth of January, the king, accompanied by the whole court, made his solemn entry into Tours, and, on the following day, the states general being assembled, the sessions was opened by the following speech from William de Rochefort, chancellor of France :

“ My lords, ever since the accession of his present majesty to the throne, he has been  
 “ extremely anxious to meet the representatives of the people; and the motives of this  
 “ anxiety I will now explain to you.

“ He wished for an opportunity of expressing his gratitude for the joy which you evin-  
 “ ced on his accession ; in that, indeed, you only followed the example of your generous  
 “ ancestors, who were ever distinguished for their zealous attachment to their sovereigns.  
 “ It is the peculiar characteristic of a Frenchman, to love his king, to be ever ready to  
 “ sacrifice his life and fortune in his defence, and never to despair of his country’s safety,  
 “ so long as he can preserve his lawful sovereign ; while other nations are eternally  
 “ floating between obedience and revolt, and desert their monarchs on the most trivial  
 “ subject of discontent, or the most distant prospect of danger. Read their histories ;  
 “ you will scarcely find two or three successive monarchs who have left their heirs in  
 “ quiet possession of the throne ; and without going farther for proofs of what I ad-  
 “ vance, examine what has lately passed in England. Edward, at his death, left two  
 “ fair sons, the hopes of the nation ; but instead of being suffered to ascend the throne  
 “ of their ancestors, they have been basely massacred, and their assassin has been rewarded  
 “ with the crown. You, Frenchmen, have no such act of atrociousness to blush for :  
 “ open your annals, you will there find that infant sovereigns have been more honoured  
 “ and better served than the most absolute monarchs ; and you will admire a people  
 “ whose attachment to their kings has been most conspicuous at those periods in which  
 “ their kings have stood in greatest need of their assistance. It is to this unshaken fide-  
 “ lity you are indebted for the glorious advantage of being the first people in the world ;  
 “ for what other nation can presume to compare themselves with you ? In the ear-  
 “ liest ages, the Gauls, your ancestors, spread the terror of their arms over every part of  
 “ the continent ; they founded colonies in Italy, on the banks of the Danube, and even  
 “ in Asia. Though the dissensions which prevailed between them proved the means of  
 “ subjecting them to the Romans, they inflicted a dreadful vengeance for the defeat  
 “ they sustained ; it was the sword of the Gauls that enabled Julius Cæsar to enslave his

<sup>2</sup> We are told that this man, well pleased at having escaped so easily, returned to his former profession, and caused an Abricot-tree (un *Abricotier*) to be engraved on his door, with this inscription *a l’abri-cotier*. Garnier.



“ country. In the sequel, the Franks, incorporated with the Gauls, delivered the church  
 “ of Rome from the yoke of the barbarians, laid the first foundation of her power and  
 “ greatness, and re-established the western empire, which had long been overturned.  
 “ Fired with a holy zeal, they flew to the defence of their brethren oppressed by the infi-  
 “ dels, fixed their standards on the walls of Jerusalem, and reduced Palestine, Syria,  
 “ Sicily and Greece. How glorious it is to command a people at once so generous and  
 “ so brave ! It is to your affection, to your virtues, that the king feels himself indebted  
 “ for the splendor of his rank ; and a desire to express his gratitude on this account was  
 “ one of his chief motives for assembling you.

“ A second motive not less powerful was his desire of seeing you, of offering himself  
 “ to your sight, and of encreasing, thereby, the mutual affection by which you are  
 “ united ; contemplate then that august prince, on whom the country now relies for its  
 “ safety. Let not his youth alarm you : Solomon, the wisest of kings, was young  
 “ when he mounted the throne ; Scipio, who obtained the consular dignity before he  
 “ had reached the age required by the laws, repaired the losses of the Roman republic,  
 “ and made her triumph over her most formidable enemy. Saint Lewis, whose reign  
 “ forms so glorious an epoch in our history, was not older than your king when he  
 “ ascended the throne. In privileged minds prudence is not incompatible with wisdom :  
 “ your sovereign, young as he appears, knows how to act with propriety, and in whom  
 “ to place his confidence ; of this you may judge by the third motive which induced him  
 “ to assemble you.

“ He was anxious to explain to you the conduct he has observed since his accession,  
 “ to communicate his future designs, and to associate you with him, in a certain degree,  
 “ in the government. Immediately after his father’s death, he sent for the princes of  
 “ the blood, who instantly obeyed his summons, and, by their advice, he confirmed  
 “ all the officers in the kingdom in the possession of their respective posts, that the pub-  
 “ lic safety might not be endangered, and that the administration of justice might  
 “ suffer no interruption ; he also entrusted the management of the revenue to persons  
 “ of acknowledged probity. Being informed that the domains of the crown had, by  
 “ inconsiderate alienations, been greatly diminished, he granted letters-patent for re-  
 “ voking all such gifts ; for it is not his intention to drain the purses of his subjects,  
 “ nor to overload them with imposts. He means to begin by appropriating the revenues  
 “ of the domain to defray the expences of his household, and other state charges ; and  
 “ only to demand of his faithful subjects such contributions as are indispensably re-  
 “ quisite for the defence of the kingdom. His first and most ardent wish is to see his  
 “ people contented and happy : and the promotion of their welfare and felicity was the  
 “ sole object he had in view in the reforms which he has already made. As the nation  
 “ incurred a great expence by keeping six thousand mercenaries in constant pay, he has  
 “ sent them back to their own country ; he has also dismissed several companies of the  
 “ national

“ national troops, whose assistance cannot be wanted so long as the kingdom shall be at  
 “ peace; and in order to secure the continuation of tranquillity, he has sent ambassa-  
 “ dors to all the neighbouring powers, either to renew the old treaties, or to contract  
 “ new ones. These occupations have not prevented him from directing his attention to  
 “ two other objects of importance—the legislation, and the reform of the clergy. With  
 “ regard to the first, he has caused all the ordonnances of Charles the Seventh to be  
 “ collected, in order to put them in force; and as to the second point, he conceived, that  
 “ without subjecting himself to censure for violating the decisions of the church, which  
 “ he holds in the greatest respect, he might, as head of the state, take cognizance of  
 “ whatever related to discipline and manners.

“ This is what the king has already performed; you are now to hear what he expects  
 “ from you; and this formed the fourth motive for assembling you. He requires that  
 “ you should point out to him whatever abuses may have escaped his knowledge, and  
 “ that you should not conceal from him any of the evils with which the people are  
 “ afflicted: do not fear that your complaints will be importunate, the king will pay due  
 “ attention to all your remonstrances. And you, princes, who hear me, I entreat and  
 “ conjure you, in the name of our country, our common mother, to lay aside all spirit  
 “ of party, and to suffer the deputies to enjoy a full and perfect freedom of debate.

“ The fifth motive for the convention of this assembly, was the necessity of forming  
 “ a council for the king, who might second his plans for the preservation of peace, for the  
 “ re-establishment of the police, for the administration of justice, and for the encourage-  
 “ ment of trade: this council ought to be composed of men, whose experience of the  
 “ past may enable them to provide for the future; whose dispositions and characters  
 “ are calculated to secure to the king the affection of his subjects, and the esteem and  
 “ confidence of his neighbours; of men who have a thorough knowledge of the con-  
 “ stitution of the kingdom, and who are capable of setting in motion all the springs of  
 “ the body-politic, without embarrassment or confusion. If the king’s wishes are gratified,  
 “ justice will sit on the throne, and dictate laws to his people. Whoever shall commit  
 “ any offence against justice, will offend the king; and whoever may wish to prove his  
 “ affection for the king, must begin by paying a strict attention to justice. In order to  
 “ remove all doubts as to his true sentiments, the king has commanded me to warn  
 “ every person not to presume to ask him for any thing unjust; for whoever shall make  
 “ such an attempt, will meet with the punishment due to his temerity. Justice, Pru-  
 “ dence, Resolution, and Temperance will support the throne, and regulate all the  
 “ actions of the monarch. Then may the people—rescued from shipwreck, and daily  
 “ repairing their losses—exclaim, with transports of joy, *O, thrice happy day! that has*  
 “ *restored to us peace and plenty, and has given us a prince whose conduct is influenced by wis-*  
 “ *dom, and who merits the appellation of—Father of his Country!*



“ In vain should we aspire to the possession of these advantages, unless concord and  
 “ union were previously established among the different members of the state; and this  
 “ desirable object it is chiefly your business to accomplish. Recollect what Cesar said  
 “ of our ancestors:—*All the troops in the world would prove insufficient to subdue the*  
 “ *Gauls, were they united among themselves.* What caused the destruction of the Roman  
 “ republic?—the rivalry of two of her citizens. It would be needless to remind you  
 “ of the calamities produced in France, under the reign of Charles the Sixth, by the  
 “ hatred of two powerful families.

“ I conclude, by consigning to your care the interests of the king, the church, and  
 “ the people. You will observe the following order in your deliberations: you will  
 “ first discuss all matters which relate to the general welfare of the state: you will next  
 “ examine such as concern only a single province or town: and, lastly, you will attend  
 “ to the affairs of individuals. Take care not to confound these objects. The king  
 “ will grant you an audience whenever you shall apply for one; and he will refuse jus-  
 “ tice to no man; not to the meanest of his subjects \*.”

The assembly immediately adjourned till the next day, when they proceeded to the election of a president, and two secretaries; after which, they agreed to divide themselves into six parts, or *nations*, in order to avoid that confusion which a contrariety of interests might occasion in the course of the debates between the deputies of the different provinces.—The first nation comprized the isle of France, Picardy, Champagne and Brie; the Nivernois, the Maçonnois, Auxerrois, and the Orleanois.

The second consisted of the two Burgundies, and Charolois.

The third, of Normandy, Alençon, and Perche.

The fourth, of Aquitaine, Armagnac, the county of Foix, l'Agenois, the Perigord, Querci, and Rouergue.

The fifth, of Languedoc, Dauphiné, Provence, and Roussillon.

And the sixth, called the *Langue d'Oyl*, included Berri, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, the Limousin, Auvergne, the Bourbonnois, Forés, Beaujolois, Angoumois, and Saintonge.

Each division had a private apartment for the discussion of such matters as they meant to lay before the king; after which it was agreed that the six divisions should meet to

\* Manuf. de Maffelin, tirée de la Bibliothèque du Roi.—Garnier, tom. xix. p. 167.

report the result of their respective labours, when the most important objects should be selected, and formed into one *cabier*, or string of resolutions, which were to contain the demands of the whole nation.

It would be superfluous to detail *all* the proceedings of this assembly, to notice the intrigues of the princes to corrupt the deputies, the petitions of individuals for redress of injuries sustained during the preceding reign, or the various disputes which occurred between the members themselves. We shall only, therefore, select such parts as relate to the general history of the kingdom, or as tend to explain the maxims of government, and to illustrate the notions of liberty which were then entertained by the French.

The debates on the formation of a regency, and the establishment of a council, were long and animated. The nation of Normandy proposed to leave the king's person to the care of those who had hitherto discharged that important trust with wisdom and with zeal; to vest the government of the kingdom in the hands of the council; to admit all the princes of the blood to a seat in the council, according to their rank, and to give them the power of chusing eight or twelve of the old councillors, and to dismiss the rest; that, to that number, should be added twelve, fifteen, or even four-and-twenty new councillors, to be selected from the states-general, by the states themselves, which new members should enjoy the same rank and prerogatives as the old ones. This proposal, which tended to throw the whole power of the government into the hands of the people, acquired numerous partizans. Many members exclaimed—That its propriety could not be questioned; that the supreme power was, during the king's minority, vested in the nation, who had an undoubted right to impose its commands on individuals; and that, consequently, the princes of the blood should be compelled to submit to this regulation. On the other hand it was maintained, with equal warmth, That, in an hereditary monarchy, such as France, the nation had no right to the sovereign authority, so long as there remained any lawful heirs: that, after the king's death, that authority passed into the hands of his son, if he were in a condition to exercise it; and, in case of a minority, into the hands of the princes of the blood, who were his natural guardians; that they also had a right to form a council, and to regulate all the different departments of government; and that they were under no necessity of asking the people's advice, except with regard to the *distribution and collection of imposts*; that, if the princes, on the present occasion, had deigned to consult the nation, and chuse her as the arbiter of their respective claims, it was a pure condescension on their part, which demanded a grateful return, and should not, on any account, be abused; that, by exciting their discontent on an article in which the happiness of the people was in no wise concerned, they might perhaps be led to dissolve the assembly, and that then every advantage, which the people expected to derive from the convention of the states, would be irretrievably lost; that prudence required the states should confine themselves to such objects as came  
immediately



immediately within their province, and leave to the princes the care of settling their own disputes, as they might think proper.

The speech of Philip Pot, lord of Roche, representative of the nobles of Burgundy, is peculiarly worthy of notice. “If I were not well acquainted”—said he—“with the sentiments of the most enlightened part of the assembly, on the liberty and authority of the states, I should not now attempt to oppose the vain clamours of the multitude; but after the proofs which you have already given of your discernment and knowledge, I need not fear to advance what reading and reflection have taught me on this fundamental point of our public law. If I succeed in making myself understood, I dare flatter myself that those who now blame us for the care we take in the formation of a council, will change their opinion and their language. Before I enter into an explanation of the reasons on which I found the authority of the states, let me be allowed to put a question or two to our adversaries:—Do they imagine that, on the death of a king, who leaves a son in his minority, the guardianship of the infant-monarch, and the general administration of the kingdom, belong of right to the first prince of the blood? No, doubtless—they will answer—for then the life of the monarch would be exposed to evident danger; the law, too, has provided for this case, by conferring the administration on the first prince of the blood, and the guardianship on the next in succession. Take care, I reply, that you do not, by this arrangement, equally expose the life of your sovereign; for the two princes, between whom you seem to divide the authority, may unite and have the same interests. But of what law are you speaking? Where does it exist? By whom was it made? In what book have you read it? I defy you to answer any one of these questions. If such a law did really exist, do you suppose the duke of Orleans would have consented to submit to arbitration a question already decided, and to suffer the discussion of claims already settled? In vain do you cite the case of Charles the Wise; that case makes against you; for Charles did not succeed to the regency till two years after the throne had been vacated, and till that dignity had been conferred on him by the states.—

“I now address myself to those who pretend, that, during a minority, the guardianship and administration devolve on all the princes of the blood indiscriminately; and let me ask them, if they mean to comprize in the number, such as are descended from our sovereigns, on the mother’s side, for, in that case, they will have a long list of guardians and administrators, among whom it will be difficult to establish union and concord. But I will suppose that they confine themselves merely to the male line: if those princes have any dispute among themselves about the government, who is to decide between them? Is it not plain, that they will immediately have recourse to arms, and involve the nation in all the horrors of civil war? Is it not evident, also, that, in this case, the supreme authority will often become the reward of a madman, and a disturber of the public repose, who, in a well-regulated government, would incur the severest

“ severest punishment? What then—will it be asked—must the kingdom during a minority, remain in a state of anarchy? No, certainly, for the authority then devolves on the states-general, who will not, themselves, take charge of the government, but who will entrust it to such persons as they shall deem most capable of discharging its duties with zeal and ability. Now, hear what books, and conversation with men of wisdom and experience, have taught me on this important matter.

“ When men first began to form societies, they chose for their masters such of their equals as they believed to be possessed of the greatest knowledge and integrity; in short, such as by their personal qualities were best calculated to procure the greatest advantage to the infant society. Those who, after their election to this important office, only thought of enriching themselves at the expence of their subjects, were not considered as true pastors, but as ravenous wolves; and those, who, without waiting for an election, seized upon the sovereign authority, were not regarded as kings but as tyrants. It is of the utmost consequence to the people, to know the disposition of the man who is destined to govern them, for on that alone depends the happiness or misery of the whole community. Now to apply these general principles:—If any dispute arise with regard to the succession to the throne, or to the regency, who is to decide it, unless that same people who first elected their kings, who conferred on them all the authority they enjoy, and in whom the sovereign power ultimately resides? For a state or any government whatever is the *res publica*, and the *res publica* is the *res populi*; by the people I would be understood to mean the collective body or totality of the citizens, and in this totality the princes of the blood themselves are necessarily included, as chiefs of the order of nobility: can you, then, who are the representatives of the people, and obliged by oath to defend their rights, still entertain a doubt that it is your province to settle the administration and the form of the council? Who is to prevent you? Has not the chancellor declared, that the king and the princes expect you will do this? I am told, that immediately after the death of the late king, the government was settled, and a council chosen, and that thus our cares on this head became superfluous. To this I reply, that as the state could not remain without governors, it was necessary to appoint, without delay, some persons who might watch over the public interest; but that such appointments, as well as all other regulations which have been adopted since the king’s death, are merely provisional, and cannot subsist without your confirmation. These assemblies of the states, and the power which I ascribe to them, are no novelties, as all who have read history must know. When, on the death of Philip the Fair, a dispute arose between Philip of Valois and Edward, king of England, with regard to the succession, the two competitors submitted their claims, as they were bound to do, to the decision of the states, who pronounced in favour of Philip. If, then, on that occasion, the states could lawfully dispose of the crown itself, how can their right to appoint a regency be called in question? During the reign of king John, when that



“ courageous, but imprudent, prince was taken prisoner, and conveyed to London; the states  
 “ did not entrust the administration to his son, although he had then completed his twen-  
 “ tieth year; it was not till two years after, that these same states, assembled a second time,  
 “ invested him with the dignity and authority of regent; and finally, when Charles the  
 “ Sixth acceded to the throne, at the age of twelve only, the states general again ap-  
 “ pointed a regency, and settled the government. This is a fact that cannot be disputed.  
 “ After such positive authorities, will you still doubt the validity of your rights? And  
 “ since, by the form of your oath, you are bound *to do and to advise what, according to God*  
 “ *and your consciences, you shall deem most useful to the state*, can you neglect the funda-  
 “ mental point of all your proceedings? For if the promises which you mean to exact  
 “ from the princes should be broken, to whom are you to apply for redress? Omit the  
 “ article of the council, and all your subsequent labours will be superfluous:—In short,  
 “ I have proved to you that you have an undoubted right to settle the administration,  
 “ and to regulate the form of government; I have quoted a great number of examples  
 “ to demonstrate this truth; the king commands you to exercise your right, the  
 “ princes consent to it, and your country exhorts you by the mouth of her first magis-  
 “ trate. If reasons thus strong can make no impression on your minds, any calamities  
 “ which the state may experience hereafter must be ascribed solely to your baseness.  
 “ And you, who still cherish the name and preserve the resolution of Frenchmen, do  
 “ not give the nation cause for accusing you of having betrayed her confidence, nor let  
 “ posterity have reason to reproach you with not having transmitted the precious charge  
 “ of public liberty in the same state in which you received it from your ancestors.”

This speech was differently received by different parties; by some the orator was  
 warmly commended for his patriotic zeal; while by others he was loudly censured for  
 his audacity and factious disposition: and many long debates and much altercation oc-  
 curred before the question of the council could be finally decided. At length, on the  
 twelfth of February, the assembly came to the following resolutions:

“ The king having entered into his fourteenth year, and displayed a degree of wisdom,  
 “ prudence and discretion superior to his age, shall himself publish all letters-patent, regu-  
 “ lations and ordonnances, after they have been discussed by the council.——The  
 “ states beseech the king to preside at the council, in person, as often as he can, in  
 “ order to acquire an early knowledge of business, and to verse himself in the arts of  
 “ government.

“ In the king’s absence, the duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, shall pre-  
 “ side at the council, where every measure shall be decided by a plurality of suffrages.

“ After the duke of Orleans, and in his absence, the duke of Bourbon, constable of  
 “ France, shall preside.

“ The

“ The lord of Beaujeu, who has already rendered such important services to the state,  
“ shall have the third place, and shall preside in the absence of the dukes of Orleans  
“ and Bourbon.”

It was farther resolved, that twelve new counsellors should be chosen by the king and the princes, from among the members of the states, two from each of the six nations. The fear of offending the duke of Orleans prevented the states from making any mention of Madame in these resolutions; but she had no reason to complain, for the resolutions were so contrived as to leave her in possession of all her authority. If she should find her measures thwarted in the council, by the presence of the duke of Orleans, she could easily remedy that inconvenience by sending the king—of whose person she had the sole disposal—to preside. The constable, from his age and infirmities, would seldom be present, so that the lord of Beaujeu would mostly be president of the council. The king went to the assembly, where the resolutions were read to him; the deputies then bent one knee to the ground, and in that posture waited his determination. After conferring for some minutes with his chancellor, he confirmed them all without any restriction.

The next object of importance which engaged the attention of the assembly was the state of the revenue; and the deputies seemed unanimous in their opinion that a general abolition of imposts ought to take place. This, they conceived, the king might be enabled to allow; first, by re-uniting to the crown all kind of possessions, which, at any time, had been alienated from it, on whatever pretext: on this subject they maintained, that the domain, being the true patrimony of the crown, ought to be appropriated solely to the purpose of defraying the expences of the state, and that a king could not, without manifest injustice, alienate any part of it: secondly, by suppressing all useless offices, and by reducing the wages of such placemen as it should be found necessary to retain: thirdly, by retrenching, or, at least, diminishing pensions; and fourthly, by reducing the number of national troops. Having discussed this matter, they came to the following resolution:

“ That all taxes, and other arbitrary exactions, ought to be abolished; and that, in  
“ future, agreeably to the national *franchise* of France, no tax or impost whatever  
“ should be levied, within the kingdom, without the free consent of the states-general.”

But this resolution, as well as the article which related to the reduction of the national troops, experienced a violent opposition from the king and the princes of the blood; nor, indeed, could the assembly themselves agree as to the most essential points, from the difficulty which they found in reducing their theory to practice. In order to obtain a just criterion of judgment, they had applied to the king for a full and regular account of the different branches of the revenue, and of the different articles of expenditure, that, by a comparison of the receipts with the expences, they might be able to decide how far their projects of economy were feasible and advisable. This statement had ac-



cordingly been delivered to them by the officers of the revenue ; but, on perusing it, it appeared to be drawn up for the mere purpose of deceiving the deputies. The revenue of Normandy was stated to amount to no more than twenty-two thousand livres, and the whole revenue of the crown was only estimated at seven hundred and fifty-five thousand, in short, the receipts were every where diminished, and the expences magnified. The account was divided into six parts: 1. The expences of the king's wardrobe, of his table, and that of his guests. 2. The wages of the officers of his household; of the hundred gentlemen of his guard; of the two hundred archers *à la grande paye*, and of the two hundred *à la petite*; private pleasures and embassies. 3. The pay of the troops, to the number of two thousand five hundred lances, and of seven or eight thousand infantry; the artillery, the fortifications, and the expences of the royal-camp, or Camp of Peace, established by Lewis the Eleventh. 4. The salaries of the judges of the parliaments of Paris, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Burgundy and Grenoble; the chamber of accounts, the chancery, the grand council, and the officers of the finance. And lastly, the list of pensions, in which only the names of the pensioners were mentioned, who amounted to nine hundred.

This false account deranged all the combinations of the assembly, who, after much altercation and debate, were, at length, induced to give up their original plan, which they found to be impracticable in its full extent, and to make another proposal to the king. They chose John de Maffelin for their speaker, who, at a general assembly, at which the chancellor and all the princes of blood were present, pronounced the following harangue:

“ We have examined the accounts which were delivered to us by the officers of the revenue, but, at first sight, we found them so full of such gross untruths, and such palpable falsehoods, that we could scarcely believe our eyes: we must observe, that we did not expect to be treated with such contempt; and since it had been resolved to deceive us, a more skilful mode of accomplishing the resolution ought, at least, to have been adopted. I shall not attempt to point out every falsehood; a whole day would be insufficient for the purpose; I shall, therefore, confine myself to one or two articles. The revenue of Normandy, for which province I am member, is, in that account, only estimated at two-and-twenty thousand livres, whereas there are people in this assembly who offer forty thousand for it, and will give good security for the performance of their engagement. The revenue of the two Burgundies, which are known to amount to eighty thousand livres, are only estimated at eighteen thousand; and the same falsehoods are observable with regard to all the other provinces. The deputies for the various provinces are all present, and ready to attest the truth of my assertions. But if they have been actuated by a spirit of diminution in their calculation of the receipts, they have, in revenge, wonderfully swelled out the expences. The first article, which includes the expences of the king's wardrobe and table, amounts to an incredible sum: God forbid we should set ourselves up for censors of our master, and pretend to  
“ throw

“ throw any restraint on his inclinations!—no;—we shall only presume to request that  
 “ he will regulate his household by the example of Charles the Seventh, of glorious  
 “ memory. That monarch, whose life had been a life of labour, and whose brows were  
 “ shaded with laurels, kept, in his old age, a table much less expensive than that of a  
 “ modern prince in his infancy; for although, magnificence—as we have been told—  
 “ be the appanage of royalty, and every man ought to live according to his rank, yet,  
 “ it must be acknowledged, that every thing has its bounds, and that the master of the  
 “ world might ruin himself by superfluous pomp and unbridled luxury. The remarks  
 “ we have made on the king’s table and wardrobe, apply equally to his guard, which is  
 “ three times more numerous than was that of Charles the Seventh. They apply also  
 “ to the officers of his household, and of the finances, whose number is not only doubled,  
 “ since that period, but their wages likewise. Nor can one office, however lucrative,  
 “ satisfy the person who obtains it; the same person frequently enjoys four or  
 “ five, each of which would be sufficient to constitute the happiness of a worthier  
 “ man, who, despairing to procure a place, applies for a pension, and becomes a burden  
 “ to the state. In short, the multiplication of officers of every kind, and the increase of  
 “ their wages, are now carried to an intolerable excess; the deputies for Burgundy have  
 “ furnished us with a striking example of the prevalence of this evil. In the time of  
 “ duke Philip the Good, the revenue of the duchy and county of Burgundy was col-  
 “ lected by one treasurer, who had a salary of six hundred livres; this treasurer  
 “ had a clerk, whose wages were two hundred livres, and no other expence what-  
 “ ever was incurred by the collection of the revenue. Now there is a treasurer  
 “ with a salary of two thousand nine hundred livres; a receiver-general, with the same  
 “ salary; a private receiver at twelve hundred livres; and a comptroller at six hun-  
 “ dred; so that a considerable part of the revenue of the province is totally lost to  
 “ the state.

“ Now for the troops: in the list which has been presented to us, the expences have  
 “ been made out for the support of two thousand five hundred lances, and six or seven  
 “ thousand infantry, with the addition of a royal camp. On this subject the states have or-  
 “ dered me to make the following representations: if France had *no* mercenary troops, she  
 “ never could be considered in the light of a kingdom destitute of the means of defence,  
 “ since she possesses a brave and warlike nobility, obliged by their institution, and by the  
 “ nature of their possessions, to fly to the defence of their country; she has several  
 “ princes of the blood, men of wisdom and experience, who are the natural chiefs of the  
 “ nobility; and lastly, she can boast of a numerous and martial people, who make it  
 “ their pleasure, and think it their duty, to shed their blood for their king. For several  
 “ centuries she required no other defenders; and so far from finding herself exposed to the  
 “ insults of her neighbours, she gave the law to all the nations of Europe. These ar-  
 “ mies of mercenaries, whose utility is now so much dwelt upon, owe their first institu-  
 “ tion to suspicious tyrants, who thought they had no other means to defend themselves  
 “ from public vengeance, and who often received their punishment from the very men

“ to



“ to whom they had entrusted the defence of their persons. Let us, then, no longer be  
“ told—*that they are the arms of the body politic, and that on them the safety of the state*  
“ *depends!* It depends on the love which the subjects bear their sovereign. A state is  
“ happy and tranquil, when all orders of men unite in their wishes for the preservation  
“ of their chief. How glorious it is for a king to live among his subjects, as a father  
“ in the midst of his children, and only to be indebted for the sincere homage which they  
“ are eager to render him, to his own virtues and their affection! But any attempt  
“ wholly to eradicate such an inveterate evil would be vain. Since it appears evident  
“ that they are resolved not to abolish the wretched custom of keeping and paying a  
“ voracious instrument of murder, we require, at least, that the example of Charles  
“ the Seventh, may, in this instance, be followed;—that is to say, that only twelve  
“ hundred lances may be kept in pay, and that the greatest attention be paid in making  
“ them observe the strictest discipline.

“ As to the royal camp, established by Lewis the Eleventh, we consider it as a superfluous expence, which ought to be immediately abolished. Our opinion is the same with regard to several garrisons mentioned in the paper that has been delivered to us: we cannot, for instance, conceive the necessity of keeping a garrison of four hundred lances at Arras, since that town is defended by the garrisons of the neighbouring places: if, through excess of precaution, it were deemed necessary to station some troops there, we are thoroughly persuaded that fifty lances, and a company of infantry, would form a sufficient garrison. The same observation applies to Peronne, and several other places, too numerous to mention. But we were particularly astonished at finding a captain and a garrison set down for places situated in the center of the kingdom. Who could have expected to find a salary of twelve hundred livres, inscribed on the list for the captain of the Bastile, and as much for the captain of the tower of Bourges? as if those fortresses were exposed to any danger, or as if there were even reason to apprehend that the English could approach sufficiently near to them to desert, from some lofty mountain, the summit of these towers! I shall conclude this article by a fact, which, though it be of little importance in itself, proves to what depredations the public treasury is at this time exposed. Twelve hundred livres are set down as the expence of preparing this room, when every person present must know that it could not possibly exceed three. If, in an object thus trifling and exposed to public sight, they have not scrupled to be guilty of such a gross imposition, what must be the imposition on objects of greater magnitude, and with regard to which it is often impossible to procure any information? I know it has been said, in order to justify the persons who made out the accounts, that their only object was to amuse and mislead us; if that be their excuse, let me ask them, how they dare to insult the representatives of the nation? I shall take no notice of extraordinary expences, but proceed to the pensions. We have only received the names of the pensioners, without the amount of their respective pensions: but even were each pension moderate,  
“ rate,

“ rate, the list is so long, that they are sufficient to drain the public treasury. We are  
 “ of opinion that none have claims of this kind on the state, except such as have ren-  
 “ dered signal service to their country; and that more than half of the names  
 “ should be stricken off the list: we had even some thoughts of entreating the king to  
 “ suppress all pensions for a time.

“ Such, illustrious princes, are the reflections which the states have made on the ac-  
 “ counts which have been presented to them: you will doubtless enquire what subsidies  
 “ they have voted, and what is the final result of their deliberations? I will satisfy you  
 “ in a few words. Although the total abolition of taxes, and other arbitrary exactions,  
 “ appeared to us to be the only means of relieving the distresses of the people; although  
 “ we are still persuaded that such an abolition is not only possible, but would be even  
 “ advantageous to the king; yet, discouraged by the numerous obstacles which have  
 “ been opposed to the accomplishment of such a laudable plan, considering how dan-  
 “ gerous it would be to draw any conclusions from a false account, and despairing to  
 “ triumph over the malice of those who are interested in the perpetuation of abuses, we  
 “ have had recourse to an expedient, which, although it be onerous to the people, re-  
 “ moves all difficulties, and will prove to the king the sincerity of that affection which  
 “ his faithful subjects bear him—*We offer then to pay to the crown, by way of gift or grant,*  
 “ *the same sum which the kingdom paid to Charles the Seventh, of glorious memory; but on*  
 “ *condition, that this contribution shall be limited to two years, at the expiration of which,*  
 “ *the states shall be again assembled; and we require that the time and place for the future*  
 “ *assembly shall be immediately fixed by an irrevocable declaration.*—If all superfluous ex-  
 “ pences be retrenched, we are thoroughly convinced that this sum of twelve hundred  
 “ thousand livres, joined to the produce of the domain, the aids and Gabelles, will  
 “ more than suffice for the discharge of all necessary expences, and that a very con-  
 “ siderable portion of it may be set apart for unforeseen contingencies. The reasons on  
 “ which we formed this opinion are these: the revenue of Charles the Seventh was  
 “ greatly inferior to that of the present monarch, since he was not in possession of An-  
 “ jou, Maine, the two Burgundies, Artois, a great part of Picardy, Dauphiné, the  
 “ county of Provence, nor Roussillon. Charles the Seventh had greater expences to  
 “ defray than our king has, since he had sons and daughters, and, moreover, paid pen-  
 “ sions to René of Anjou, and the count of Maine; yet, notwithstanding these addi-  
 “ tional expences, he, with such an inferior revenue, had the most brilliant court in  
 “ Europe. He was a generous and munificent prince; he recovered, by force of arms,  
 “ the two most important provinces in the kingdom, Normandy and Guienne; and, at  
 “ his death, he left immense treasures. We therefore conjure the king and the princes,  
 “ not to ask for any greater sum than that which we now offer.”

This determination of the states occasioned violent altercations between the princes  
 of the blood and the members of the council; as the acceptance of the offer which had  
 been



been made by the representatives of the people must necessarily have occasioned a considerable diminution of pensions, salaries, and places. The princes, and people in power, did not choose that these retrenchments should fall upon them, nor upon the persons who were attached to their party; and it seemed impossible to engage the states to change their last resolution. The chancellor, however, who was harassed by the murmurs and discontents of either party, resolved once more to try his influence with the states; he accordingly repaired to the assembly, accompanied by the princes, and addressed them in the following words:

“ You have made some useful remonstrances to the king, who will pay them all the attention which faithful subjects deserve, for you cannot doubt but that he deems it more glorious to be king of the Franks than to be king of the slaves; but, at the same time, it behoves you not to forget what was said to an ancient people—In aiming at the acquisition of too much liberty, you run the risk of falling into the opposite extreme: it is no proof of wisdom, to throw yourself on the discretion of your enemies, nor can it be safe to sleep in the midst of serpents. I will suppose for a moment, that the kingdom has nothing to apprehend from foreigners; but then has it nothing to dread from the inordinate passions of some of its own members? Who will be able to check the turbulence of ambitious minds, if you take the troops from the king? Who will ensure the execution of the laws? Who will defend the widow and the orphan from violence and oppression? You have paid a just tribute of applause to Charles the Seventh, who first established regular companies; with what propriety then can you censure the king for wishing to keep them? If it were ever your intention to do good to your country, this is certainly the time to shew it.

“ You have entreated the king to be contented with the same sums which Charles the Seventh levied on his subjects; but you have not paid attention to the difference of the times and of circumstances. Charles the Seventh was a prince who had learned wisdom in the school of adversity; he was, moreover, vigilant, intrepid, and active; whereas your sovereign is almost an infant, and finds himself exposed to the snares of all who shall seek to profit by the weakness of his youth to shake off the yoke of dependence; he is, of course, in greater want of troops; from his inability to take upon himself all the cares of government, he stands in need of intelligent ministers and a numerous council; he cannot, therefore, avoid granting pensions: besides, since the change that has taken place in the value of money, the sum you offer is not equivalent to that which Charles the Seventh exacted from his subjects. Weigh all these reasons, and attend to my proposal. You require that the king should relieve the people; he will do more, for to relieve is only to lighten a burden, in a small degree, and you cannot be said to lighten a burden merely when you take off two thirds of it: the king, then, is willing to remit three deniers out of five, and this is a greater favour than you could presume to hope for. Last year the taxes amounted to three millions four hundred  
“ thousand

“ thousand livres. Onerous as that impost was, had not the king a right to continue  
 “ it, since he found it established? Certainly he had, but it is not his intention to ex-  
 “ ert that right. He means that the fifteen hundred thousand livres, to which he is  
 “ pleased to confine himself, shall be levied, in equal proportions, on all the provinces  
 “ which, in the time of Charles the Seventh, composed the monarchy; and he reserves  
 “ to himself the power of making a particular arrangement for such as have been an-  
 “ nexed to the crown since that period. You may now retire, not to deliberate, for  
 “ you have heard the king’s will, but to prepare yourselves for expressing your gratitude  
 “ in a becoming manner.”

This speech, far from exciting applause, was followed by a dead silence—in a few minutes some confused murmurs were heard, and then a general expression of discontent burst forth from every quarter. The members maintained that the chancellor had attacked the liberty of the nation, and the sacred rights of property, for, said they, If the king can, of his own will, and without the consent of the states, exact an additional contribution of three hundred thousand livres, he may, by the same rule, double or triple the taxes, and then all our pretensions fall to the ground. The president, after conferring with some of the members, who stood near him, asked permission for the states to deliberate in private; the princes accordingly withdrew, and the next day was appointed by the chancellor for receiving the final decision of the assembly.

The states seemed strongly disposed to resent the conduct of the chancellor, and to assert their own rights, by the immediate adoption of some violent measure; but the princes of the blood, by the alternate employment of promises and threats, at length induced them to yield, and to pass the following resolutions:

“ In order to defray the expences of government, and to ensure peace to the kingdom,  
 “ the members of the three estates grant the king, their sovereign lord, *by way of gift*  
 “ *and grant, and not otherwise, the same sum<sup>s</sup>—which can, at no future period, be called a*  
 “ *tax, but a gift and grant*—that during the reign of Charles the Seventh, was levied

<sup>s</sup> In the reign of Charles the Seventh, in 1456, the mark of silver was worth eight livres, ten sols; comparing it, therefore, with the modern price of fifty livres, we shall find that the livre of those times, bore to the livre of the present day the proportion of seventeen to a hundred; thus the twelve hundred thousand livres, granted by the states, were equivalent to seven millions, fifty-eight thousand, eight hundred and twenty-five livres, ten sols, seven deniers.

The chancellor observed that the value of money was changed, and that the sum granted by the states at Tours was not equal to the sum levied by Charles the Seventh. We know that in 1488, four years after this period, the mark of silver was worth eleven livres. *Garnier.*



“ on the kingdom, and this, *for two years only and no longer*, on condition, too, that the  
 “ said sum shall be equally divided among all the provinces of which the monarchy is  
 “ actually composed.

“ Besides this first annual sum, the states, who are anxious to promote the welfare,  
 “ honour, and prosperity of the king and his kingdom, and who wish to obey and to  
 “ please him, grant him the net sum of three hundred thousand livres, as a free gift, on  
 “ account of his joyous accession to the throne, and in order to defray the expence of his  
 “ coronation, and his public entry into Paris.

“ The states beseech and request the king to convene and assemble the states at the  
 “ expiration of two years, and to immediately point out and declare the time and place  
 “ at which such assembly shall be holden: for it is their intention that, hereafter, no  
 “ sum of money whatever shall be levied on the people, without convening the states,  
 “ and obtaining their consent, *agreeably to the privileges and liberties of this kingdom.*

“ If the future assembly shall be of opinion, that the affairs of the kingdom admit  
 “ of a diminution, or require an augmentation, the said states will ever be ready, like  
 “ most humble and most obedient subjects, to make provision accordingly, chearfully,  
 “ and courageously, without sparing any thing, so that the king, our sovereign lord,  
 “ shall have reason to be contented with his good and loyal people, and to hold them  
 “ in great and perpetual esteem.”

As soon as these resolutions were adopted, intelligence of the same was sent to the  
 lord of Beaujeu, who promised that the king should come to the assembly the next day;  
 but the bad weather prevented the young monarch from attending, though the chan-  
 cellor and the princes were punctual to their time. This disappointment somewhat dis-  
 concerted the speaker, Maffelin, who thus addressed them:

“ We had encouraged the hope that the king would honour this assembly with his  
 “ presence; but, since he is here represented by the princes of the blood, I shall still ad-  
 “ dress myself to him—August prince, under what happier auspices could you, pos-  
 “ sibly, have begun your reign? Your first steps have been guided by wisdom and jus-  
 “ tice. You assembled the states of your kingdom, and ordered them to point out to  
 “ you all the abuses which had crept into the administration; we have obeyed those or-  
 “ ders. Not content with discovering the disease we have, at the same time, indicated  
 “ the means of removing it: it remains with you to complete the cure, and your glory  
 “ is interested in the event. The nation would be dishonoured in the eyes of foreign  
 “ powers, if, after having undertaken to reform every branch of the administration,  
 “ our labours should be productive of no solid advantage, no real good to our country.  
 “ Continue,

“ Continue, august prince, to regulate your conduct by wholesome advice, but beware of  
 “ the arts of those perfidious councillors by whom the princes of your blood are sur-  
 “ rounded; they will tell you that a king is omnipotent; that he is never mistaken; that  
 “ his will is law;—these are monsters, objects of public execration; exterminate them  
 “ without delay, or they will not only corrupt your heart, but will infect your court, and  
 “ the whole body of the nation.

“ After dismissing such evil councillors, a king who wished to govern with equity  
 “ would immediately choose others whose integrity would justify the confidence he reposed  
 “ in them. He would honour the church, because a contempt of religion occasions a de-  
 “ pravation of manners, and prepares the downfall of a state; he would listen with re-  
 “ spect to the ministers of the gospel; he would impress on his mind an exact image of vir-  
 “ tue, in order that his thoughts, words, and actions, might correspond to it; he would  
 “ teach his subjects, by his own example, to respect the laws; he would cherish the nobi-  
 “ lity, and consider them as the arm of the state, and the support of the throne; in short,  
 “ he would live as a father in the midst of his children, and would frequently ask, with a  
 “ tender emotion, *How fares it with my people?*

“ If he found that his people were burthened with taxes, or that the sum they paid,  
 “ though moderate, was more than requisite to supply the wants of the state, he ought  
 “ immediately to put a stop to the exaction; this is a duty and not a favour; unless words  
 “ are grossly abused, and the action of a strong man who forbears to insult a weak man  
 “ whom he meets on his road, is also dignified with the appellation of a favour. The peo-  
 “ ple in a monarchy possess rights, and have a real property, since they are free and not  
 “ slaves, and since the monarchical government, according to the opinion of the ancient  
 “ philosophers, is the mildest of all governments, and that which is the most compatible  
 “ with liberty. *An abuse, however sanctioned by prescription, can never be pleaded in bar*  
 “ *of a natural right*; and whoever affirms that a king who, on his accession to the throne,  
 “ finds his people overburdened with taxes, is not bound to relieve them, advances a false  
 “ and injurious principle.

“ It has given us the greatest concern to find, that there are men base enough to accuse  
 “ us of a wish to deprive the king of his lawful prerogatives; such an atrocious imputa-  
 “ tion can only reflect dishonour on its author. Convinced that the welfare and advan-  
 “ tage of the people, and the welfare and advantage of the king, were one and the same,  
 “ we thought that, by seeking to relieve the people, we were serving the king, and ful-  
 “ filling the duty of faithful subjects. In blaming the disorders which prevailed in the  
 “ old government, we only obeyed the king’s commands, as he enjoined us, by the mouth  
 “ of his chancellor, to expose to him, without disguise, all the abuses which disfigured



“ the state. If we have expressed ourselves with energy, and with a kind of asperity,  
 “ the subject required it, and we do not repent it.

“ It has been objected to us, that while we have, on all occasions, commended the offi-  
 “ cers of Charles the Seventh, we have observed an offensive silence with regard to those  
 “ of Lewis the Eleventh; but we hope our conduct, in this respect, has not offended any  
 “ one, for by praising Peter we do not satirize Paul. If among the officers of Lewis  
 “ there be—as we doubt not there are—some men of integrity and honour, let them be re-  
 “ warded and exalted; we willingly consent to it. But as we know there are also many  
 “ of a contrary description, we beg and require that all such may be immediately dis-  
 “ missed, and kept at a distance from the king’s person.

“ I now come to the principal object of this session. My lord, the chancellor, having  
 “ explained to us the wants of the state, demanded that an annual impost of fifteen hun-  
 “ dred thousand livres should be levied on the kingdom. We could wish, most high and  
 “ potent princes, that the French people were in a situation to listen only to the dictates of  
 “ their generosity, and of their love for their sovereign; but you all know to what a state  
 “ of wretchedness and humiliation they are reduced, and of what importance it is to  
 “ afford them the means of extricating themselves from their difficulties. Anxious, there-  
 “ fore, to please the king, without completing the misery of the people, we have adopted  
 “ the resolutions which will now be read to you.”

After settling the distribution of the taxes on the different provinces, and arranging some other matters of less importance, the states were dissolved on the fourteenth of March. It appears from their proceedings, that the French, at this period, entertained some just and rational ideas of civil liberty, and that though they had tamely acquiesced in the tyrannical measures of Lewis the Eleventh, they did not chuse that his conduct should be received as a precedent: indeed, they seem rather to have wanted an opportunity than a spirit for asserting and maintaining their rights, in opposition to the unconstitutional encroachments of their sovereigns; and had the states-general but procured the privilege of assembling at fixed and stated periods, despotism could never have reached to that alarming height, to which it attained under the succeeding monarchs of the Capetian Race.

The princes of the blood, who had insisted, with such warmth, on the convention of the states, derived from it none of those advantages which they had expected to obtain.—Madame triumphed; but far from insulting her rivals in their disgrace, she spared no pains to console them for their disappointment. To the duke of Orleans she gave the command of a company of one hundred lances, with a considerable pension; and the counts of Angoulême and Dunois had also each of them a company, with a pension of sixteen thousand livres. It is probable that the princes, convinced that the majority of the nation were  
 hostile

hostile to their pretensions, would not have attempted to disturb the peace of the kingdom, had not the troubles which prevailed in Brittany, and the dangerous intrigues of a man who, from the most abject situation, had been raised to the highest rank, revived their ambition, and betrayed them, by degrees, into an open revolt. As the first sparks of that general conflagration, which spread over France, England, Spain, and the Netherlands, were kindled in Brittany, it will be necessary to explain the situation of that court, at the present period, and to point out the motives which induced the dearest friends and relations to take up arms against each other.

Francis the Second, who then reigned over the duchy of Brittany, had been twice married; by his first wife, Margaret of Brittany, he had no children; and by his second, Margaret of Foix, only two daughters, Anne and Isabella. His violent attachment to his imperious mistress, Antoinette de Magnelais, widow to the lord of Villequier, who had acquired an unlimited authority over him, had long prevented him from contracting a second marriage, so that he was far advanced in life, when his two daughters were still in their infancy, and there were little hopes of his living to see them married. This prospect equally encouraged all who had any claims to the duchy to advance them; and such as aspired to the possession of these rich heiresses, to make their proposals.

The dispute which had arisen, during the reign of Philip of Valois, between the rival houses of Blois and Montfort, had never been completely settled. Philip had decided in favour of Charles of Blois; but the assistance of the English, and the fortune of war, had secured the possession of the duchy of Brittany to the count of Montfort. After the battle of Aurai, in which the former lost his life, a convention was signed by the belligerent powers, by which the duchy of Brittany was secured to the house of Montfort, and the county of Penthievre, with several other considerable possessions, were ceded to the family of Blois. The latter, in consequence of a conspiracy against the duke of Brittany, were declared guilty of high-treason, and despoiled of all their territories; but, through the mediation of Arthur of Brittany, constable of France, another convention took place between these rival houses, by which duke Francis the First engaged to restore to the Penthievres the county whence they took their title, and all the other estates which they had formerly enjoyed; and he farther declared, in letters-patent duly signed and sealed, that, notwithstanding the formal renunciation of their claims to the duchy of Brittany, it was his will, that in case he, his two brothers, his uncle Arthur, and his cousin Francis, should die without heirs male, John and William de Penthievre, their niece Nicole, wife to the lord of Broffes, or their children, should succeed to the duchy, to the exclusion of the females of the branch of Montfort. But the Breton historians affirm—and the affirmation appears to be well-founded—that these letters-patent were granted merely for the purpose of deception, in order to save the honour of the count of Penthievre, who was afraid that he should be reproached by the court of France, with having too hastily sacrificed his pretensions;



tenfions; and that when the duke granted them, he had exacted a counter-letter, by which the count declared that, after he had fhewn them the king, and to his friends and relations, he would fend them back to Francis, and never make any ufe of them. Be that as it may, they had fallen, by fome means or other, into the hands of Tanneguy du Châtel, who was induced, by the love he bore his country, to keep them fecret<sup>6</sup>; his widow, however, lefs delicate, delivered them to Lewis the Eleventh, who, feeing the male line of the houfe of Montfort on the point of failure, fince Francis the Second had no fon, purchafed of Nicole de Penthièvre, and her husband, John of Broffes, the fole remaining heirs of the houfe of Blois, all their rights to the duchy of Brittany. Though the validity of thofe rights was expofed to fuch ftrong doubts, Lewis intended to fupport them by a formidable army; but dying before the duke of Brittany, he tranfmitted them to his fon.

Next to Charles the Eighth another claimant appeared on the lift, whose pretentions were trivial indeed: this was Francis, Baron d'Avaugour, a natural fon of the prefent duke of Brittany by Antoinette de Magnelais; he had been legitimized, and his father had conferred on him a profufion of honours and riches. Promoted to the rank and dignity of firft baron and lieutenant general of Brittany, he now afpired to the fucceffion, and imagined, that as the Bretons were attached to the blood of their ancient fovereigns, and wanted a prince who was able to govern them, they would overlook the defect in his birth, and prefer him to a ftranger.

The vifcount of Rohan advanced pretentions that were fomewhat though not much better founded: he was brother-in-law to the reigning duke, and had two fons by his wife, Mary of Brittany, fecond daughter to duke Francis the Firft. If Francis the Second had fucceeded to the duchy in right of his wife, the fons of the vifcount would have had a preferable claim to the children of the duke by Margaret of Foix; but as there was a law in Brittany, by which females were excluded from the fucceffion, fo long as there were any male heirs remaining, though farther removed from the direft line than the females, and as Francis had fucceeded to the duchy, not as husband to the princefs, but as the neareft male heir, the vifcount could advance no good reafon for the exclusion of Anne and Ifabella: he, therefore, contented himfelf with claiming for his fons all the treafures and moveable effects of duke Francis the Firft; the dower and moveables of their aunt Margaret; and laftly, all the territorial acquisitions made by the firft Francis, and one half of thofe which Francis the Second had, himfelf, made during the period of his firft marriage. Convinced that the duke, even had he the inclination, had not the ability to comply with thefe demands, he propofed, in order to avoid all difcuffion, to unite the claims of the two families by a marriage between his two fons and the two daughters of Francis. The propofal was fupported by the mareschal de Rieux and the principal nobility of Brittany, but the duke rejected it with difdain.

<sup>6</sup> Garnier, tom. xix, p. 352.

Francis, in order to connect his interests with those of the English monarch, had proposed an alliance between his eldest daughter, Anne, and the prince of Wales, but on condition that Brittany should never be annexed to the crown of England. This alliance, however, had been prevented by the assassination of the prince and his brother.

Disappointed in his hopes from that quarter, the duke now cast his eyes on Maximilian, archduke of Austria, to whom he proposed to marry his eldest daughter, and, at the same time, to give his youngest to Philip, the youthful sovereign of the Netherlands, son to Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. But the duchy being soon reduced to extremity, Maximilian, sufficiently occupied in providing means for his own defence, and having but little prospect of affording the duke speedy and effectual assistance, Francis was induced to listen to the proposals of another lover. This was the lord of Albret, surnamed the Great, the most opulent subject in the kingdom, after the princes of the blood: he had claims on some places in Brittany, but more generous or more artful than his competitors, he appeared to forget his own interests in order to maintain those of his ally. He demanded that the hand of the princess should be the reward of that warrior who should best signalize his courage and zeal in her defence, and who should render the most important services to the duchy. D'Albret, however, had but little to recommend him; he was advanced in years, and had several children either married or marriageable; his person was disgusting, and his temper insupportable.

Lastly, the duke of Orleans appeared in the list of competitors, and for some time eclipsed all his rivals. His recommendations were strong and powerful; he was first prince of the blood; presumptive heir to the throne, and cousin-german to the duke of Brittany; he was supported by the house of Foix, whence the duchess of Brittany was herself descended; and as he, moreover, possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of pleasing, he soon engaged the affections of his youthful mistress.

Such were the principal claimants, whose efforts either to dispossess or to marry the heiress of Brittany, soon filled that court with factions and intrigues. Even an active, enlightened and resolute prince would have found the repression of so many tumultuous and discordant passions a task of extreme difficulty; and, unfortunately for Brittany, Francis was a weak and irresolute prince, who had long suffered himself to be guided wholly by his ministers. After Lescun had engaged in the service of France, he placed his confidence in Peter Landois, a man not less artful and intriguing than Lescun, but more proud and corrupt; who, from the abject state of a taylor, had been promoted to the dignity of treasurer and prime minister. Convinced that the nobles would never forgive him for engrossing the favour of their sovereign, he did not attempt to conciliate their esteem, but only sought to render himself formidable by the indiscriminate destruction of all who refused to acknowledge his authority. The last victim of the favourite's ambition, was Chauvin, chancellor of Brittany, a man of the strictest integrity, who had rendered the greatest services to the state: Landois persuaded the duke that he was a pensioner of the court of France,



France, and was hired to betray the interests of his master: in consequence of this falsehood, he surprized an order from Francis to imprison the chancellor; and, after a long series of persecutions, that worthy magistrate perished by a most miserable death.

The nobility enraged and alarmed at these iniquitous transactions, repaired in a body to the palace, in order to seize the object of their indignation, but he was so fortunate as to elude their search, and to escape, for the present, the effects of their vengeance. Landois now conceived the design of forming a party which might enable him to triumph over his enemies. For this purpose he cast his eyes on the duke of Orleans, and invited that prince to repair, without delay, to the court of his cousin the duke of Brittany, who, he said, intended to bestow on him the hand of his eldest daughter<sup>7</sup>. The duke of Orleans was already married to the second daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, but his aversion to that deformed and sterile princess was a matter of public notoriety. He hastened to Brittany, contracted a strict friendship with Landois, and obtained permission to visit the young princess, who, even at that early period of life, gave signs of those great qualities which rendered her the admiration of the age.

Madame, to whom the conduct of the duke of Orleans gave just subject for complaint, profited by the circumstance of the king's coronation, which was fixed for the thirtieth of May, to recall him to France; and the duke, though extremely mortified at being compelled to leave Brittany so soon, obeyed the citation, and was present at the ceremony. But his return to France occasioned Madame almost as much uneasiness as his stay in Brittany would have done. The king became so enamoured of his company that he was never easy without him; and he was easily taught to consider the salutary restraints imposed on him by his sister as destructive of his freedom, and derogatory to his rank. Impressed with these ideas, Charles consented to elope; some councillors of state, in the interest of the duke of Orleans, laid the plan of his evasion, and three of his chamberlains undertook to put it in execution. But Madame, informed of the plot, entered the king's chamber in a rage, broke the chamberlains in his presence, and immediately appointed others who were devoted to her interest. After this event she conceived that she was no longer in safety at the castle of Vincennes, on account of its vicinity to Paris, of which place the duke of Orleans was governor; she therefore took the king to Montargis, where she passed the remainder of the year, attentive to the motions of her enemies, and careful, by adopting the insidious policy of her father, to foment the troubles in Brittany.

The duke of Brittany had, during these transactions, been prevailed on by his favourites to declare the nobility, who had shut themselves up in the strong town of Ancenis<sup>8</sup>, traitors to their sovereign. This rash and inconsiderate proceeding, had, as Landois ex-

<sup>7</sup> Godefroi Preuves de l'Histoire de Charles VIII.—Brantome, Vies des grandes Capitaines.  
Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne.

<sup>8</sup> Lobineau,

expected, engaged the nobles in an open revolt; and having no other resource, they did not scruple to purchase the protection of the king of France by the violation of their oaths, and the sacrifice of their duty. They sent the prince of Orange, Peter de Villeblanche, and John le Bouteiller, lord of Maupertuis, to Montargis, where they promised and swore, that, after the death of Francis the Second, they would acknowledge Charles for their lawful sovereign, and would devote their lives and fortunes to the advancement of his authority, on the following conditions. 1. That after the annexation of Brittany to the crown of France, justice should be administered in that province in the same manner as before, and by the magistrates of the country. 2. That the nobles, ecclesiastics and others, should have their privileges and franchises confirmed. 3. That no tax should be levied in the province, without the previous consent of the states. 4. That the gentry should only be obliged to serve in such cases and in such manner as should be settled by the king. 5. That all employments, both civil and military, should be conferred on the natives of Brittany. 6. That in case the duchess should survive her husband, a proper settlement should be assigned her, to be fixed by the states. 7. That the duke's two daughters should be married, with the advice of the states, according to their rank. 8. That in case Charles or any of his successors should have several sons, one of them should be created duke of Brittany. On these conditions, which were granted without any restrictions, the king took the Breton nobles under his protection, and he immediately sent an order to the duke, his vassal, to abstain from all farther violence against them, and to repair the damages which they had already sustained.

On exciting his master to drive the malecontents to extremities, Landois had explained to him the means by which he meant to reduce them to obedience. Besides the succours which he expected from the duke of Orleans, he assured him that he should soon have all the forces of England at his command. The circumstances on which he founded this assurance, were these:

After the fatal battle of Tewkesbury, which fixed the crown of England on the brows of that sanguinary tyrant, the fourth Edward, the earl of Pembroke, with his nephew, Henry Tudor, the young earl of Richmond, had embarked at Tynley for France; but contrary winds compelled them to land in Brittany, where they experienced a hospitable reception from Francis the Second. Edward, alarmed at Richmond's escape, who was considered, by many, as next heir to the throne, and on whom, he knew, all the secret friends of the house of Lancaster had cast their eyes, sent ambassadors to the duke of Brittany, to require that he would give him up: but that prince refused to commit so flagrant a breach of hospitality as to comply with this demand; though he assured Edward that he would watch Richmond so closely that he should never have an opportunity of disturbing his government; in consideration of which promise, the king of England paid a yearly pension to the duke.



But three years after this attempt, Edward's fears of young Richmond being renewed with redoubled violence, he determined to make another effort for obtaining possession of his person. With this view he again sent ambassadors to the duke of Brittany, on pretence of renewing the truce, which was confirmed without difficulty; after which they proceeded to unfold the real object of their embassy. They told the duke, that the king their master was extremely desirous of totally extinguishing the embers of those factions which had raged with such violence in England; that the earl of Richmond being the only surviving prince of the house of Lancaster, it was his intention to marry him to one of his own daughters, that all future disputes might be avoided by an union of the rival families; he, therefore, hoped the duke of Brittany would entrust the earl to his care, that he might distinguish him by marks of his bounty, and convince the world of his earnest anxiety to secure, on a solid basis, the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom. The duke, trusting to the sincerity of Edward's professions, ordered the young earl, with his uncle Pembroke, to be delivered to them, and they immediately departed with their victims to the port of Saint Malo, whence they prepared to embark for England. But John de Quelenec, admiral of Brittany, being apprized of this circumstance, entered the duke's apartment with sorrow expressed on his countenance; which the duke observing, he enquired the cause of it. "The paleness you observe in my face," replied the admiral, "is the sure forerunner of death, which, I could have wished, had put a period to my days, before I had witnessed an action that must dishonour my master. My lord, you have acquired the reputation of a man of honour, how then could you be so inattentive to the preservation of that character, and how, after you had pledged your faith, could you consent to deliver up a prince, who had asked your protection, to punishment and death?"—"Mr. admiral," interrupted the duke, "you are mistaken; there is nothing to fear for the earl of Richmond, whom Edward only besought me to send to him, that he might make him his son-in-law."—"Be assured," replied Quelenec, "that if he quit your dominions, he is a dead man." The eyes of Francis were now opened, and he immediately dispatched his favourite, Peter Landois, to Saint Malo, to bring back the refugees. He arrived as they were on the point of embarking; and, having made known the purport of his mission to Richmond and Pembroke, he amused the ambassadors while they effected their escape to a sanctuary, from whence he would not suffer them to be taken. The ambassadors complained loudly of this artifice, and Landois made some frivolous apologies, which they would by no means admit. He then frankly told them, that the duke his master, having duly reflected on the subject, had become sensible that he could not deliver up his guests without a flagrant violation of the laws of hospitality; but he renewed, in the duke's name, those assurances which had been before made to Edward, that the two earls should be so strictly guarded, they would be effectually prevented from interrupting the tranquillity of England.

It was by means of this prince, who was already indebted to him for the preservation of his life, that Landois hoped to effect a revolution in England; he justly imagined, that  
should

should he succeed in his attempts to place him on the throne, he should receive from him such assistance as would be requisite to make him triumph over his enemies; and that by the subsequent promotion of a marriage between Richmond and the heiress of Brittany, he should be enabled, after the duke's death, to preserve his rank and station. In order to secure the success of this plan, Landois, after the accession of the third Richard, sent ambassadors to England, under the pretence of renewing the truce which subsisted between the two crowns. These ambassadors could not have arrived at a more fortunate period, as the duke of Buckingham, discontented with Richard, had just formed the design of deposing that usurper, and had entered into a correspondence, with the view to hasten the execution of his plan, with all the malecontents in different parts of England.

The Breton ambassadors returned with this favourable report; and they were soon followed by two confidential friends of Richmond, who brought him a sum of money from his mother, and pressed him to hasten to England, where his friends were waiting to receive him. Landois, to whom the earl communicated his dispatches, furnished him with a fleet, and a body of five thousand men, with which he sailed from St. Malo, in October, 1483; but before he could reach the English coast, the duke of Buckingham had been defeated and executed; not thinking it prudent, therefore, to land, he returned to Brittany. He was there joined by numbers of the English nobility, who exacted from him an oath, that, so soon as he should have effected the deposition of Richard, he would unite the opposite pretensions of the houses of York and Lancaster, by marrying the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward. They then swore fealty and allegiance to him, as their lawful sovereign, and Richmond immediately formed a little court of his own at Rennes; Landois seemed to encourage these proceedings, and renewed his promises of assistance, though, at the same time, he had entered into a correspondence with their enemies.

Richard the Third, convinced that he should never be at ease, so long as Richmond should be at liberty, sent an ambassador to Brittany, who addressed himself to Landois, and made him such offers as were well calculated to seduce a venal and perfidious mind. He engaged to restore to Francis the earldom of Richmond, which had formerly been possessed by his ancestors; to give Landois all the estates and other property of the English refugees in Brittany, and to supply him with a body of troops for the purpose of reducing his enemies. Landois, considering that the plan for dethroning Richard would be attended with considerable difficulty and expence, and was subject, moreover, to a thousand interruptions; and that, even should it succeed, he could not expect to derive from it greater advantages than those which were now offered to him, at a time, too, when he was in the greatest want of them, accepted, without hesitation, the proposals of Richard, and promised to deliver up to him, without delay, the earl of Richmond, and all his partizans. The negotiations, however, had not been conducted with such secrecy, but that the bishop of Ely, who was then on the continent, was advised of it.



That prelate immediately dispatched a messenger to Richmond, warning him of his danger, and urging him to escape to France. But this appeared to be a matter of difficulty, as a very early day was fixed for the execution of Landois's plan, and there could be little doubt but that he had taken every precaution to prevent his evasion. After much reflection, however, Richmond settled the plan of his escape:—he made the earl of Pembroke and some other noblemen take the road to Nantes, where the duke of Brittany resided, under pretext of imparting to Francis some affairs of importance; but he advised them by no means to enter that town, and to make the best of their way to the frontiers of France. He then announced his intention of visiting, in two days time, a country house which he had at a short distance from Rennes; and on this pretence he entered a forest, which lay on the road, with only one attendant, and travelled day and night, by private ways, towards the frontiers of Anjou. Landois ordered him to be pursued, and the messengers he sent after him, only missed him by ~~one~~ hour. Three hundred Englishmen, who remained at Rennes, gave themselves up for lost; but the duke, who was a stranger to the intrigues of his minister, gave them permission to follow their master, and defrayed their expences on the road. The fugitives experienced a favourable reception from Madame, and were even encouraged to hope for assistance.

Though disappointed in his hopes of procuring assistance from England, Landois did not renounce his schemes of vengeance. The troops which he had at his disposal were more than sufficient to destroy his enemies, had those enemies been left to themselves; but as they had been taken under the protection of the king of France, he could not attack them without exposing his country to an immediate invasion. He, therefore, resolved to wait till the duke of Orleans and Maximilian should act in concert, and draw all the forces of France to another quarter.

Madame, in the mean time, aware of his designs, was studious to throw such obstacles in the way of Maximilian, as should deter him from engaging in a war with France; she followed the plans of her father in rewarding such of the Flemish nobility as resisted the authority of that prince, and in encouraging the turbulent inhabitants of Ghent to revolt. She farther sought to raise up a personal enemy to Maximilian, in René, duke of Lorraine, celebrated for the victories he had obtained over Charles the Bold. This prince had appeared before the states at Tours, where he claimed the restitution of the Barrois, Provence, and the inheritance of the house of Anjou, from which he was descended by his mother's side. Madame, afraid that he might be tempted to espouse the interests of the princes, had not rejected any of his demands. She had already restored to him the duchy of Bar; and had made a formal cession of all the claims which Lewis the Eleventh had preferred to the duchy of Lorraine: with regard to Provence, commissioners were appointed on both sides, to discuss the respective rights of either party; and till their decision, which was to be delivered at the expiration of four years, should be known, the king had consented to pay the duke, by way of indemnity, a pension of  
thirty-

thirty-six thousand livres,. This generous proceeding had attached the duke of Lorraine to Madame, and she now wished to oppose him to Maximilian by making him marry Philippa of Gueldres, niece to her husband, the lord of Beaujeu, and daughter to Adolphus, who had been deprived of his dominions by the duke of Burgundy. This young princess had but one brother, who had just entered the service of Maximilian; and, in case of his death, she had an indisputable right to the duchy of Gueldres, and the county of Zutphen; if, on the contrary, that prince should, with the assistance of the duke of Lorraine, recover the inheritance of his ancestors, he would become a powerful ally, and might give his sister a considerable dower. To enable the duke of Lorraine to assert the rights of the family with which he was about to connect himself, Madame procured him the alliance of William de la Mark, chief of the Liegeois, and the implacable enemy of Maximilian.

Maximilian, notwithstanding his eagerness to revenge the insults he had sustained from the French, was so surrounded by enemies on all sides, that he would certainly have remained tranquil, had not the duke of Brittany, or rather his favourite, Landois, urged him to a renewal of hostilities, by a promise to give him the heiress of Brittany in marriage. Resolved to hazard every thing in order to merit such a flattering distinction, Maximilian summoned the Flemings to acknowledge him for the guardian of his son—whom they had taken from his father—and for the governor of his dominions; and he warned them that he should consider their refusal as a declaration of war. The Flemings answered this citation by an appeal to the parliament of Paris, or to the court of French peers. Madame, meanwhile, who had only wished to intimidate Maximilian, and was extremely anxious to avoid an open rupture, sent Anthony and Baldwin, bastards of Burgundy, into Flanders, in order to promote an accommodation between Maximilian and his subjects. With this view, they assembled thirteen knights of the Golden Fleece at Tenremonde, where deputies from all the towns in Flanders were invited to attend. William Rym, chief of the deputation from the inhabitants of Ghent, a man of a turbulent and seditious spirit, after declaiming with great virulence against Maximilian, drew his sword, and threatened with instant destruction any man who should dare to speak in favour of that prince. The assembly was accordingly dissolved without coming to any decision, and Maximilian prepared for war. He first took Terremonde by surprise, and then reduced Oudenard, Granmont, and Ninove; while the militia of Ghent, under the command of the count of Romont, carried desolation into the environs of Bruxelles and Hal. Maximilian marched into that country with a view to bring them to action, but they retired on his approach; and the winter being far advanced, the operations on both sides were suspended.

A. D. 1485.] The duke of Orleans, in the mean time, had adopted every plan he could devise for strengthening his party: since the court had retired with such precipitation from the castle of Vincennes, he had remained at Paris, where he exerted his utmost endea-



endeavours to render himself popular. As soon as he thought his credit sufficiently established with the multitude, he repaired to the parliament, accompanied by the count of Dunois, and by his chancellor, Denis Mercier, who observed to the court<sup>9</sup>—"That the duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, and the second person in the kingdom, ought to be entrusted with the sovereign power during the king's minority: that, anxious to procure relief for the people, and to correct the abuses which prevailed in the administration, he had, in conjunction with the dukes of Bourbon and Brittany, insisted on the convocation of the states-general: that after many contradictions and refusals, he had at length succeeded in convening them; that having received information of attempts to intimidate the members by threats, he had declared himself their protector, and had procured for them all the liberty which was necessary for the purpose of their meeting: that they had made a great number of salutary regulations with regard to the general police of the kingdom, and had also determined that the king, having entered his fourteenth year, should govern in his own name, but according to the advice of his council, of which the duke of Orleans had been declared president: that all these useful regulations had been treated with contempt: that Madame de Beaujeu had taken possession of the revenue, and exhausted the royal treasury by a boundless prodigality: that the states having granted, besides the produce of the taxes, which they had restricted to twelve hundred thousand livres, a supply of three hundred thousand for one year only, that sum had been already extended to another year, in violation of the most solemn engagements; that even this additional burden had not prevented the government from contracting a debt of two or three hundred thousand livres, by which means it would become necessary to double the taxes the following year, and thus reduce the people to a state of despair the most wretched: that all this money was employed for no other purpose than to confirm the authority of Madame de Beaujeu, and to render her more despotic than ever: that she had already presumed to exact from the guards that oath which ought only to be taken to the king: that she had, of her own authority, deprived three chamberlains of their places, and conferred them on others: that she kept the king in such a state of captivity, that no prince or nobleman was permitted to see him: that she had even threatened the duke of Orleans, and had attempted to get him assassinated by du Lait: that though that prince despised all threats and attempts which only affected himself, yet he could not but feel the greatest concern, at seeing his sovereign kept in the state of confinement and servitude, in which he was meant to be retained till he should have accomplished his twentieth year: that he had already written to his majesty, to entreat him to take refuge in Paris, where he would be at liberty, and where he might chuse a council composed of men of virtue and knowledge: that in order to prove that his advice, in that respect, was not influenced by interested mo-

<sup>9</sup> Reg. du Parlement.—Godefroi, Recueil de Pièces.—Hist. Univ. Paris.

“tives, the duke offered not to appear in the king’s presence, unless he should be sent  
 “for; and, in case Madame de Beaujeu would consent to live at the distance of ten  
 “leagues from court, he himself would retire to the distance of forty leagues: that be-  
 “ing resolved to devote his life and fortune to the purpose of rescuing the king from  
 “captivity, he had come to consult the parliament, who constituted the sovereign jus-  
 “tice of the kingdom, whether it would not be advisable to convene the states-general  
 “a second time, or what other measures it would be prudent to adopt for the good of  
 “the kingdom.”

The first president of the parliament, very properly, replied—“That the good of the  
 “kingdom chiefly consisted in the enjoyment of public tranquillity; that such tran-  
 “quillity could never be maintained so long as the principal members of the state re-  
 “fused to set an example of concord.—Prince”—pursued the worthy magistrate, ad-  
 “dressing himself to the duke of Orleans—“you are more interested than any one, in pre-  
 “venting the prevalence of dissensions in the royal family of France, and you ought  
 “not, therefore, on reports often false, and always equivocal, to venture on measures  
 “which may be productive of the most fatal consequences<sup>10</sup>.” The duke’s chancellor  
 attempted to reply, but the magistrates persisted in their resolution of not becoming in-  
 struments of sedition; and all that the duke could prevail on them to do, was to send his  
 remonstrances to the king, without observation or comment.

The duke of Orleans next attempted to secure the university in his favour, which at  
 that time contained five-and-twenty thousand students, most of them able to bear arms,  
 who formed, as it were, a private republic in the heart of the capital. But that learned  
 body followed the example of the parliament, and would only consent to forward the  
 duke’s proposals to the king.

Madame, informed of the manœuvres of this prince, sent a party of soldiers, in disguise,  
 to secure his person<sup>11</sup>, but the duke, apprized of the danger, fled with precipitation to  
 Verneuil, a place belonging to the duke of Alençon, who was one of his partizans.  
 Madame then hastened to Paris with the king, who entered that capital on the fifth of  
 February, 1485. Her first care, after her arrival, was to express her gratitude to the par-  
 liament for their firmness and loyalty: she then deprived the duke of Orleans of all his  
 posts, and conferred the government of Paris, and the Isle of France, on the old count of  
 Dammartin. The government of Dauphiné, which, at the request of the duke of Or-  
 leans, she had given to the count of Dunois, was now assigned to Philip of Savoy, count  
 of Bresse, brother-in-law to the lord of Beaujeu. She broke the three regular compa-

<sup>10</sup> Garnier, tom. xix. p. 411.

<sup>11</sup> Hist. Ludovic. Aurelian, Lancelot—Memoires de l’Academie des Belles Let-  
 tres.—Godefroi, rec. des pièces. Preuves de l’Hist. de Bretagne.



nies commanded by those princes, and by the count of Angoulême, their cousin, and suppressed their pensions; and, as soon as the season would permit, she conducted the king to Evreux, and made the army advance to Verneuil. Such was the celerity of her motions, that the duke of Orleans was deprived of every resource, and compelled to make his submission to the king: after which he was restored to his seat in the council, but neither to his place nor pension. Whatever resentment he might experience on this occasion, he concealed it for the present, and accompanied the king on his tour to Normandy.

But while the court remained in that province, the duke of Orleans contrived to form a fresh confederacy against Madame<sup>12</sup>; in which he engaged the constable, Lewis, George, and Buffi d'Amboise, Philip de Comines, and some other councillors of state, who were displeased at not being suffered to enjoy, in the present reign, the same credit and influence which they had possessed in the preceding one. The authority which the constable possessed in the kingdom gave great strength to the confederacy; and the duke of Orleans, confident of success, retired to Blois, whence he wrote to the counts of Angoulême and Dunois, and the viscount of Narbonne—who was then disputing the county of Foix and the principality of Bearn, with his niece, Catherine, queen of Navarre—to levy troops, and to form a junction either with him, or with the forces under the command of the constable. The duke of Brittany, also, promised to assist him with all his forces, as soon as he should have reduced his rebellious subjects; but the prudence of Madame, and the death of his unprincipled favourite, Landois, who was seized and hanged by the Breton nobles, prevented him from fulfilling his engagements.

The confederated princes wished to obtain possession of some strong town which might serve as a place of rendezvous for their troops, which were levying in different parts of the kingdom<sup>13</sup>. They accordingly pitched upon the city of Orleans, which commanded a bridge upon the Loire; but they were too slow in their motions, and that fault decided the fate of the campaign. Madame, apprized of their intentions, sent the lord of Bouchage, to exhort the citizens of Orleans to remain faithful to the king, and not to tarnish the glory they had acquired under Charles the Seventh, by an act of rebellion; and that nobleman succeeded so well in his embassy, that when the duke of Orleans presented himself, two days after, before the town, the gates were shut against him, and the citizens were unanimous in refusing him admission. The duke's army consisted of two thousand six hundred cavalry, and about eight thousand infantry, with which he ravaged

<sup>12</sup> Hist. Ludov. Aurel.—Lancelot, Memoire de l'Academie des Belles-Lettres.—Hist. de Bretagne par Lobineau. Annales de Belleforest.

<sup>13</sup> Hist. Ludov. Aurel.—Histoire de Louis XI. par Saint-Gelais.—Godefroi, Recueil de pièces.—Reg. du Parlement.

the country round Orleans, and then proceeded to take possession of Beaujenci. Madame, meanwhile, in order to encrease the mortification of her rival at the failure of his attempt upon Orleans, repaired to that city, where she attended the celebration of the nuptials of the duke of Lorraine, with Philippa of Gueldres, niece to her husband, the lord of Beaujeu. She then placed Lewis de la Tremouille—who afterward acquired, by his conduct, the honourable appellation of *Chevalier sans reproche*—at the head of her troops; and that nobleman sent two heralds to Beaujenci to order the forces under the duke of Orleans to lay down their arms; but the heralds were dismissed with contempt, and preparations for resistance were made. But no sooner had la Tremouille invested the place, than the count of Dunois, sensible that it was unprovided with provisions and ammunition sufficient for sustaining a siege, persuaded the duke of Orleans to make proposals for an accommodation. The council was divided in opinion as to the propriety of accepting these proposals; Madame, and all those who had espoused her quarrel, insisted on the wisdom of profiting by this opportunity to ensure tranquillity to the state: they maintained, that as soon as the duke of Orleans should have extricated himself from the danger which now threatened him, he would promote a renewal of hostilities, and would take care so to frame his schemes in future as to ensure his success; it would, therefore, they asserted, be more prudent to secure his person, as well as that of the count of Dunois, who was the most dangerous man in the kingdom, and send them to be tried by the parliament. This advice, however, was over-ruled by those who were fearful of incurring the hatred of the presumptive heir to the throne; and it was at length agreed to accept the duke's proposals for a peace, on condition that he would admit a royal garrison into all the fortresses in his appanage, and that the count of Dunois should be banished to the town of Ast, beyond the Alps. The duke, at first, rejected these conditions with disdain, but by the voluntary submission of the count of Dunois to the sentence imposed on him, and by the strenuous persuasions of that nobleman, he was at length prevailed on to accept them. As the constable had only taken up arms in favour of the duke of Orleans, he was soon persuaded to disband his forces, and to become a party in the treaty of accommodation.

At the same time, the ministers of France and Brittany, who had assembled at Bourges, concluded a treaty, by which the duke of Brittany engaged to pay the same kind of allegiance to the king, as his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the French monarchs; to renounce all alliances, as well within the kingdom as out of it, that could tend to interrupt the tranquillity of the state; to break off all commerce with the king's enemies, and neither to furnish them with men, arms, or ammunition. There was the greatest reason to believe that the duke would fulfil these engagements, as, since the death of Landois, he had regulated his conduct by the advice of his barons, all of whom were under obligations to Madame; and, in order farther to secure the attachment of the Breton nobles, she distributed honours and rewards among them with a liberal hand. She was, at this time, extremely anxious to live at peace with the duke of Brittany, as,



although she had succeeded in dissolving the confederacy of the princes, her arms had been less successful in the Netherlands.

After the reduction of Tenremonde, Oudenarde, Ninove, and Granmont, by Maximilian, the Flemings, alarmed at the rapidity of his progress, had sent to demand succours of France, and to require that the king would openly declare in their favour<sup>14</sup>. In consequence of this application, Charles addressed a manifesto to his father-in-law, Maximilian, accusing him of having violated his duty as a vassal to the crown, in attacking the towns belonging to young Philip, who was a peer of France; and enjoining him to make reparation for such damages, as well as for the losses which the Flemings—whom the king, as lord paramount of the county of Flanders was bound to protect and defend—had sustained from his arms. As it was not supposed this manifesto would have much effect, the marshal Desquerdes received orders to march to the assistance of the inhabitants of Ghent, with an army of six hundred lances. The marshal first attempted to get possession of Tournai, but failing in the attempt he repaired to Ghent, where the citizens, whom he had been sent to protect, soon became jealous of his power, and forced him to leave the town. After the expulsion of the French, who retired into Artois, the inhabitants of Ghent concluded an accommodation with Maximilian, on the following conditions:—1. The citizens agreed to acknowledge Maximilian for the guardian of his son, and the administrator of the county of Flanders, and to take an oath of allegiance to him in that capacity. 2. They consented to receive that prince into the city with the same number of troops as generally accompanied him in his visits to the other towns in Flanders. 3. They engaged to recall all such as had been banished from the town on account of their attachment to Maximilian, and to restore them to their estates. And, lastly, they agreed to pay seven hundred thousand florins, for the expences of the war. But a riot which occurred in Ghent, through the imprudence of a German soldier, after Maximilian had entered that city, afforded him a specious pretext for completing the humiliation of this turbulent and seditious people. He ordered their fortifications to be demolished, destroyed a part of the walls, took from them all their artillery, deprived them of their privileges, and established a magistracy of his own selection.

After he had restored tranquillity to Flanders, the attention of Maximilian was called to another quarter. The marriage of the duke of Lorraine with the princess of Gueldres, had already excited his suspicions; and he soon learnt that the duke had had an interview, at Meziere, with his great enemy, William de la Mark; that, at the instigation of, and in concert with, Madame de Beaujeu, they had formed a plan for making an incursion into Brabant; and, in order to facilitate that enterprize, La Mark had ceded to

<sup>14</sup> Heuter. Rer. Belgic.—Godefroi rec. de pièces.—Hareus. Annal. Brabant.

the duke several fortresses in the territory of Liege. Maximilian, however, found means to avert the danger which threatened him, by sending one of his officers to secure the person of la Mark, who was conducted to Maestricht, where he paid, by his death, the forfeit of his numerous crimes.

A. D. 1486.] Madame de Beaujeu, though possessed of many good qualities, appears, in some respects, to have followed that insidious and dishonest system of policy, which had been adopted by her father. Notwithstanding her late treaty with the duke of Brittany, she spared no pains to disturb the government of that prince. The lord of Broffes, being dead, she had the precaution to exact from his widow, Nicole de Penthievre, a fresh confirmation of the cession which she and her husband had made to Lewis the Eleventh, and his successors, of all their claims to the duchy of Brittany. The duke, informed of these proceedings, sent ambassadors to the king to express his astonishment at the conduct of the French council, in thinking of making use of a title so false and illusive as the famous letter granted to John de Penthievre, and to offer in his name either to give an authentic copy of the counter-letter written by that nobleman, or to shew the original to any commissioners whom his majesty might choose to appoint for the purpose of inspecting it. Madame, however, affected to treat this counter-letter as a forgery, and desired it might be sent for examination to the council of France; a request with which the duke was not so weak as to comply. Finding it impossible to obtain any satisfaction from the French council, and learning that Madame was using her utmost exertions to acquire partizans in Brittany, the duke assembled the states of the duchy, and made them swear, in the most solemn manner, that, after his death, they would acknowledge his two daughters, respectively, and according to the order of their birth, for his sole and lawful heirs; that they would pay them obedience as such; and that they would oppose, to the utmost of their power, any attempts that might be made to despoil them of their sovereignty, and of their just rights.

After he had taken this precaution, the duke sent an ambassador to Maximilian, who had lately been raised to the rank of King of the Romans, urging him to invade France, and promising to supply him with a body of troops, with provisions, and with arms. A treaty was concluded between these princes at Bruges, by which they engaged not to lay down their arms, till they had obliged the king to dismiss all those members of his council who gave him evil advice, and to observe all the regulations proposed by the states at Tours. The better to secure the obedience of the Flemings, he made his son, though an infant, swear to observe this treaty, under the title of duke of Austria and Burgundy; and with the money he had exacted from the inhabitants of Ghent, he was enabled to raise a powerful army of Germans and Swiss.

Madame, apprized of these preparations, thought it necessary to encrease the number of her troops. Since the suppression, by Lewis the Eleventh, of the free archers, which had



been embodied by his father, and the dismissal of the six thousand Swiss at the commencement of the present reign, France had no other infantry than the militia of the different towns, who were ill-disciplined, and who were barely sufficient to defend the places to which they belonged<sup>15</sup>. The regular troops of cavalry dispersed on the frontiers, and in those fortresses which lay nearest to the enemy, could with difficulty assemble, and form a compact body of forces. Madame, therefore, after consulting the seneschals and bailiffs of the different provinces in the kingdom, on the best means of re-establishing a body of infantry, which had become requisite for the defence of the state, decreed, by the advice of the council, that every fifty-five hearths should supply one man completely armed, and pay him sixty sous a month. This was, to all intents, a new tax, but the necessity of the establishment was so evident as to prevent all murmurs. Besides this national militia, Madame deemed it prudent to recall the six thousand Swiss whom she had before dismissed.

Maximilian, before he proceeded to an open declaration of war, gave orders to the governors of his towns to make some attempt on the French territories; Montigni, governor of Hainaut, accordingly took the town of Mortagne by surprize; while Salazar *escaladed* the walls of Terouenne, during the night, and thus, without the smallest effusion of blood, made himself master of one of the strongest places in Artois; a place, too, rendered more important by the circumstance of the marshal Desquerdes having established his magazines there. After this success, Maximilian no longer delayed the publication of a manifesto, in which, excusing the king on account of his youth, he inveighed against the conduct of Madame de Beaujeu and her husband, whose ambition and avarice had, he said, disgusted the princes and chief nobility in the kingdom, and induced the neighbouring powers to take up arms against France. He complained of their intrigues with the Flemings; of the supplies, both of men and money, which they had sent to la Mark; and of the hostilities which they had caused to be committed in Flanders, by the marshal Desquerdes; he observed, that the only mode of averting the calamities with which the monarchy was threatened, was to dismiss from the king's presence all those who took advantage of his weakness, and to convene a second assembly of the states-general, to which he and the emperor, his father, would send ambassadors, to restore concord among the princes of the blood, and to ensure, by new treaties, the tranquillity of France; and he concluded, by exhorting the parliament and the city of Paris to concur with him in so laudable an undertaking. This manifesto was treated with contempt by the council, and the herald who delivered it was advised to dissuade his master from engaging in an unjust war. Maximilian did not, indeed, follow their advice, but finding himself too weak to undertake any expedition of importance, he was soon obliged to disband his troops, while the attention of the French court was once more directed to the affairs of Brittany.

<sup>15</sup> Godefroi, recueil de pièces—Histoire Manuscrite de Charles VIII. par Fontanieu.

The death of Landois had failed to restore tranquillity to that duchy; the same pretensions, the same intrigues, either for despoiling or for marrying the heiress of Brittany, still subsisted, and the danger to which the duchy had been lately exposed by the duke's illness, awakened the public attention<sup>16</sup>. In a short time a fresh league was formed against Madame, into which not only the duke of Orleans and the count of Angoulême entered, but the whole house of Foix; the lord of Albret; his son, the king of Navarre; the prince of Orange; Lescun, who had all the forces of Guienne at his disposal; the old count of Nevers, of the house of Burgundy; the lords of Pons and d'Orval; and the duke of Lorraine himself. This last prince had been disgusted with the king, who, before the commissioners, appointed for settling their respective claims to Provence could come to a decision, had, by his letters-patent, irrevocably united that country to the crown; he had, also, taken from the duke his company of a hundred lances, and the pension of thirty-six thousand livres, which had been granted him till such time as the difference with regard to Provence could be settled.

Dunois, though in exile, was the soul of this intrigue, and he secretly congratulated himself on the success of his efforts. When he found that Maximilian had been able, without any assistance, to withstand, during two years, the whole force of the kingdom; that the duke of Savoy claimed the sovereignty of the marquisate of Saluces; that the duke of Brittany was inseparably united to the duke of Orleans, and was influenced by the advice of the enemies of Madame; that the house of Foix, the lord of Albret, the king and queen of Navarre, had engaged to promote an insurrection in Gascony; while Lescun was to arm the inhabitants of Guienne; that several noblemen of distinction in the provinces, and even some of the state-councillors, had secretly acceded to this league, he had no doubt, but that, in the ensuing spring, Madame must inevitably fall beneath the united exertions of her numerous enemies. Inspired by this hope, he left the place of his exile without the king's permission, and, returning to France, established his residence in the town of Partenai, the fortifications of which he hastened to repair.

This was the first symptom that appeared of the conspiracy. Madame had no doubt, but that a prince so renowned for his prudence had duly concerted his projects before he threw off the mask; in order, therefore, to discover his resources, and to learn what she had to fear, she sent deputies to desire he would account for his conduct, and to reproach him with his presumption in daring to disobey the king's positive orders: these deputies told him, that his rendezvous on the frontiers of Brittany had rendered him an object of suspicion to the court; and they proposed to him, as the last proof of his majesty's condescension, to retire to his county of Longueville in Normandy. Dunois refused to

<sup>16</sup> Histoire de Charles VIII. par Jaligni—Hist. Ludovic. Aurelian—Godefroi, recueil de pièces—Histoire de Lorraine par Calmet—Lancelot, Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres.



enter into any explanation, and the only answer he would give the deputies was—  
“ *I am at home.*”

An attempt, equally unsuccessful, was made to allure the duke of Orleans to court ; and ambassadors were sent to remonstrate with the duke of Brittany ; but that prince retorted, by reproaching Madame with her intrigues to disturb his government, and to despoil his daughters of their lawful inheritance.

A. D. 1487.] Madame, meanwhile, intercepted a courier, charged with dispatches, from such of the king's officers and councillors of state as had joined the princes, in which she found a complete plan of the conspiracy. In consequence of this discovery she immediately issued orders for apprehending Geoffrey de Pompadour, bishop of Perigueux, and almoner to the king ; George d'Amboise, bishop of Montauban ; his brother, Buffi d'Amboise, and Philip de Comines, the celebrated historian. She had also taken measures for securing Lewis d'Amboise, bishop of Albi ; but that prelate effected his escape to Avignon, whence he afterward obtained permission to return to France.

Madame now perceived the extent of her danger, and concluded that her ruin might be the consequence of giving her enemies time to collect their forces and settle their plans. She, therefore, wrote to the citizens of Bourdeaux, and the inhabitants of all the other towns in Guienne, exhorting them to persist in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, and warning them to be on their guard against the intrigues of the governors and garrisons of the different fortresses ; and, so early as the eleventh of February, she passed the Loire, and took the king into Poitou. Dunois expected that it was the intention of the royalists to besiege him in Partenai, but he soon learnt that the king had passed through Poitiers, and was directing his march towards Guienne. Charles, accordingly, entered that province, which was defended by Odet d'Aidie, seneschal of Carcassonne, brother and lieutenant to the lord of Lescun, who advanced with a small body of troops to the town of Saintes, in order to oppose the passage of the royalists over the river Charente, and to give time to the lord of Albret and the count of Angoulême to join him with the forces under their command. But being foiled in the attempt—from his neglect to secure a tower which commanded the bridge—he evacuated Saintes and repaired to Pons. He was soon, however, obliged to quit that place, and, being closely pursued by the king's army, he, at length, shut himself up in the small town of Blaye, where his troops revolted, and, in conjunction with the inhabitants, compelled him to capitulate. Reduced to the necessity of imploring the king's clemency, he only demanded to be continued in his office, and to have his salaries and pensions secured to him ; on which condition he promised to surrender to the royalists all the fortresses and castles in his brother's possession. The offer was accepted, and in a few days, the king became master of the castle of Trompette, of Fronzac, Reole, Saint-Sever, Dax, and the citadel of Bayonne. He gave the government of Guienne to the lord of Beaujeu, who being unable to reside, appointed  
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the lord of Candale his lieutenant. The admiralty of Guienne was united to that of France, and the county of Comminges annexed to the crown.

The rapid progress of the royal arms struck a panic into the confederates, many of whom hastened to procure, by timely submission, a pardon for their offences; the lord of Albret, and the king and queen of Navarre, made terms with the king; the count of Angoulême, too, forsook the confederates, and Madame, being anxious to secure his future attachment, promoted his marriage with Louisa of Savoy, daughter to the count of Bresse, and niece—by her mother's side—to the lord of Beaujeu, and the constable de Bourbon; from this marriage sprang Francis the First. The count of Dunois, on the approach of the royal army, evacuated Partenai, and fled, with precipitation, into Brittany, whither the king prepared to follow him.

The ascendancy which the duke of Orleans had acquired at the court of Brittany, gave great offence to the Breton nobles<sup>17</sup>; and the mareschal de Rieux, the count of Laval, the viscount of Rohan, and upwards of fifty other gentlemen, retired in discontent to Chateaubrient, where they formed an association, which was soon after joined by the baron d'Avaugour, the duke of Brittany's natural son. The conduct of this seditious band, being properly resented by their sovereign, they sacrificed the interest of their country to the gratification of their private resentment, and entered into a treaty with the king of France; by which it was agreed—1. That the king should send an army into Brittany, not exceeding four hundred lances, and four thousand infantry; and that he should prefer no claim to the duchy during the duke's life.—2. That these troops should be placed under the command of the mareschal de Rieux, or of some one of the confederated barons, and that they should not lay siege to any town, where the duke should have established his residence.—3. That as soon as the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, the prince of Orange, and the lord of Lescun, against whom the war should be directed, should have evacuated Brittany, the king should withdraw his troops, without requiring any recompence. Charles accepted these terms without hesitation, and without the smallest intention of adhering to them; this was a part of his father's infamous policy, which his sister had been careful to instil into his youthful mind. Madame had resolved to execute her favourite project of reducing Brittany to subjection; and the state of Europe was such as appeared to favour her schemes.

Maximilian, indeed, was engaged in close alliance with the duke of Brittany, and was in hopes of marrying his daughter; but his indigence, and the seditious disposition of the Flemings, prevented him from affording that assistance which was expected from him. The attention of Ferdinand and Isabella was wholly engrossed by the conquest of Grenada; and

<sup>17</sup> Histoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau,---Bouchard,---Jaligny,---Hist. Ludov. Aurelian.



had they even been unoccupied, it was well known that the resignation of Roussillon and Cerdagne, to which they had claims, would have effectually secured their neutrality. England, alone, was both enabled by her power, and invited by her interest, to support the independence of the Bretons. Of this Madame was aware, and to avert the storm which she expected from that quarter, she sent ambassadors to England, to congratulate Henry on his success in reducing his rebellious subjects, and, at the same time, to make the greatest professions of amity, esteem and confidence.

The ambassadors sought to persuade the English monarch that in the contest between the court of France and the duke of Brittany, the latter was the aggressor, in having offered protection to the duke of Orleans, who had been guilty of treasonable practices: and that the war, which, on the part of France, they affirmed was merely defensive, would cease the moment that protection should be withdrawn. They farther observed, that their master was sensible of the obligations which Henry owed to the duke of Brittany for protecting him in the hour of distress; but reminded him, at the same time, that at a more critical period Francis and his ministers had forsaken him, and reduced him to seek for refuge in the court of France, where he had not only experienced the most hospitable reception, but received that assistance which had laid the foundation of his subsequent successes. For these reasons, they hoped, that if the situation of Henry's affairs precluded the possibility of returning the obligation to France on the present occasion, he would, at least, observe a perfect neutrality. In order to strengthen this plausible discourse, they imparted to Henry, as in confidence, the intention of their sovereign, so soon as he should have settled the disputes in Brittany, to enforce by arms his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples: a project which, they knew, could give no umbrage to the court of England. Henry, however, was not to be deceived by these artful evasions; but as he imagined that France could not succeed in her attempts, he was induced to listen to the dictates of his avarice, which rendered him averse from all foreign enterprizes and distant expeditions, however politic, and however necessary to the future safety of his dominions. He, therefore, determined to try the expedient of negotiation, and gave a general answer to the ambassadors, expressive of his concern at a rupture between two princes, to each of whom he was under such essential obligations, and of his resolution to act as a mediator between them.

The French, meanwhile, had entered Brittany; and, besides the stipulated number of troops which had been promised to the barons, the king sent two other detachments into the duchy, under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, count of Montpensier, la Tremouille, and Saint-André<sup>19</sup>. Hostilities were first begun by the army commanded by the Breton nobles, who took Rhedon, and laid siege to Ploermel, which soon capitulated. The duke

<sup>19</sup> Lobineau,---Jaligny,---Hist. Ludov. Aurel,---Belleforêt, Annales de France.

of Brittany, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, had placed himself at the head of six hundred lances, and sixteen thousand infantry, with which he advanced to raise the siege; but finding the place had surrendered, he pursued his rebellious barons, in order to bring them to action. But his principal officers, infected by the general contagion of revolt, found means to instil a spirit of dissention into the soldiers, such numbers of whom disbanded, that the duke was compelled to fly before the rebels, and shut himself up in Vannes, which was immediately invested. The town being incapable of defence, the dukes of Brittany and Orleans, with the count of Dunois and Lescun, must inevitably have fallen into the king's hands, but for the activity of the prince of Orange, who no sooner heard of their situation, than he left Nantes, and, sailing down the Loire, stopped at Croisic and Guerrande, where he collected all the vessels he could find, and entered the port of Vannes in safety. The duke of Brittany and the French princes immediately embarked, and made the best of their way to Nantes, while the garrison of Vannes surrendered that town to the French.

Nantes, the most considerable town in the duchy, and the best fortified, was now besieged by the French army; and Dunois, who was with the duke of Brittany, entertained such apprehensions for its safety, that he resolved to go to England in person, to solicit assistance from the English monarch: he accordingly left the town in disguise, and repaired to Saint-Malo, but the prevalence of contrary winds prevented his embarkation. This circumstance, however, which Dunois was induced to consider as a misfortune, proved the means of saving the duchy, for it hastened the arrival of a fleet, containing a reinforcement of fifteen hundred veteran troops, which Maximilian had sent to the assistance of his ally. Dunois having, at the same time, received information that the peasants of Lower Brittany, apprized of the danger to which their sovereign was exposed, had assembled in a tumultuous manner, and only wanted a leader to head them, he immediately offered himself to this formidable band, and having selected ten thousand of the most able and best-armed, he joined the Germans, and returned in triumph to Nantes.

While the king was engaged in the siege of this city, Urswic, almoner to Henry the Seventh, arrived as ambassador from that prince. Having made known to Madame the purport of his journey, that able princess accepted with alacrity Henry's offer of mediation, under the idea that the duke of Orleans, from a consciousness that his ruin must form the basis of an accommodation, would exert his utmost influence with the duke of Brittany to make him reject the proposal of the English monarch. The event justified her prudence. When the ambassador made the same offer to the duke of Brittany, who was then confined to his bed by sickness, he was answered by the duke of Orleans, in the name of Francis, that, in such a perilous conjuncture, he expected from Henry the most effectual assistance, rather than a fruitless offer of mediation, which could not tend, in the smallest degree, to impede the progress of the French arms: that if Henry's gratitude were not sufficient to impel him to the adoption of such a measure,



his prudence, at least, should suggest to him how very important it was to England to prevent the annexation of the duchy of Brittany to the crown of France. This, however, did not induce Henry to depart from that line of conduct which he had previously determined to pursue; and, indeed, when he found that the peasants of Lower Brittany had risen in favour of their prince, and that the reinforcement introduced into Nantes by the count of Dunois, compelled the French to raise the siege of that city, he was fortified in his opinion that the court of France would experience such insurmountable obstacles to the accomplishment of their object, as would finally oblige them to abandon their design.

From Nantes the French army hastened to Clifton, a town belonging to the baron d'Avaugour, who, enraged at the introduction of a French garrison into a place where he commanded in person, abandoned the confederates, and returned to his father's court. Vitry surrendered to the French; and the small town of Dol, in consequence of a refusal to open her gates, was taken by assault, and resigned to pillage. Saint-Aubin du Cormier made a vigorous resistance, under the command of its brave governor, William de Rosnyvinen, who had served with distinction in the French army, under Charles the Seventh, his son Lewis; and the desertion of the garrison had left this gallant veteran with only forty or fifty men, with which trifling force he successfully opposed, for several days, the utmost exertions of an army of fourteen thousand combatants. He had expressed his determination rather to bury himself beneath the ruins of the town, than to surrender it to the enemy; but the earnest entreaties of his friends, and his generous concern for the few brave men who had remained attached to his fortunes, at length induced him to break the rash resolution, and to propose terms of capitulation, which were immediately accepted. The honours paid him by the French, who admired his courage, rendered him an object of suspicion to the court of Brittany, who seized his estates, plundered his house, and deprived him of his places. A subject less faithful might have been led to revolt, by such an act of injustice; but in the mind of Rosnyvinen, honour always rose superior to resentment. He immediately repaired to Nantes, where he procured an audience of his sovereign, to whom he represented, with manly firmness, that four of his nephews, the only support of his house, had lost their lives in the service of their prince; that his brother, who had married the rich heiress of Vaucouleurs, had also perished in the field of battle; that, for his own part, ever since he had been able to mount his horse, he had never failed in his duty to his country; that he had been present at every battle which had been fought in Brittany, and although, when his country was at peace, he had entered into the service of France, and had acquired some reputation in the wars of Charles the Seventh, and Lewis the Eleventh, he had, whenever war was declared between the kings of France and the dukes of Brittany, without hesitation resigned his places, and rejected the most tempting offers, in order to fly to the assistance of his country; that he had not only served her with his sword, but had been so fortunate as to assist his masters with his purse in times of necessity; that the duke must recollect that when Guerehe

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was taken by the French, he had lent him two thousand crowns; and that he had also lent two thousand more to the count of Dunois, to enable him to subsist the troops which he was conducting to the relief of Nantes; and he, lastly, explained his conduct at Saint-Aubin du Cormier, and justified himself so completely, that the duke, detesting the perfidy of his enemies, and condemning his own weakness, in having listened to their suggestions, immediately ordered his property to be restored, and, being unable, at that time, to indemnify him fully for the losses he had sustained, appointed him to be one of his *maîtres d'hôtel*.

Various towns and fortresses were now taken and retaken by the two armies; while Maximilian sent a fresh reinforcement to his ally. The duke was so well pleased at this new proof of his friendship, that he immediately wrote to the king of the Romans, telling him, that if he could, within a certain time, repair in person to Brittany, with an army sufficiently strong to expel the French from the duchy, his daughter should marry him without delay, and he would make the states take an oath of allegiance to him. But Maximilian was unfortunately in a situation which rendered it impossible for him to profit by this proposal.

The *mareschal Desquerdes*, who commanded the French forces in the Netherlands, had taken the towns of Saint-Omer and Terouenne, the former by surprise, the latter by the perfidy of one of the inhabitants<sup>19</sup>. He had also, by an act of treachery, dignified, by the cruel policy of war, with the appellation of stratagem, seduced a body of Germans into an ambuscade, in which most of them perished by the sword. Weakened, by these repeated losses, it was with the utmost difficulty that Maximilian had been able to send a small reinforcement to the duke of Brittany; and so far from being able to join him with a powerful army, he stood in need of assistance himself.

Charles, by this time, found himself in possession of the towns of Ancenis, Clisson, Châteaubrient, Guerche, Vitré, Dol, Saint-Aubin, Ploermel, Vannes, and Aurai<sup>20</sup>, and, as the season was far advanced, he distributed his troops in the different places he had reduced, and returned to France.

The duke of Orleans, and the other confederates, now plainly perceived, that, unless they could succeed in promoting unanimity among the Breton nobles, and in procuring more powerful assistance than they had hitherto been able to obtain, their ruin was inevitable. In order, therefore, to remove those prejudices, which the people of Brittany, who imputed to them all the misfortunes of their country, had been led to encourage, they

<sup>19</sup> Heuter. rer. Belgic.—Haræus, Annal. Brabant.—Jaligny.

<sup>20</sup> Belleforêt, Annales de France.



gave it out, that as they had only come to Brittany on the invitation of the duke, their ally, and in the view to defend him, they were ready to leave the duchy, if the king would engage to let him live in peace, and to restore all the places which he had unjustly taken from him: and to prove their sincerity, they demanded a safe conduct of Charles for the lord of Lescun, whom they appointed to settle the conditions of their return. This nobleman accordingly repaired to Pont à l'Arche, in Normandy (where the court then resided) accompanied by Dubois, an officer in the household of the marshal de Rieux, who had been prevailed on by Lescun to forsake the associated barons of Brittany, in case the king should refuse to comply with the demands of the princes.

As Lescun was aware of the improbability of concluding, in the present state of affairs; the accommodation he was sent to negotiate, he only dwelt, in his speech to the French council, on those circumstances which he knew would most offend Madame: he expatiated on the abuses which prevailed in the government, on the infraction of the articles accorded by the states of Tours, and on the unjust persecution of the duke of Orleans. No answer was made to his proposals; he had been heard with indignation, and was dismissed with contempt. Dubois next spoke, in the name of the marshal de Rieux; he accused the king of having broken the two first articles of the treaty of Châteaubrient, as well by sending into Brittany a greater number of troops than had been agreed on, as by forming the siege of Nantes, where the duke resided: he expressed his hopes, however, that his majesty would fulfil the third article, by immediately evacuating the duchy, and by restoring the places he had taken from the duke, since the princes of the blood, against whom alone the war had been directed, offered to leave Brittany on condition only that they should be suffered to live at peace. Madame, at first, attempted to separate the cause of the marshal from that of the princes, and she continued, for some time, to elude the demand of his envoy; but Dubois, aware of the artifice, insisted, with becoming firmness, on a direct and positive answer; When Madame, resolved to sacrifice justice to policy, told him that the king would suffer no man to interfere in his affairs, and that he had advanced too far to retreat.

As soon as the marshal de Rieux was apprized of this answer, he dismissed all the French who were then at Ancenis, where he resided, and exacted a fresh oath of allegiance to the duke of Brittany, from the remainder of the garrison, and the inhabitants of the town; and repaired to Châteaubrient, which belonged to his son-in-law, the lord of Montafilant. Having gained access to that town, with a small body of troops, he entered the castle, where several of the confederated barons were at supper, and thus addressed the company:—"Gentlemen, you all know what were the conditions of the treaty we signed in this very place, with the French: they have all been violated. I have complained of this infidelity, my remonstrances have given offence, and the French no longer make a secret of their intention to subdue Brittany, and to treat it as a conquered country. It  
" is

" is now time to shew who we are. This place is already in the power of the duke, our master; but as I gained admision as a friend, I do not mean to offer violence to any man's inclinations; such as choose to return to their duty, may remain here and rely on my friendship; while those who had rather persist in their alliance with France, are at liberty to leave the town with their arms and baggage."—The lord of Montafilant, and many of his friends, immediately chose the former, and renewed their oaths of allegiance to the duke of Brittany, while some few of the barons profited by the permission to depart.

A. D. 1488.] During these transactions, Maximilian was reduced to the most wretched situation; Desqueredes, having successfully exerted the detestable policy of exciting an insurrection in an enemy's country, the inhabitants of Ghent, ever ripe for sedition, had shaken off the authority of their lawful sovereign, re-established the democratical form of government, and placed themselves under the protection of France. The king of the Romans, on the first news of this event, hastened to Bruges, where the citizens, tainted with the same spirit of revolt, flew to arms, and compelled the prince, who was but slightly attended, to shut himself up in his palace. The brave Salazar, who had accompanied him, proposed to force a passage through the seditious rabble, but Maximilian declined an attempt which he regarded as desperate; Salazar, however, resolved to try it himself: accordingly, having clad himself in complete armour, and fixed on twelve determined men to accompany him, he seized the opportunity while the citizens were opening one of the gates of the town, to attack them sword in hand, and killing all who dared to resist, he cut his way through the mob, and effected his escape. After his departure, Maximilian was treated with the greatest indignity; he was confined a close prisoner in his palace, many of his officers were massacred, and his own life was almost hourly in danger. The inhabitants of Ghent were no sooner informed of his situation, than they sent to desire he might be delivered into their hands; this, however, the citizens of Bruges thought proper to refuse, though they consented to deliver up ten of his attendants, who were conveyed to Ghent, where they were put to the torture. Ten of the citizens of Ghent, who had also distinguished themselves by their loyalty, were invited to dine with the principal magistrates, who, after regaling them in the most splendid manner, and loading them with caresses, introduced an executioner and several priests. The unhappy guests were immediately put to death, and their bodies having been conveyed to the church of a neighbouring convent, the inhuman magistrates sent for their wives, telling them they were at liberty to visit their husbands, and to dispose of them as they pleased. To such refinement of cruelty did these popular demagogues proceed; and, indeed, we have generally found, that where the people have usurped an authority, which, though in particular cases they may be entitled to confer, it was certainly never intended they should exercise, they have employed it for the most abominable purposes.

While these events were passing in the Netherlands, the king returned to Paris, where he



he held a bed of justice, at which the confederated princes were formally tried, though it was not deemed adviseable to pass sentence on them. These violent proceedings, at length, opened the eyes of the English monarch, to avert the effects of whose resentment, lord Bernard d'Aubigny, a Scotch nobleman, was sent to London; and this ambassador had orders to persuade Henry to persist in his offers of mediation to the duke of Brittany. Henry, on his part, dispatched another embassy to Paris, consisting of Urfwic, the abbot of Abingdon, and sir Richard Tonstal, who were charged with new proposals for an accommodation, all of which were rejected by Madame. No succours, meanwhile, were provided for the distressed Bretons. Lord Woodville, uncle to the queen of England, having asked permission to raise privately a body of volunteers, and transport them into Brittany, met with a refusal, which, however, proved insufficient to deter him from his purpose. Being governor of the isle of Wight, he went thither, and raised four hundred men, whom he immediately conducted to the assistance of the Bretons; but this enterprize proved fatal to its projector, and afforded small relief to the unhappy duke.

The French, meanwhile, had opened the campaign by the siege of Châteaubrient, the garrison whereof, after an obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate. The town of Ancenis, belonging to the marechal de Rieux, was next reduced and pillaged; the ditches were filled up, and all the fortifications demolished<sup>21</sup>. At length, however, the duke of Brittany assembled an army (commanded by the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, the marechal de Rieux and the lord of Albret) sufficiently formidable to resist the progress of the French, had not the generals been more anxious to lay snares for each other, than to frustrate the designs of the enemy. The object of this army was to relieve the town of Fougères, which was then besieged by the French; but finding it had surrendered, they directed their march towards Saint Aubin du Cormier, with the view to carry that place by assault before the garrison could be reinforced. La Tremouille, who commanded the French, having guessed their design, directed his march to the same quarter, and the two armies met, unexpectedly, at the village of Orange. It is generally allowed that had the Bretons attacked the French without delay, they might have obtained an easy victory; but the dissensions which prevailed amongst their leaders made them lose the opportunity; and both sides proceeded, with great deliberation, to form their plan of attack. The duke of Orleans was entitled, from his rank, to have the chief command, but a report having been propagated that he maintained a correspondence with the enemy, he alighted from his horse, and placed himself in the ranks, and his example was followed by the prince of Orange, and some other French officers. The command of the van devolved on the marechal de Rieux; the lord of Albret led the center, and the rear was entrusted to the lord of Montafilant. One of the wings was covered by a thick wood, and the other by the baggage. The French army was drawn up in two divisions, the first of which was com-

<sup>21</sup> Histoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau---Jaligni---Hist. Ludovic. Aurelian--Belleforêt, Annales de France.

manded by Adrian de l'Hopital, and the second by La Tremouille; a body of cavalry was placed in ambush, under the conduct of Galiot, who had orders to profit by any confusion which might occur during the action. The first attack of the Bretons was firm and impetuous; the French, unable to withstand it, gave way and retreated to some distance; but the Bretons, in pursuing them, incautiously opened their ranks, and thus afforded an opportunity to the cavalry, in which the French were greatly superior, to attack them to advantage. This opportunity was eagerly seized and successfully improved: the horse rushed forward, overthrew the first ranks, and cut their way to the center of the army; at that critical moment, while the Bretons were in confusion, Galiot attacked them in flank; The rout then became general; twelve or thirteen hundred of the Bretons perished in the field; near six thousand were taken prisoners, and the rest fled with the utmost precipitation. Among the slain was the young lord of Leon, son to the viscount of Rohan; and among the prisoners were the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and Mosen Gralla, captain of the Spanish guards. Lord Woodville, and all the English, were massacred in cool blood, together with a body of Bretons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Englishmen, in order to strike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial prowess of that nation was always formidable.

After the battle, the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were conducted to Saint Aubin, where Tremouille invited them, and all the officers who had been taken with them, to sup with him. After supper, he whispered something to one of his attendants, who, in a short time, introduced two friars into the room. The princes, alarmed at the sight, immediately rose from table, and remained motionless; but Tremouille desired them not to be alarmed, for that their lives were safe till the king should have decreed otherwise. "But,"—said he—"as for you, captains, who have been taken in the act of fighting against your king and country, prepare yourselves for death, for you must die instantly." The princes in vain interfered in behalf of their partizans; the inhuman general remained inexorable, and his sanguinary orders were immediately executed. The duke of Orleans himself, after being transferred from one prison to another for some time, was, at length, confined in the tower of Bourges, where he was treated with the utmost severity, being shut up, every night, in an iron cage. The prince of Orange was confined in a prison at Angers.

By the defeat of Saint Aubin the military force of Brittany was totally broken, and the greatest consternation spread throughout the duchy. La Tremouille hastened to Rennes, and summoned the citizens to surrender, threatening them with the effects of his vengeance, should they presume to resist; but they treated his threats with contempt, and expressed their resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity. He was induced, therefore, to alter his plan, and to direct his course to Dinant, which he speedily reduced; he then proceeded to Saint Malo, a place of great strength, but the cowardice of the garrison rendered it an easy conquest.

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The duke of Brittany, finding himself unable to cope with the superior power of France was, at length, reduced to the necessity of suing for peace<sup>22</sup>. The propriety of noticing his application was submitted to the discussion of the French council; when Madame, and her partizans, maintained that, after so much labour and expence, it would be madness to stop, when in sight of the goal; that the smallest delay might change the face of affairs, and render that conquest a matter of doubt, which now appeared to be certain: that care should be taken not to give the Bretons time to recover from their consternation, and to claim the protection of foreign powers: and that, in all expeditions, the best mode of ensuring success was to make the most of a favourable opportunity, which once lost might never be recovered. These reasons, more specious than solid, were admitted as decisive by the majority of the council, from a servile deference to those who urged them; when William de Rochefort, chancellor of France, thus addressed the council:—"All those who have spoken before me, have endeavoured to prove that the conquest of Brittany would be easily accomplished; but yet no one has taken the trouble to examine whether it would be just to attempt it, yet that surely is the first object of consideration! Nations of old, who had not received the light of the gospel, thought the plea of convenience sufficient to authorize the seizure of any neighbouring country: but a Christian prince has other rules of conduct. He owes an example of justice to the rest of the world, and he considers a war, that is not founded in equity, as oppression. The king, I know, advances certain claims upon the duchy of Brittany, but these claims are still involved in the obscurity of the cabinet; they have not been submitted to the censure of the laws. Let, then, commissioners—men of knowledge and integrity—be speedily appointed; let the respective titles be submitted to their inspection, and let a perfect freedom of discussion be accorded them: if, after a strict examination, those of the king shall be deemed unjust, or even doubtful, there will be no room for hesitation: the conquest of Brittany—were it even more easy of accomplishment than it is represented—must be renounced. This example of moderation will do the king more honour than the most splendid conquest. If, on the contrary, they should be declared valid, it will then be proper to enforce them; the Bretons will open their eyes, and will no longer dare to resist a prince, who has justice on his side." This honest advice was, after much discussion, adopted by the council; and, on the twenty-first of August, 1488, the king concluded a treaty of peace, at Sablé, with the ministers of the duke of Brittany, on the following conditions:

" 1. The duke shall dismiss from his dominions all the foreigners whom he has drawn thither, and he shall swear, upon the gospel, and upon the true cross, that neither he, nor his successors will ever invite any foreigners into Brittany, to assist him with their advice or with their sword, in making war upon the king, his sovereign. 2. He shall

<sup>22</sup> Jaligni---Lobineau.

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“not marry the princesses, his daughters, without the knowledge and consent of the king, who, on his part, declares that he will treat them favourably, and as his near relations. 3. The two preceding articles shall be sworn to by all the nobles, ecclesiastics, barons and inhabitants of the principal towns in the duchy; who shall engage to pay the king, in case of any breach of this treaty, the sum of two hundred thousand crowns of gold; for which sum the principal towns in the duchy shall be mortgaged, and particularly the town of Nantes. 4. The king shall keep, until the full accomplishment of these conditions, the towns of Saint Malo, Dinant, Fougères, Vitré and Saint Aubin, and shall put what garrisons he may think proper in those towns; but he engages immediately to withdraw the garrisons from all the other towns now in his possession, and to renounce all farther conquests. 5. The king shall restore to the duke's daughters, or their heirs, the towns of Saint Malo and Fougères, in case the commissioners appointed to examine the claims of either party, shall determine that his pretensions are invalid, without requiring any indemnity for the expences of the war; but if the princesses should marry against his will, or even without his consent, he shall then keep, as his own property, all the towns he possesses in Brittany.”

Such were the principal articles of the treaty of Sablé, which Francis swore to observe, and, a few days after, having received a fall from his horse, he expired at Coiron, on the ninth of September<sup>23</sup>. By his last will, he appointed the marshal de Rieux his executor, and guardian of the two princesses, the care of whose persons he entrusted to Frances de Dinan, countess of Laval; he ordered the county of Penthievre to be restored to the children of the lord of Albret, and an indemnity to be made to that nobleman himself for the expences he had incurred during the war. He empowered the marshal de Rieux, to whom he entrusted the supreme power during the minority of his daughters, to consult, in all matters of difficulty, with the lord of Albret, the count of Dunois, and Lescun, count of Comminges. He was silent as to the marriage of the two princesses, that he might not violate the treaty he had just concluded with the king; but from the manner in which he had settled the administration, it appeared impossible for the princess Anne to escape the lord of Albret, whose interest was espoused by all who had authority over her. Her aversion from this nobleman was, indeed, well known, but this was considered as a matter of such little consequence by the parties concerned, that the lord of Albret had already taken the necessary steps for procuring a dispensation from the pope.

Anne had received from nature a strong mind, whose firmness and resolution had been increased by adversity. Informed of the rash conduct of the lord of Albret, she ordered her chancellor, Philip de Montauban, to draw up a deed of opposition, and to signify it to the lord of Albret and the marshal de Rieux. This stroke of authority astonished the two noblemen, who suspected it proceeded from the chancellor, and they

<sup>23</sup> Histoire de Bretagne, par Lobineau---Jaligni.



accordingly threatened to put him to death, in case he continued to oppose their views. These menaces, however, had no effect on Montauban, who being joined by the count of Dunois, Lewis de Lornai, captain-general of the Germans, and several of the Breton nobles, formed a party in opposition to the lord of Albret and the mareschal de Rieux.

Anne's first care was to apprise the king of her father's death, and to request that an event so unfortunate for Brittany might operate no change in the conditions of the treaty of Sablé. But the French court had resolved to adopt a system of persecution hostile to every principle of honour, generosity, or good-faith; a system conceived and enforced in the true spirit of Lewis the Eleventh. Agreeably to this system the young monarch replied, that he was willing to fulfil his engagements, on the following conditions: 1. That, being the lord paramount, and the nearest relation of the two princesses, he should be declared their guardian, and should have the management of their property during their minority. 2. That, for the final settlement of the difference between them and him, relative to the duchy of Brittany, they should communicate their titles to the commissioners, who should assemble before the month of January, in order to examine their validity; and that, until their decisions should be known, neither Anne nor her sister should assume the title of duchess. 3. That conformably to the first article of the treaty of Sablé, all foreigners should be immediately expelled from Brittany.

Anne, without entering into any discussion on these demands, replied, that she should religiously adhere to the last treaty; and that as one of the articles stipulated that the three estates of the duchy should swear to observe it, she had just convened them for that purpose. She then complained of the conduct of the French generals, who, in violation of the treaty, had continued to ravage the country, and had recently made themselves masters of Moncontour. The king promised to repair all damages, withdrew the garrison of Moncontour, and delivered up the town to the Breton officers. But while he thus affected to pay a rigid observance to his word, on matters of little importance, in order to inspire the princess with a dangerous confidence, he connived at proceedings which were more calculated to alarm her.

The viscount of Rohan, at the head of a considerable detachment of the French army, addressed a long manifesto to the principal towns of Lower-Brittany, in which, after deploring the calamities of his country, he conjured all his fellow citizens to unite in her defence. He asserted, that the king of France having taken up arms for the sole purpose of preventing the duchy—which was a fief of the crown—from falling into the hands of a foreigner, was ready to lay them down as soon as the Bretons should have chosen, as a husband for their sovereign, a prince on whose fidelity he could rely: that he had already obtained the king's consent for his son to become her husband, and that the justice of his pretensions had been acknowledged at the court of Brittany, by the  
mareschal

mareschal de Rieux, and the countess of Laval, whom the duke had entrusted with the sovereign authority: he summoned the municipal officers to contribute to the restoration of public tranquillity, by joining him in the pursuit of his plan, and by opening to him the gates of their towns.

These insidious professions of patriotism, calculated to conceal the most interested designs, were treated with the contempt they deserved; but the viscount finding his rhetoric fruitless, had recourse to arms, and reduced many of the towns in Lower-Brittany. Anne, meanwhile, perceiving that the king, regardless of his oaths and promises, was only studying how to despoil her of her inheritance, prudently determined to retain the foreign auxiliaries which had been sent to the assistance of her father, and even employed the most earnest solicitations with her allies to induce them to furnish her with fresh succours. She first addressed herself to Maximilian, whose proposals she had evinced a greater inclination to favour than those of any of her lovers, except the duke of Orleans.

Maximilian had, by the assistance of his father, released himself from the hands of his rebellious subjects, who, nevertheless, still continued to make war on him: he was in Holland when he received the ambassadors from the young duchess of Brittany, who informed him of the deplorable situation of their mistress, and demanded a fresh supply of troops. Maximilian sent her all the forces he could possibly spare, and informed the ambassadors, that having received a promise of effectual assistance from the princes of the empire, he fully intended to penetrate so far into France, that Charles would be compelled to evacuate Brittany, in order to protect his capital.

A. D. 1489.] Unfortunately the situation of the duchess was such as not to permit her to wait the effects of these promises. The viscount of Rohan, after reducing Brest and Concarneau, had extended his invasions to the gates of Rhedon, whither Anne had retired; but as that place was, in a manner, defenceless, she formed a design of repairing to Nantes, which was one of the strongest towns in the duchy, and where she expected to find the jewels of the crown, which, in the present scarcity of money, would have been highly acceptable to her<sup>24</sup>. She accordingly sent for the mareschal de Rieux and the lord of Albret to escort her, but instead of obeying her orders, they hastened to Nantes themselves, placed a strong garrison in the city, and persuaded the citizens, that Dunois and Montauban, who accompanied the duchess, and who enjoyed a great share of her confidence, only wished to gain admission into the town, in order to watch for an opportunity of delivering it to the French. After they had taken these precautions, they sent word to their sovereign that she might come to Nantes, but with a retinue

<sup>24</sup> Lobineau---Jaligni---Ferreras---Belleforêt.



only of twelve persons. Being informed, however, that she disregarded their threats, and was advancing towards the town, where they feared her presence would excite an insurrection of the citizens, they went to meet her at the head of a strong detachment, with the view to seize her person. As soon as Anne saw them approaching, she ordered her attendants to put themselves in a posture of defence, then placing herself behind the count of Dunois (on the same horse) she offered them battle. This unexpected display of resolution disconcerted the rebels; and Rieux, ashamed of attacking a young princess, at once his ward and his sovereign, immediately returned to Nantes. The next day, however, he reproached himself for having suffered so fair an opportunity to escape, and placing himself at the head of a stronger detachment, he again went forth to seize the princess. Anne received him as before, but the count of Dunois, judging the party unequal, advanced before the ranks, and desired to speak with the marshal. He promised to conduct the duchess to Nantes, and delivered John de Louan, a captain in the guards of the duke of Orleans, as a hostage for the performance of his promise. The life of this brave man depended on the punctuality with which Dunois should fulfil his engagement, but his fidelity rose superior to the fear of death. Having gained information of the measures which had been concerted for securing the duchess, and compelling her to bestow her hand on the lord of Albret, he wrote to Dunois, whom he generously released from his promise, requesting he would leave him to his fate, and only think of consulting the safety of the duchess. Dunois availed himself, though with reluctance, of this permission, and conducted the princess to Vannes, whence she afterwards returned to Rhedon. At this last place she received a deputation from the city of Rennes, whose inhabitants detesting the perfidy of their countrymen at Nantes, entreated her to honour their city with her presence, where, they assured her, she would find none but loyal subjects, who had long been accustomed to devote their own lives, and those of their children, to the defence of their sovereigns. The duchess accepted the invitation, and was received by the faithful citizens of Rennes with great pomp and magnificence: not only the principal inhabitants, but even the lowest tradesmen, hastened to offer her a part of their savings, which the duchess accepted with tears of gratitude.

The king of England, urged by the clamours of his subjects, at length found himself obliged, much against his inclination, to adopt some more vigorous measures than he had hitherto pursued, for the relief of the Bretons. He, therefore, resolved to engage as an auxiliary to Brittany, and to consult the interests as well as desires of his people, by an attempt to oppose the dangerous progress of the French power. Rieux and Lescun, who were well aware of the importance of associating Henry in their designs, had caused it to be represented to him, by secret emissaries, that Dunois and Montauban, who had, they said, obtained an entire ascendancy over the mind of the young duchess, were paid by the French ministry; that, in order to effect her ruin with the greater certainty, they had led her to suspect the fidelity of her most faithful subjects, and had inspired her with disgust for the lord of Albret, who had sacrificed every thing to her interest: who had,

moreover,

moreover, well-founded claims to one-third of Brittany; who had been accepted by the duke for his son-in-law, and whom all *well-designing* Bretons desired to have for their sovereign: they represented that the marriage they proposed would be equally advantageous to England as to Brittany, since the lord of Albret, the most powerful nobleman in Gascony, father to the king of Navarre, allied to the king of Spain, might, when duke of Brittany, afford effectual assistance to the English in the recovery of Guienne: that he was, in all respects, the most suitable ally for them, being sufficiently powerful to render them important services, and yet too weak to separate his interests from theirs; whereas Maximilian, sole heir to the vast dominions of the house of Austria, vested with the Imperial power, father-in-law to the king of France, and master of all the ports of Holland and Flanders, might, on the most trivial pretext, break with them, and attempt to deprive them of Calais. These reasons, it may be presumed, had but little effect upon Henry, but as he was compelled to adopt some decisive measure, he thought it would be less dangerous to deceive a young princess, and force her to marry a man she did not like, than to affront two noblemen, who had almost all the forces in Brittany at their disposal, and who might, on any grounds for discontent, surrender Nantes, and a great number of other places, to the French. In the treaty which he concluded with the duchess, he had three objects in view: the first was to sell his troops as dearly as he could; the second, to exact large securities for the sums he might expend; and the third, so to bind down his new ally, that he might become the arbiter of her fate, and obtain such power over her as to make her give her hand to the lord of Albret.

The following were the principal articles of the treaty. 1. "The king of England  
 " undertakes to send six thousand regular troops to the assistance of the duchess of  
 " Brittany, or even more, so that the number shall not exceed ten thousand, which  
 " troops shall be obliged to serve in Brittany from the sixth of January to the first of  
 " November. 2. The duchess engages to reimburse the king of England, according to  
 " the estimation of commissioners chosen by the two powers, all the expences he shall  
 " incur for the embarkation, transport, and support of these troops, and to remit to Eng-  
 " land the sum stipulated for such reimbursement. 3. In order to ensure the validity of  
 " her engagement, the duchess will surrender to the English troops, two of the five fol-  
 " lowing towns, at the option of the king of England, viz. Concarneau, Hennebonne,  
 " Aurai, Vannes, and Guerrande; which two towns, with all their dependencies, shall  
 " remain in the power of the king of England, till such time as all his expences have been  
 " defrayed. Should the duchess succeed in retaking any of the places which are now  
 " in possession of the French, the king of England shall be at liberty to take them in  
 " exchange for those which he had before chosen, on condition, however, that the Eng-  
 " lish shall not hold at the same time Brest and Concarneau. 4. The duchess, and  
 " four of the principal nobility, one of whom shall be the marshal de Rieux, shall  
 " swear, in the most solemn manner, that she will not enter into any treaty, nor form  
 " any engagement, with regard to her marriage with any sovereign prince, or nobleman,  
 " without



“ without the knowledge, approbation, and consent of the king of England; and that  
“ she will even inform him of the object of all other negotiations which she may open  
“ with foreign powers.”

Hard as these conditions indisputably were, the duchess subscribed them without any restriction; but she soon found that most of them had been dictated by her guardian, and that her new protector was likely to become her principal persecutor. She, therefore, was in no haste to deliver up the two places she had agreed to surrender to the English, who landed, to the number of six thousand men, under the conduct of lord Willoughby of Broke. When they disembarked, they were received by some officers who had been sent by Anne to compliment them on their arrival, and to concert with them the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign; but neither quarters nor provisions had been provided for them, and they were reduced to the necessity of encamping on the shore. Disgusted with this reception, they dismissed the officers with contempt, and refused to hold any commerce with them. Anne hastened to send a new embassy to Henry to excuse the bad treatment which his troops had experienced; she represented to him, that she had no longer any authority over her subjects: that Rieux, under the name of her guardian, had become her tyrant, and set an example to the Bretons of disobedience and revolt: that he already boasted of having secured in his interest the principal leaders of the English forces, and that it would be impossible for his victim to escape him: and that she well knew, from the best authority, that that dangerous man suborned the English, by making them believe that if the lord of Albret were duke of Brittany, he might afford them effectual assistance in the recovery of Guienne: but, she observed, Henry was too prudent to adopt such visionary plans, and to found any hopes on an adventurer, banished and disinherited, who did not then possess a single inch of land in the kingdom: and, lastly, she remarked that the lord of Albret had rendered himself so odious by his unjust persecution, that, rather than marry him, she would bury herself for ever in a cloister. Henry, in his reply, endeavoured to calm her mind, by exhorting her not to give credit to every report she should hear, and by treating her suspicions of the fidelity of her principal officers as the effects of a groundless terror; but he was totally silent with regard to the lord of Albret; he even sent secret orders to his generals not to treat with Anne's officers, but to induce her, if possible, to repair to their camp, herself, or, should they fail in that attempt, to lead their troops to Rennes, under pretence of shewing them to her, and to endeavour, at all events, to secure her person<sup>25</sup>. Anne would have been unable to resist the efforts of so many enemies who had conspired against her liberty, but for the arrival, at this critical conjuncture, of a considerable reinforcement of Spanish troops, under the conduct of don Diego Perez de Sarmiento, and don Pedro Carilla d'Albornos. These she ordered immediately to march to Rennes, and joining them to the

<sup>25</sup> Garnier, tom. xx. p. 129.

Germans she had received from Maximilian, the French attached to the duke of Orleans and the count of Dunois, and such of the Bretons as the marshal de Rieux had not been able to seduce from their duty, she found herself in a situation to oppose an insurmountable barrier to the violent projects of her persecutors. Ferdinand, not content with having sent this body of troops to the assistance of the duchess, promised that he would, in the course of the summer, make a diversion on the side of the Pyrenees, which should compel the French to divide their forces.

The king, meanwhile, remained at Paris, pretending to be no wise concerned in the hostile attempts of the viscount de Rohan, and waiting, for the regulation of his future conduct, the issue of those intrigues by which Brittany was, at this time, convulsed<sup>26</sup>. When the French council found that the faction of the lord of Albret had acquired a superiority over the opposite party, that Henry the Seventh had joined it, and that Rieux and Albret, besides the national troops under their command, had at their disposal the six thousand English, they thought that by attacking the princess they would drive her into the snares which had been laid for her by the enemies of France; that the best way would be to remain on the defensive, to give time to the two factions to weaken each other, and then to make use of the weakest, to facilitate their triumph over the strongest.

For this purpose, Madame was careful to conciliate the favour of the Roman pontiff, to whom d'Albret had applied for a dispensation, by releasing two prelates—the bishops of Pui and Montauban—who had been thrown into prison, for maintaining a correspondence with the duke of Orleans. Some other persons, who had suffered on the same account, were also released; but Philip de Comines was treated with greater severity. After having been confined eight months in an iron cage, he was delivered over to the parliament, who pronounced a sentence of banishment upon him—the place of his exile to be fixed on by the king—and confiscated one-fourth of his property; but Charles remitted his fine, and afterward took him into favour.

As the capture of the duke of Orleans was openly ascribed to the jealousy and manœuvres of the lord of Albret, the duke's partizans had become the most implacable enemies of that nobleman. The count of Dunois, in whom the duchess reposed an entire confidence, exerted the strong talents which he had received from nature, to counteract all the intrigues of Lescun and Rieux, and secretly rendered France all the service he could, without betraying the interests of Anne. Madame, to whom this conduct had fully reconciled him, determined to give him an associate, actuated by the same views,

<sup>26</sup> Jaligni,---Lobineau.



and she, accordingly, fixed her eyes on the prince of Orange, who was released from prison, and sent, on some frivolous pretext, into Brittany.

The king had now three armies on foot; one in Brittany, a second in Flanders, and a third—under the command of the count of Angoulême and the marechal de Gié—destined to cover Gascony and Languedoc, which were threatened with an invasion from Ferdinand<sup>27</sup>; and as the ordinary revenue of the state was insufficient to defray the additional expences incurred thereby, the king determined to exact a tenth of the revenues of the clergy. This resolution was accordingly communicated to the parliament of Paris, who were ordered to support the commissioners appointed to collect the impost. That court, however, observed, that as they had been instituted for the administration of *justice*, it behoved them to inform his majesty that no such impost could be legally levied till the clergy had been assembled, and consulted thereon.

The king, displeased at their interference, sent them a second message, forbidding them to admit any appeals with regard to the impost, and to grant any delay to such as should refuse to pay. With this prohibition, however, the parliament positively refused to comply, and they sanctioned their refusal by the laws of the realm and the principles of the constitution. Charles, despairing to make the magistrates deviate from their duty, had recourse to the pope, who accordingly, in his own name, exacted a tenth from the clergy of France, on pretence of an expedition against the Infidels; two thirds of this impost were to be paid to the king, and the remaining third the sovereign pontiff reserved for himself. But the strenuous opposition of the parliament, seconded by the university of Paris, rendered the tax extremely unproductive.

Nothing of importance occurred in Brittany during the present campaign: the marechal de Rieux made an attempt to seize the chancellor de Montauban, but he was defeated by the count of Dunois, and the prince of Orange; while the English, seeing the duchy thus rent by contending factions, became disgusted with the expedition, and hastened to return. They had already, of their own authority, concluded a truce with the commander of the French garrison at Dinant, and had even opened conferences for a peace. Anne sent them what money she could collect, and did not fail to complain to Henry, whom she stiled *her good father*, of the conduct of his officers, who, she said, publicly conspired the ruin of Brittany, and had sold themselves to the marechal de Rieux. Henry answered the complaints of *his good daughter* by other complaints of her neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and to provide necessaries for his troops, and of her unjust suspicions of his officers, who, he said, were men of the first families in England. He insinuated that some kind of reparation was due to them for this insult, and

<sup>27</sup> MS. de Fontanieu,--Du Boulai, Hist. Univ. Paris,---Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane.

he required that she should either pay them a visit in their camp, or suffer them to go to Rennes, and review their troops in her presence<sup>27</sup>. Anne immediately replied, that the English officers, whose fidelity he boasted of, did not even take the trouble of concealing their commerce, as well with the rebels as with the French; that on the contrary they had repelled with contempt, and had almost insulted, the officers whom she had sent to them: that the state of her affairs did not permit her either to repair to the English camp, or to suffer the troops to absent themselves, even for a day, from Lower Brittany, which was exposed to the depredations of the French:—" *Should they dare*"—added the young heroine—" *to come to me, without having previously obtained my permission, I will receive them in such a manner that they will have little inclination to repeat their visit.*"

In the Netherlands, the arms of Maximilian proved every where successful, and the mareschal Desquerdes was foiled in every attempt. The diet of the empire, too, had been summoned to meet at Frankfort, and, from the present disposition of the German princes, there could be little doubt but that their united efforts would be exerted to humble the pride, and to thwart the treacherous projects, of France. To avert this storm, Madame sent ambassadors into Germany, and though they were treated with the utmost contempt by Maximilian himself, the terms they proposed appeared so moderate, that the princes of the empire compelled him to accept them. A treaty was accordingly signed at Frankfort, by which it was agreed that Maximilian and Charles should have an interview at Tournay, for the re-establishment of that harmony and confidence, which ought ever to subsist between a father and a son-in-law; that Maximilian should have the guardianship of his son Philip, that his authority should be acknowledged by the Flemings, and, in case they should make any difficulty on that head, the king of France engaged to compel them to obey him; that, as neither the king of the Romans, nor his son Philip, had received the revenues of the county of Flanders, the inhabitants of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges, should pay them an adequate sum, by way of indemnity. Charles engaged to restore without delay, to the dukes of Brittany, all the places he had reduced since the death of his father, provided she would dismiss the English troops, and promise never to recal them. The towns of Saint-Malo, Dinant, Fougères, and Saint-Aubin, were to be sequestered in the hands of the lord of Beaujeu (now duke of Bourbon) and the prince of Orange, who should swear to deliver them up to whichever of the two parties they should be adjudged, by commissioners appointed for the purpose. But while France by this treaty, which she never intended to observe, endeavoured to deceive Maximilian, she was herself deceived by that prince, on an object of greater importance.

<sup>27</sup> Garnier.



Anne, surrounded by traitors, was apprehensive that, in spite of all her precautions, she should at length fall into the power of the lord of Albret; and, therefore, in order to liberate herself from the persecution to which she was daily exposed, she informed the king of the Romans, that she had chosen him for her husband, and placed her fate entirely in his hands. Maximilian accordingly sent the count of Nassau, Wolfgang Polheim, and his secretary, Gondebald, to celebrate the marriage by proxy. The ostensible object of their embassy was to enforce an observance of the treaty of Frankfort; and as the French ministry were unacquainted with their secret commission, Charles not only received them with distinction, but sent two of his heralds to conduct them to Rennes. In that city the ceremony was performed with such secrecy, that none of the duchess's attendants were apprized of it, and the precise date of the transaction has not yet been discovered,

A. D. 1490.] As soon as the news of the peace between France and Maximilian was received in Brittany, it occasioned the most violent commotions. The partizans of the lord of Albret, though ignorant of the terms of the treaty, did not doubt but as it had been dictated by Maximilian, and approved by the court of France, that it tended to ruin their hopes, and perhaps to promote their destruction. They remonstrated with Henry on the insult which he had sustained from the contracting powers, as well as from the duchess herself, in stipulating, without deigning to consult him, the expulsion of the English from Brittany; and they exerted themselves so successfully in exciting the resentment of the English officers, that they intercepted and cut to pieces a body of Germans, whom the duchess had sent to Guerrande.

Anne, meanwhile, had convened the states-general of the duchy at the town of Rhedon, to make them accept the treaty of Frankfort; and she even sent safe-conducts to the principal leaders of the rebels, that they might repair thither in safety. They accordingly came, but completely armed, and with the intention of murdering the chancellor, and dissolving the assembly. Unable to perpetrate the crime, or to impede the acceptance of the treaty, they resolved, at least, to oppose its execution. The English, at the instigation of the marshal de Rieux, committed the most destructive ravages in Brittany, while the marshal himself made excursions into Poitou and Touraine. The king—whose conduct to Anne was founded on a base dereliction of every principle of honour—was secretly pleased at being supplied with a pretext for refusing to evacuate Brittany; and he sent a formal embassy to the duchess, to demand reparation for the hostilities which had—in contempt of the late treaty—been committed in the French territories; and to summon her to fulfil, without farther delay, the fundamental article of that treaty, by expelling the English from Brittany. The duchess was now in a most distressed situation, oppressed by her rebellious subjects, and harassed by an unprincipled neighbour; while her husband, Maximilian, was at the farthest extremity of Europe, engaged in a fruitless attempt to recover the kingdom of Hungary. In this dilemma, she  
resolved,

resolved, if possible, to regain the friendship of the English monarch; and, to interest him the more in her behalf, she renewed her promise never to marry without his consent. In this, indeed, she deceived him; but the deceit was innocent and justifiable. The kind reception, however, which her ambassadors experienced from Henry, inspired her with a greater degree of confidence; and induced her to entrust him with the secret of her marriage; at least, on this supposition alone can the change which took place in the conduct of that monarch be accounted for. From this period, Henry displayed the utmost zeal in serving the king of the Romans, and evinced the most earnest desire to secure his friendship. After promoting a reconciliation between the duchess and the marshal de Rieux, he sent an embassy to Maximilian, who was then in Austria, to inform him that France was guilty of continual violations of the treaty of Frankfort, and to exhort him to return with expedition to the Netherlands, in order to concert with him the means of saving Brittany. Maximilian, who was detained in another quarter by a mad scheme of conquest, which he was unable to execute, contented himself with sending ambassadors to England, who signed a treaty offensive and defensive against France. Henry, at the same time, concluded a similar treaty with the king of Castile and Arragon, by which the contracting parties agreed to declare war against France, and not to lay down their arms till Charles had restored to Ferdinand the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, and to Henry the provinces of Guienne and Normandy. Henry did not fail to publish these treaties, as well to intimidate the French council, as to obtain subsidies from the English parliament.

It was about this time that the French ministry received intelligence of the marriage of the duchess of Brittany with Maximilian, from their emissaries, the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange. Madame, apprehensive that she was on the point of losing a province, to secure which her utmost efforts had been exerted, assembled the council, who formally pronounced the marriage to be null and void; and had the vanity and arrogance to suppose that their decision would be final. After this preposterous ceremony, they proceeded to devise means for preventing the duchess from consummating a marriage which she had contracted from inclination; they were acquainted with the firmness of her mind, and they knew that, from her earliest infancy, she could ill brook controul. By having recourse to violence they would only alienate the affection of the Bretons, and disgust the princess, who would, in that case, fly to England, and arm all the princes of Europe in her behalf. It was, therefore, determined to secure the suffrages of the principal nobles of Brittany, and to bring the young duchess, partly by persuasion and partly by force, to renounce her first engagement, and to accept another husband of equal rank, who, his pretensions being favoured by the Bretons themselves, might restore peace and tranquillity to her distracted country. The only person possessed of all these advantages was Charles the Eighth, who had been contracted to Margaret, daughter to Maximilian; and that princess, though too young for the consummation of her marriage, had been sent to Paris to be educated, and now enjoyed the title of Queen of France. In a con-

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test between interest and honour, princes are seldom at a loss how to decide: Charles determined to sacrifice his integrity to the gratification of his ambitious schemes; but, as such a step could not fail to give umbrage to every court in Europe, it was necessary to observe the most profound secrecy, that no discovery might be made till too late for prevention. The French ministry accordingly displayed their usual policy in the management of this delicate enterprize, marked by the most disgusting features of treachery, and calculated to violate every principle of good faith, decency and decorum.

The duchess, during the formation of this abominable plan, had sent frequent embassies to Charles, to request he would conform to the treaty of Frankfort; and that monarch, who had hitherto eluded her demand, now, having arranged his plan of proceedings, promised to give her ample satisfaction. After leaving strong garrisons in the few towns which he had reserved by the treaty, he caused all the others to be evacuated, and ordered his troops to retire into Normandy, while he himself went to visit Dauphiné. Before his departure, he fixed the time for opening the conferences between his ministers and those of Maximilian, at the city of Tournay, which were to precede his interview with that prince. He reproached the duchess with her neglect in not having appointed commissioners to attend these conferences; and he sent her safe-conducts for two hundred and forty persons, a much greater number than she intended to send, but the king wished those in whom she placed the greatest confidence to be absent from Brittany, at the time which he had fixed for the accomplishment of his project.

A. D. 1491.] The strong town of Nantes was still in possession of the lord of Albret, who, finding his situation desperate, resolved to employ it as the means of ingratiating himself with the king of France, and of procuring the restitution of his territories which that monarch had confiscated. Accordingly, having made his terms with the French ministry, he surrendered Nantes to the duke of Bourbon; and Charles, soon after, repaired thither in person, and exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants.

The loss of this important place spread a general consternation throughout the province, and the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange, who had received their secret instructions from the court of France, profited by this event to sound the disposition of the marshal de Rieux and the countess of Laval, with regard to Anne's marriage with the king, and they were easily induced to favour the scheme.

Dunois demanded, as the reward of his services, the release of the duke of Orleans, but Madame, who knew that prince to be her enemy, rejected the proposal with pride and disdain. The count, however, engaged Jane of France, the duke's unhappy wife, to exert her influence with her brother and sister, to procure her husband's liberty. Jane forgot, at this moment, every subject of complaint which she had received from that inconsistent prince, who had always treated her with contempt. Her prayer being rejected  
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by her sister, she dressed herself in deep mourning, and, with dishevelled hair, threw herself at the feet of her brother, and pleaded, with so much eloquence, the cause of her husband, that Charles pressed her in his arms, and exclaimed—“ *Be comforted, my sister, you shall obtain what you so ardently wish for, and heaven send you may never have occasion to repent it!*”

Notwithstanding this promise, the duke's release still suffered great difficulties. The king, who had hitherto made no use of his authority, could not prevail on himself to mortify, in so sensible a manner, his governors and his sister. But two young noblemen of his household, Miolans and Coffé, at length encouraged him to shake off this humiliating restraint, and to convince the French that they had a king. He accordingly pretended to go out on a hunting-party, and having slept at Montrichard, he advanced as far as the bridge of Barangon, whence he dispatched d'Aubigni to the prison where the duke of Orleans was confined, with orders to conduct that prince to him. The interview was truly affecting; the king, in his earliest years, had evinced a strong predilection for the duke of Orleans, who, notwithstanding the improper conduct into which his ambition and bad advice had betrayed him, had never ceased to esteem the king. Pleased at being indebted for his liberty solely to the friendship of his sovereign, he no sooner approached him than he hastily alighted from his horse, and threw himself at his feet, while his feelings were too powerful for utterance. Charles repeatedly pressed him to his bosom, intreated him to forget what was past, and being unwilling to leave his company, ordered a bed to be prepared for him in his own apartment.

When Madame was informed of this event, she immediately conceived that her authority was at an end; she even suspected that her brother had been prejudiced against her, and that the loss of her influence would not be the only effect of his resentment. She hastened, therefore, to write him a submissive letter, in which she reminded him of the care she had taken of his infancy, entreated him not to listen to the suggestions of her enemies, and asking permission to give a full account of her administration. Charles, in his answer, endeavoured to quiet his sister's apprehensions; by assuring her of the continuance of his friendship, and of his unwillingness to attend to any reports to her prejudice, which, however, he did not believe any one would be bold enough to hazard. As the king had insisted that the duke of Orleans should be reconciled to the duke of Bourbon, an interview took place between them, at which they not only promised to forget the past, but swore mutually to protect and defend each other in future, and to unite their forces for the support of the royal authority, and for the welfare of the people: they associated in this league the count of Dunois, the marshal de Baudricourt, the bishops of Albi and Montauban, and the lords of Miolans, Lisle, Bouchage and Gonnaut, whom they promised to advance to the utmost of their power. The duke of Orleans soon reaped the fruits of this reconciliation; the government of Normandy was conferred on him, and he received orders immediately to repair to that province, to adopt  
such



such measures as prudence should suggest to him for defending it from a threatened invasion of the English.

The king of the Romans, on his return from Hungary, received an embassy from the duchess of Brittany, who apprized him of the loss of Nantes, and of the danger to which she was exposed at Rennes, and who enjoined him not to lose a moment, if he wished to prevent a princess, who had strong claims on his affection, from falling into the hands of the French. Maximilian, ashamed of his neglect, hastened to his father, who, convening a diet of the empire at Nuremberg, obtained from the princes a supply of twelve thousand men; but the avaricious emperor positively refused to advance him sufficient money for the support of these troops; and as the insidious machinations of the French king had excited a fresh insurrection in Flanders, he was deprived of all hopes of obtaining a supply from his Flemish subjects.

While the court of France were studious to provide employment for Maximilian in his own dominions, they laid fresh snares for the duchess of Brittany, who was now surrounded by traitors. Her council was entirely composed of men<sup>28</sup> in the interest of France; even her chancellor, Montauban, had withdrawn his opposition to the schemes of Charles: Anne alone remained resolute. On the first mention of her marriage with the king, she broke out into such violent reproaches, she exhibited such strong symptoms of despair, that it was not deemed prudent to press it. She had imbibed a strong prepossession against the French nation, particularly against Charles, the author of all the calamities which, from her earliest infancy, had befallen her family: she was convinced, too, that her inheritance, rather than her person, was the object of his pursuits, and this idea increased her hatred and disgust. Besides, she had fixed her affections on Maximilian, and she could not, she thought, give her hand to another, without incurring the greatest guilt, and violating the most sacred engagements. Under these circumstances, the prince who could seek to force her inclinations, and the men who could urge her to such a breach of her duty, are alike objects of execration and abhorrence. The prince of Orange, who, as her cousin-german, had been entrusted with the negotiation, informed the king, that it would be necessary to support his remonstrances by the operations of terror, and particularly to take effectual measures for preventing the duchess from repairing to England, whither she was resolved to fly sooner than give her hand to his majesty. Charles, whom a just sense of honour and delicacy should have induced to give up all thoughts of a woman to whom he was odious, hastened to profit by this advice; the army under the viscount of Rohan seized upon Lower-Brittany; while La Tremouille, with another, invested Rennes, then the residence of the duchess; and the king, with a third, entered Brittany on the side of Anjou. The consternation was now

<sup>28</sup> Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne---Belcarius rerum Gallicarum—Godefroi, recueil sur Charles VIII.

general: there was not a garrison in the duchy capable of withstanding such superior forces; no orders had been issued for levying troops, and there was no general to lead them, if any had been levied. The prince of Orange, Dunois, Ricux, and the other members of the council, were shut up with the duchess, and availing themselves of the distressed situation to which their treacherous machinations had reduced her, they told her that there was no time to be lost, and that the only alternative left her, was to become queen of France, or a disinherited princess, and they desired she would immediately take her choice.

It is needless to repeat the insidious arguments they employed to enforce this infamous proposal. The unfortunate duchess, assailed on all sides, and finding no one sufficiently honest to support her in the virtuous resolution she had adopted, was at length compelled to open the gates of the city, and consent to espouse the man she hated. She was accordingly taken to the castle of Langeais in Touraine, where the marriage was celebrated on the sixteenth of December, 1491; from thence she was conducted to Saint Denis, where the ceremony of her coronation was performed. She then made her entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people, who regarded this marriage as the most propitious occurrence which could have befallen the monarchy.

By the marriage contract, Anne, daughter and sole heiress to the duke of Brittany, since the death of her sister, which occurred the preceding year, ceded and transferred to the king, in case she died before him, and left no children, all her rights to the duchy of Brittany, the county of Nantes, and all her other estates and lordships whatsoever; and Charles, king of France, on the other part, in case he died first and left no children, ceded and transferred to the princess all his rights and pretensions to the said duchy, county and lordship, on condition that she should marry no other than the king of France, his successor, if that monarch should consent to espouse her; and in case he were already married, that she should give her hand to the next heir to the crown, who should be bound to do homage for the duchy, and not alienate nor transfer any part of her territories, except to the king.

A. D. 1492.] Maximilian could not fail to experience the most sensible mortification at this unexpected triumph of Charles. He had lost a considerable territory which he thought he had acquired; and an accomplished princess whom he had espoused. He was insulted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him, after she had been treated, during some years, as queen of France; and he had reason to reproach himself with having, by his imprudent neglect, greatly contributed to this complication of disgrace; for had he consummated the marriage with Anne, which he might certainly have done, and to which, indeed, he was impelled by the most powerful motives, the tie would then have been indissoluble. These considerations threw him into a most violent rage, and he endeavoured, by the most bitter invectives, to promote a general confederacy of the European powers, for an invasion of France. He represented the king as a ravisher, a  
monster.



monster of perfidy, who, to gratify an insatiate spirit of ambition, had wantonly violated the rights of nations, and the most sacred oaths. He maintained that the marriage which that monarch had contracted with a princess already married, was contrary to all laws, and that the offspring of such a connexion must be considered as bastards, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. How far he was authorized to make the last assertion, the Roman canonists, who, in such cases, generally allowed themselves a latitude of interpretation forbidden to the historian, were alone competent to decide; but all the other accusations, though considered as indecent and unjust by the French writers, were certainly well-founded; nor, when we consider the just cause for indignation which had been given to Maximilian, can we wonder at the warmth of his expressions.

Charles, who had been unfortunately trained in a school for perfidy and falsehood, now sent ambassadors to the archduke Philip, sovereign of the Low Countries, who declared, that the king their master, justly offended with the king of the Romans and the emperor Frederic, for having accused him of taking away the princess Margaret in a violent manner, thought his *honour* was interested in removing the subject of this reproach: *for which reason* he had chosen another wife, and was ready to send back Margaret in an honourable manner to the Netherlands, after having given her an education suitable to her rank: that his majesty being aware that this new arrangement would render a modification of some of the articles of the treaty of Arras necessary, would consent to submit that matter to commissioners appointed by either party, provided that the king of the Romans and the archduke would previously renounce their alliance with England and Spain; on which condition he made them an offer of his friendship.

To this curious declaration, replete with falsehoods and insults, and consequently unworthy of a monarch, the chancellor Corondelet replied, in the name of Maximilian and his son, that the king of France, in this transaction, had neither consulted what he owed to himself, nor what he owed to the princess Margaret, to the archduke, to the king of the Romans, and to the emperor. That the house of Austria would resent his conduct at a proper time: that, with regard to the treaty of Arras, it would have become those who had dictated the terms of that treaty, to have been more punctual in fulfilling them: that the king of the Romans and the archduke best knew what alliances they ought to preserve, and what to renounce, and that they had not been accustomed to take the advice of the king of France on that head: that, after what had passed, they cared as little for his friendship as his hatred.

This proper and spirited reply—which has been stigmatized by the French historians as *offensive* and *misplaced*—was followed by the immediate dismissal of the ambassadors; and the count of Nassau was, soon after, sent to Paris, in the name of the archduke, to demand his sister, and the two provinces which had been given as her dower. Charles replied that *he would think of it at his leisure*, though common justice should have dictated

an instant compliance with such a demand. The fact was, that he wished, before he came to any decision, to see the issue of his negotiations in the Low Countries, where the mareschal Desquerdes was still employed in the dishonourable attempt to extend the destructive flames of rebellion. All his hopes, however, from that quarter, were soon destroyed: the Flemings, and particularly the citizens of Ghent, feeling the greatest indignation at the affront offered to their prince, and enraged with France for breaking a match which they regarded as their own work, massacred Coppenole, one of the demagogues in the interest of the French, and several of his partizans, and then submitted to a reconciliation with Maximilian, on terms much more severe than those which they had rejected the year before.

The attention of Charles was now called to the conduct of Henry the Seventh, who, as well as Maximilian, had just grounds for self-reproach, in the late important transaction: for, though it was not possible he should have foreseen that the affair would have terminated as it did, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the attacks of a superior power, must, on reflection, appear the result of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment, the ascendant acquired over him by a raw youth, such as Charles, could not but afford him the highest displeasure, and prompt him to seek for vengeance, when it was impossible to find a remedy for his misconduct. But he was farther actuated by avarice—a motive still more predominant with him than either pride or revenge—and he sought, even from his present disappointment, the gratification of this ruling passion. On the pretence of a French war, he issued a commission, for levying on his people that odious species of taxation, called a *Benevolence*; and the produce of this tax not proving sufficient for his purpose, he summoned a parliament, in the hope of enriching himself still farther by the prejudices and passions of the members. He attempted to rouse their martial genius, by expressing his intentions of renewing the claims of his predecessors to the crown of France; he endeavoured to enflame their enthusiastic zeal, by calling to their minds the memorable victories of Crécy, Poitiers, and Azincourt; he sought to remove their doubts, and allay their fears, by mentioning the different powers that were ready to co-operate with his measures; and, having expatiated on these persuasive topics, he concluded by demanding a supply adequate to the magnitude of the enterprize.

Inflamed by the flattering ideas of subduing France, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of that kingdom, the parliament fell into the snare prepared for them by the king, and granted him two fifteenths; and, the better to enable his vassals and nobility to attend him, an act was passed, empowering them to sell their estates, without paying the usual fines for alienations. The English nobility were now seized with a violent thirst for military glory: they hoped, notwithstanding the obvious absurdity of the idea, to see their monarch's promises realized; to behold their triumphant banners displayed on the walls of Paris; and to place the crown of France on the head of their sovereign.



Many of them mortgaged their estates for large sums, or sold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater splendour, and lead out their followers in more complete order.

The news of these preparations was soon received in France; and as the regular companies were insufficient to protect the coasts from insult, the king convoked the *ban* and *arrière-ban*. In the midst of these alarms, the queen gave birth to a dauphin, who was baptized by the name of *Charles Orlando*; this event was celebrated with great rejoicings by the Bretons, and afforded the king an opportunity for assembling the states of that province, from whom he exacted a considerable contribution; in return for which, he confirmed and extended the privileges of the principal towns in Brittany; and, three years after, in 1495, he exempted the Bretons from the jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris, and established a sovereign court within the duchy, consisting of two presidents, and eighteen inferior judges, ten of whom were laymen, and the rest ecclesiastics.

Notwithstanding the threats of Henry, and notwithstanding the insulting manner in which he had received the last ambassadors from France, the council deemed it expedient to send a fresh embassy to the court of England, the better to sound his secret intentions, which, they had reason to believe, but ill-accorded with his public professions. Nor were they deceived in their expectations, for the ambassadors were received by the English ministry, with the utmost complacency, and if the treaty was not absolutely concluded, it was, at least, far advanced, since, on their return, and before Henry had completed his preparations, the king gave full powers to the marshal Desquerdes and the president la Vacquerie, to treat, in his name, with the English plenipotentiaries<sup>29</sup>. As it was possible, however, that Henry might only affect this pacific disposition the better to deceive his enemy, every necessary preparation was made for resisting his efforts; all the towns, in the vicinity of Calais, were strongly fortified, and the young adventurer, Perkin Warbec, so celebrated in the English history, was allured to the court of France. Charles also sent ambassadors to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, promising to restore to that monarch the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, on condition that he should forego his alliance with Henry and Maximilian. Ferdinand accepted the proposal, and appointed commissioners to regulate the terms of the treaty.

The English monarch, meanwhile, embarked with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, and landed at Calais, on the sixth of October, 1492. Some imagining, from the late period at which the campaign commenced, that peace would soon be concluded, Henry said—"He had come over to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. It was, therefore, of no conse-

<sup>29</sup> Godefroi, recueil de pièces—Garnier.

“ quence at what season he began the invasion, especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters.” As if he had seriously intended to put his boast in execution, he instantly marched into the enemy’s country, and laid siege to Boulogne. But, notwithstanding this appearance of hostility, it soon appeared that he was serious in the secret advances which he had made towards a peace above three months before. In order to reconcile the minds of his subjects to this unexpected event, it was contrived that ambassadors should arrive in the English camp from the Low Countries, with intelligence that Maximilian was wholly unable to fulfil his engagements, and that no assistance must be expected from him. These were soon followed by messengers from Spain, who brought advice that a peace was concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had ceded the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. These articles of intelligence were carefully dispersed throughout the army: but Henry, still apprehensive of being exposed to reproach by a sudden peace, after the high expectations he had been studious to raise, privately prevailed on the marquis of Dorset, and twenty-three other persons of distinction, to present him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late season of the year, the difficulty of supplying the army at Calais during the winter, the obstacles which daily occurred to the siege of Boulogne, and the desertion of those allies, whose assistance had been most relied on—all of them events which had been foreseen before the embarkation of the forces.

These preparatory steps being taken, the English monarch appointed the bishop of Exeter, and lord Daubeney, governor of Calais, to confer at Estaples with the French plenipotentiaries. As most of the articles had been settled in England, the conferences were very soon brought to a termination. Charles agreed to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns—nearly four hundred thousand pounds sterling of our present money—partly as a reimbursement of the expences he had incurred in behalf of the duchess of Brittany, and partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward the Fourth; and he farther stipulated a yearly pension to Henry, and his heirs, of twenty-five thousand crowns.

A. D. 1493.] Maximilian had the option of being comprehended in the treaty, but, disdaining to be in any respect beholden to an ally of whom he had just grounds for complaint, he rejected the proposal with sovereign contempt. About this time, the citizens of Arras, disgusted with the conduct of the French, took an opportunity of delivering that town to the Austrians. The marshal Desquerdes, who, whatever were his military talents, was a most detestable politician, advised the king to punish his rebellious vassal by annexing the counties of Artois and Flanders to the crown; thus he wished to deprive the archduke of his lawful inheritance, for having defended his father against his rebellious subjects, and for having resisted an insult offered to his sister. Such a man was a minister truly worthy of Lewis the Eleventh; but a monarch who had known to appreciate the principles of honour and virtue, would have rewarded his zeal with perpetual imprisonment.



ment. Charles rejected the treacherous advice of Desquerdes, and even concluded a treaty with Maximilian and his son, by which he agreed to restore Artois and Franche-Comté; reserving only the three towns of Hesdin, Aire and Bethune, which were to be sequestered in the hands of Desquerdes, till the archduke should come of age, and Tournay, Mortagne, and Saint Amand, which had formerly belonged to France.

This peace was concluded very opportunely for Maximilian; whose father, the emperor Frederic, having died at Lintz, in the seventy-third year of his age, the Turks profited by the occasion to make incursions into Croatia, and upon the confines of Austria.

In the treaty which Charles had concluded with Ferdinand, he had exacted a promise, in return for the cession of Roussillon and Cerdagne, that the king of Arragon should oppose no obstacle to his projected attempts upon Italy; that he should not marry his children, either to those of the king of the Romans, or to the children of Henry; and that he should form no kind of connection, by marriage, with either of those princes. But Ferdinand was no sooner in possession of Roussillon, than he married one of his daughters, the Infanta Catherine, to Arthur prince of Wales; and, on the death of that prince, contracted her to his brother Henry; another of his daughters he married to the archduke Philip, only son to Maximilian; and his son espoused the princess Margaret, whom Charles had sent back to her father<sup>30</sup>.

The reduction of Brittany had been the work of Madame; but these treaties were the first measures of her brother's administration, who consented to make the concessions required of him, with a view to new acquisitions, and the hope of distant but splendid conquests. He was at an age when a lively imagination often gives birth to vast designs, and easily becomes enamoured of its own productions. The bent of his mind, the education he had received, the genius of the age, and a fortuitous concurrence of events, all contributed to lead him astray. It will be necessary to take a short review of the motives, and origin of a war which forms an epoch in the History of France, and occupies the greater part of three successive reigns.

<sup>30</sup> It is said that this princess, on her voyage to Spain, whither she was going to celebrate her marriage, had nearly perished in a storm; and expecting the vessel to sink every moment, she took out a pencil, and wrote the following epitaph on herself—

“ Ci git Margot, la gente demoiselle,

“ Qu’ eut deux maris, & si mourut pucelle.”

Which may be thus translated—

“ Beneath this tomb, the gentle Margaret’s laid,

“ Who had two husbands, and yet dy’d a maid.”

Charles;

Charles, as we have before observed, was born with a delicate constitution and a feeble frame; his father, conscious of his son's inability to support the smallest degree of mental fatigue, had strictly forbidden his application to any serious study; and had contented himself with reciting to him the achievements of those monarchs who had acquired the greatest glory in the government of France, and with attempting to make the seeds of emulation shoot forth in his infant mind. As he advanced in years, he became eager for instruction, and having perused with avidity the Commentaries of Cæsar, and the life of Charlemagne, he became enamoured of those warriors, and chose them for his heroes. A taste thus decided, generally implies some conformity of character with the object of admiration. Charles was as ambitious, as brave, as intrepid as his two models; but he possessed neither that extent of genius which is necessary for the proper combination of a plan, those superior talents which fix the smiles of fortune, nor that strength of mind which, by a continued exertion of constancy, triumphs, in the prosecution of its plans, over the greatest obstacles. Led away by a martial ardour, and seduced by a blind presumption, he thought, that in order to equal his models, he had only to form an enterprize, in boldness and extent surpassing their own. With this view, he resolved on forming the siege of Constantinople, and on completing the conquest of the Eastern empire. Having adopted this resolution, the next object of consideration was to find the means of transporting an army to the gates of that capital: France, at this period, had but a small number of trading vessels, which, in time of war, were equipped for hostile purposes: to have recourse, as in the times of the former crusades, to the Venetians or other Italian states, was deemed dangerous; as the king's person, and the safety of the state, must, in that case, have been trusted to the discretion of foreigners; besides, it was necessary to secure a place of retreat in case of misfortune. The possession of the kingdom of Naples would, from its situation and flourishing towns, have procured him all the advantages he could desire; he, therefore, resolved, previous to his grand expedition, to enforce his claims to that part of Italy.

The kingdom of Naples, as well as Sicily which was annexed to it, had been enjoyed, for the best part of two centuries, by the princes of the two royal houses of Anjou. Alphonso, king of Arragon, whose ancestors had already taken Sicily from the Angevin princes, availing himself of the troubles which prevailed in France, despoiled them also of the kingdom of Naples, where he established his residence. This prince, at his death, left the kingdom of Arragon, and the island of Sicily, which he had inherited from his ancestors, to his brother, don Juan, father to Ferdinand of Arragon; but, with the consent of the pope, who was considered as lord paramount of Naples, he bequeathed his conquest to a natural son, named Ferdinand, who resisted all the efforts made to dispossess him of that kingdom by René of Anjou, titular king of Naples and Sicily, and his son, John, commonly called the duke of Calabria. The failure of these princes to recover the dominions of their ancestors, had proceeded from the disinclination of Lewis the Eleventh to promote the elevation of any part of his family, which had led him to frustrate all their plans. King René, having survived his son and grandson, left all his claims to the kingdom



dam of Naples, and the county of Provence, to his nephew, the count of Maine, in preference to René, duke of Lorraine, son to Yoland, his eldest daughter. The count, dying soon after without heirs, bequeathed all his rights and pretensions to Lewis the Eleventh; and after him, to the dauphin Charles, and all his successors on the throne of France. To this second will no opposition could be formed, but the validity of the first was strongly contested by the duke of Lorraine, who maintained that Provence and the kingdom of Naples, not being subject to the Salic law, and having been frequently governed by females, belonged of right to his mother; and that his grandfather had no power to annihilate the rights of nature, by a deed which had been extorted from him at an age when his faculties were impaired. In opposition to this claim, the king of France produced a *family compact*, and the wills of the two princes of the house of Anjou, who had appointed their male heirs to succeed them, to the prejudice of females, who were more nearly related to them.

The duke of Lorraine, however, was unable to cope with the king, who resolved to enforce his pretensions on the first favourable opportunity, which speedily occurred. The Neapolitans, disgusted with the oppressive and tyrannical conduct of Ferdinand the First, and his son Alfonso, had resolved to depose the former, and disinherit the latter; the nobility had taken up arms to effect this purpose, but, through the mediation of the king of Spain, and pope Innocent the Eighth, a treaty was concluded, and tranquillity restored. But, in violation of this treaty, which they had ratified by the most solemn oaths, Ferdinand and his son invited the nobility, under pretence of attending the celebration of a marriage, to the royal palace, where they were seized and massacred. Three only escaped, viz. the prince of Salerno, and two of his nephews, sons to the prince of Bisignano. These left the kingdom in disguise, and hastening to Venice, consulted the senate, as to what monarch they should apply for assistance. Three princes had claims to the kingdom of Naples; Ferdinand, the Catholic; the duke of Lorraine, and Charles the Eighth. The senate excluded the first, because, being already master of Sicily, he would, by the conquest of Naples, become a too formidable neighbour to the other Italian states. The duke of Lorraine, they observed, had outlived his reputation, and it would be absurd to lose time in attempting to raise the dead. To the king of France neither of these objections could be opposed, and the Neapolitan refugees accordingly resolved to apply to Charles.

The solicitations of the prince of Salerno and his nephews were strongly seconded by ambassadors from Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who governed Milan, in the name of his nephew, John Galleazzo, the lawful sovereign of that duchy; and from pope Alexander the Sixth, a man of infamous character<sup>31</sup>, who was raised to the papacy,

<sup>31</sup> Guicciardini thus enumerates the vices of this pontiff: "Costumi oscenissimi, non sincerità, non vergogna, non verità, non fede, non religione, avarizia insaziabile, ambizione immoderata, crudeltà più che barbara." *Storia d'Italia, tomo primo, pagin viii. 4to.*

notwithstanding he had five natural children, whom he publicly acknowledged, by Vanossa, a lady of Rome. The object of these princes, was to check the overgrown power of the Neapolitan monarch, and of Pietro de Medicis, duke of Florence, who had evinced a disposition to oppose the designs of the usurper (who meant to dethrone his unsuspecting kinsman, and seat himself on the ducal throne) and of the sovereign pontiff.

The ambassadors were admitted to an audience, where, by an artful homage, they influenced the military ardour of Charles, though their arguments made a very different impression on the members of his council. Admiral de Graville represented, that a war, in such a distant country, where no communication could be preserved with France, would be attended with immense expence, without much probability of a happy issue: that the enemies whom they proposed to attack, were by no means so contemptible as the ambassadors had represented them; that every body did justice to the penetration, knowledge, and prudence of Ferdinand, who was supposed to have amassed immense treasures, during a reign of thirty-five years; that his son Alfonso enjoyed the reputation of the bravest warrior and the best general in Italy; that these princes were allied to the king of Spain, who would never tamely acquiesce in the deposition of his nearest relations, nor suffer the French to establish themselves in the vicinity of Sicily; that the professions of the Italians were not to be trusted; nor was it to be supposed that they would behold, with an eye of indifference, the crown of Naples on the head of a French king; that Lewis the Eleventh, whose political knowledge no one would dispute, had constantly rejected the invitations of the popes to carry his arms into Italy; and that, before any engagement were contracted, it would be necessary to send some prudent persons into Italy, to sound the dispositions of the different courts, and to ascertain what degree of reliance might be placed on their promises and professions.

Graville's opinion was adopted by the whole council; even the king himself appeared to concur in it, and he accordingly appointed Peron de Baschi, and some other persons distinguished for their merit, his ambassadors to the Italian courts; but he was secretly determined not to wait their return before he settled his plan of operations. Led away by the warmth of his imagination, and by the interested advice of Stephen de Vesc, and William de Brissonet, his two chief favourites (the first of whom, from being his valet de chambre, had become seneschal of Beaucaire and lord of Grimaud; while the last had been promoted to the bishoprick of Saint-Malo, and the office of superintendant of the finances) who had been bribed by the Italian ambassadors, Charles privately signed a treaty, by which he engaged to conduct an army into Italy, sufficiently powerful to ensure the conquest of Naples. Ludovico, on his side, promised to give his troops a free passage through the duchy of Milan; to reinforce them with a body of five hundred men at arms; to lend the king two hundred thousand ducats to defray the expence of the war; and to give him permission to equip, in the port of Genoa, as many vessels as he should want for the expedition.

There



There were several other stipulations in favour of Ludovico, on whom Charles promised, on the reduction of Naples, to confer the principality of Tarento.

A. D. 1494.] On the first report of the hostile designs of Charles, the king of Naples sent an embassy to France, offering to pay homage, and an annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns. These conditions, so advantageous to France, were rejected by the king, ambitious of the fame of a conqueror; Ferdinand, doubtful of the fidelity of his subjects, oppressed by years, and sensible of the calamities which impended over his country, was seized with an apoplexy, which terminated his existence, and his crown devolved on his son, Alfonso the Second. That prince immediately prepared to detach the sovereign pontiff from the interest of the French; and, by procuring splendid establishments for his sons, he not only succeeded in that attempt, but engaged Alexander to join him in an application to the sultan Bajazet, requesting his assistance in opposing the projected invasion of Charles.

Charles, meanwhile, had sent the lord d'Urfé to Genoa, to make the necessary preparations for the equipment of a fleet, in which he meant to embark a part of his army. The troops were already in motion, and directing their march into the southern provinces, though Charles had not yet made known his designs to the nation. The resistance he had experienced from the council had made him dread a still greater opposition from the parliaments, and principal towns. He was persuaded by those who favoured his passions, to take the nation, as it were, by surprise, that the advice of the more prudent part of his council might not have time to operate. He accordingly appointed a day for holding a grand tournament at Lyons, to which all the nobility of the kingdom repaired, and, in the midst of their festivity, he proposed to them an immediate expedition to Italy, the glory and dangers whereof he expressed his resolution to share. Most of the nobles eagerly embraced a plan, which, in their cooler moments, they would, probably, have rejected; and, that their ardour might not be suffered to cool, he gave orders for the troops to advance without delay.

But Charles's inattention to business and want of foresight were never more strongly displayed, than on this occasion, for when the army began their march, it appeared that no money had been provided for their subsistence<sup>32</sup>. The king was obliged to borrow, of a banker at Genoa, one hundred thousand ducats, at the enormous interest of fourteen thousand ducats for four months; and a banker at Milan advanced fifty thousand more. These sums proving insufficient, even for the equipment of the fleet, recourse was had to extraordinary measures; and by anticipations of the revenue, and other expedients, he

<sup>32</sup> Comines.---Godefroi.---Elcarius.

raised sufficient to *begin* his enterprize. But as this money could not arrive very soon, and the season was already far advanced; Briffonet, who had the superintendance of the finances, attempted to dissuade the king from the expedition, with as much warmth, as he had before displayed in persuading him to adopt it. The council was again convened, and the mareschal Desquerdes, who had been sent for from Picardy, to take the command of the army, represented, that the season was so far advanced as to preclude the possibility of penetrating as far as Naples, before the conclusion of the year; that the autumnal rains would render the roads in Lombardy impracticable for the artillery; that, even were that obstacle removed, the troops would necessarily be stopped by the snow on the Appenines: that the army, exposed to the inclemency of the season, destitute of provisions and ammunition, and left to the discretion of a deceitful ally, who was more to be feared than an open enemy, incurred the risk of annihilation before the return of spring: that Ludovico was a consummate cheat and traitor, who only sought to make the French the instrument of his own ambition, and who would never think himself in safety, till he should have promoted their destruction; that since the king was resolved on the reduction of Naples, the only means to be adopted for the accomplishment of his schemes, was to devote the remainder of the season to the seizure of the duchy of Milan, which belonged, of right, to the duke of Orleans, where he might refresh his troops during the winter, and the possession of which would enable him to establish a communication between France and Naples: that the execution of this plan was easy at a time when Ludovico was off his guard; that it was just, since it tended to punish a tyrant, who was justly an object of detestation; and, lastly, that it was necessary, since the king's safety, and that of his army, depended on it. The mareschal was supported in his opinion by the duke of Orleans, and all his partizans; but Charles could not prevail on himself to dishonour his arms by an act of treachery, and to deprive himself of the only ally which he had in Italy. The council were divided in their sentiments, and the king himself was at a loss how to act: one day he sent orders for the troops to advance; the next he dispatched a courier to stop them; and he was on the point of giving up the expedition, when the cardinal di San Pietro in Vincola, an implacable enemy to the pope, arrived, and, by an inflammatory harangue, fixed the king's irresolution.

The duke of Orleans was appointed to command the fleet; and the duke of Bourbon was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, during the absence of Charles. The count of Angoulême was made governor of Guienne; Normandy and Picardy were entrusted to the care of admiral Graville: Burgundy to the mareschal de Baudricourt; Champagne to the lord d'Orval, and Brittany to the baron d'Avaugour, and the viscount de Rohan<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Chronique d'Aquitaine.---Fontanieu, rec. des pièces.---Defiey, cont. de Gaguin.



After taking every necessary precaution for the safety of the kingdom, the king left Lyons, and repaired to Grenoble, where he appointed commissioners for providing the troops with provisions; and appointed the officers who were to command under him. The death of the mareschal Desquerdes, which occurred at this period, proved a great loss to Charles; for though he had many other experienced commanders, such as the count de Montpensier,; la Trémouille; d'Aubigni; and mareschals de Gié and de Rieux, yet had he none to whose advice he paid such implicit respect.

Charles continued his march through Dauphiné to Savoy, where he experienced a magnificent reception from the duchess-dowager, who, being informed that he was in want of money, and having none to advance him, lent him her jewels, which she requested he would pledge for twelve thousand ducats. When he came to Casal, the marchioness of Montferrat was equally generous, and lent him her jewels also, towards defraying the necessary expences of the enterprize.

The king arrived at Aft, in Piedmont, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of his army, on the ninth of September: he was here seized with the small-pox, from which he recovered, after the most imminent danger of his life. The joy occasioned by the return of his health, was farther encreased by the news that the duke of Orleans had obtained a victory over the fleet of Naples, commanded by don Frederic, brother to Alfonso: the duke himself was the bearer of this intelligence.

Charles left Aft on the sixth of October, and pursued his victorious career towards Naples. Previous to his departure from Piedmont, he had an interview with Ludovico Sforza, who left him, in a few days, to take possession of Milan, which he seized, on the death of John Galeazzo, his nephew, though that prince had left an infant son. The pope, apprized of the approach of the French, sent a nuncio to the king, to forbid him, under pain of excommunication, to set foot on the territories of the church; but Charles replied, that he had made a vow to visit the tomb of Saint-Peter, and was resolved to fulfil it.

Two roads now presented themselves to the French; the first, which was the shortest and best, led through Bologna, Romagna, and the March of Ancona into Abruzzo, the first province in the kingdom of Naples; whereas the other lay across the Appenines, and through the states of Florence, and the territories of the pope, who were in strict alliance with the Neapolitans. Several were of opinion that the former should be preferred; while others represented that this road could not be followed without keeping the army at a distance from the fleet, on board of which were all the heavy artillery, and most of the baggage; that by seeming to avoid the danger of passing through an enemy's country, they would inspire the Italians with fresh courage; and that by leaving behind them two powerful enemies, whom, possibly, Ludovico Sforza, and the Venetians, might  
be

be induced to join, they would run a risk of cutting off their communication with France. These reasons, appearing decisive, the army prepared to pass the Appenines. It consisted of the king's household troops, composed of one hundred gentlemen, and four hundred archers; sixteen hundred lances, each lance having six horses; twelve thousand infantry, half Swiss, half Gascons, and a numerous body of volunteers:—the train of artillery consisted of one hundred and forty pieces<sup>34</sup>.

The Italian powers were wholly unable to cope with this formidable force; having remained, during a long period, undisturbed by the invasion of any foreign enemy, they had formed a system with respect to their affairs, both in peace and war, peculiar to themselves. In order to adjust the interests, and balance the power, of the different states into which Italy was divided, they were engaged in perpetual and endless negotiations with each other, which they conducted with all the subtlety of a refining and deceitful policy. Their contests in the field, when they had recourse to arms, were decided in mock battles, by innocent and bloodless victories. Upon the first appearance of the danger which now impended, they had recourse to the arts which they had studied, and employed their utmost skill in intrigue, in order to avert it; but this proving ineffectual, their effeminate mercenaries, the only military force that remained in the country, being fit only for the parade of service, were terrified at the aspect of real war, and shrunk at its approach. Charles's cavalry was entirely composed of those companies of Gendarmes, embodied by Charles the Seventh, and continued by Lewis the Eleventh; and his infantry, as we have before observed, consisted partly of Swiss, hired of the Cantons, and partly of Gascons, who were armed and disciplined after the Swiss model.

The arms and discipline of the Swiss were different from those of other European nations. During their long and violent struggles in defence of their liberties against the house of Austria, whose armies, like those of other considerable princes, consisted chiefly of heavy-armed cavalry, the Swiss found that their poverty, and the small number of gentlemen residing in their country, at that time barren and ill-cultivated, put it out of their power to bring into the field any body of horse capable of facing the enemy. Necessity compelled them to place all their confidence in infantry; and, in order to render it capable of withstanding the shock of cavalry, they gave the soldiers breast-plates and helmets as defensive armour; together with long spears, halberts, and heavy swords, as weapons of offence. They formed them into large battalions, ranged in deep and close array, so that they could present, on every side, a formidable front to the enemy<sup>35</sup>. The men at arms could make no impression on the solid strength of such a body: it

<sup>34</sup> Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. i. p. 84.

<sup>35</sup> Machiavel's Art of War, b. ii. c. ii. p. 451.



repulsed the Austrians in all their attempts to conquer Switzerland : it broke the Burgundian Gendarmerie, which was scarcely inferior to that of France, either in number or reputation ; and when first called to act in Italy, it bore down, by its irresistible force, every enemy that attempted to oppose it <sup>36</sup>.

After the army had passed the Appenines, Montpensier, who commanded the vanguard, invested Fivizzano, the first fortress in the Florentine dominions : the place being carried by assault, the whole garrison, and most of the inhabitants, were put to the sword ; the Italians, who had been wholly unused to such treatment, were thrown into the utmost consternation by this cruel mode of waging war. The French next approached the small town of Serezana, and the strong fortress of Serezanello, which, from their situation, on the summit of lofty rocks, and in the centre of a dry and barren country, might long have resisted their utmost efforts ; but the arrival of Pietro de Medicis in their camp, soon removed this difficulty.

Alarmed at the rapid progress of the French arms, Pietro was induced to sign a treaty with Charles, by which he engaged immediately to deliver up to the French the fortress of Serezanello, with the towns of Serezana, Pietra-Santa, Pisa, and Leghorn ; and to make the Florentines advance him, by way of loan, the sum of two hundred thousand ducats. The king, on his part, promised to restore the towns, as soon as he should have completed the reduction of Naples. The Florentines were so incensed with Pietro, for having signed such a dishonourable treaty, that they declared him a traitor to the state ; and compelled him to take refuge in Venice. Charles passed through Pisa, whose inhabitants desired to be taken under his immediate protection, and to be considered, thenceforth, as subjects of France, and continued his route to Florence ; into which city, after some hesitation on the part of the inhabitants, he obtained admission, and renewed, with the Florentines themselves, the very treaty which had induced them to expel Pietro de Medicis. From Florence Charles marched to Sienna, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, who had levelled their walls, and pulled down their gates, to facilitate the entrance of his troops. The pope received the intelligence of his success with terror ; he hastily retired into the castle of Saint Angelo, and commanded the gates to be thrown open to the victor, who took possession of the city without striking a blow, and disposed of his troops in the different quarters of it. But Charles resisted the importunities of those cardinals, who advised him to depose the profligate and turbulent Alexander, and fill the apostolic chair with a more holy successor. The king rejected their counsels, and concluded a treaty with the Roman pontiff, who solemnly granted him the investiture of Naples, and delivered to him the towns of Viterbo, Terracina, Spoleto and

<sup>36</sup> Robertson.

Civita-Vecchia, with his son, Cesar Borgia, cardinal of Valenza, as a pledge of the sincerity of his intentions.

A. D. 1495.] Alfonso the Second, king of Naples, at this critical conjuncture, abdicated the throne, and resigned his sceptre to his son Ferdinand the Second, and retired to the town of Mazara, at the farthest extremity of Sicily, where he passed the remainder of his days in a convent. The terror of the French arms was generally supposed to have occasioned this hasty resolution; but, independent of that consideration, his conduct was influenced by another motive of at least equal weight:—Alfonso had received intelligence that a powerful confederacy was forming at Venice, for the expulsion of the French from Italy, and that Ludovico Sforza was the principal promoter of it; and he was afraid, that the personal hatred which subsisted between him and Ludovico might prevent that nobleman from bringing matters to a conclusion, till such time as he could be certain that he had nothing to apprehend from him.

Charles was at Rome when he received the news of this strange revolution: aware how essential it was to the success of his enterprize, not to allow young Ferdinand time to ingratiate himself with the Neapolitan nobility, he began his march on the twenty-eighth of January, after he had remained near a month at Rome, during which time justice had been administered in his name, and he had exercised every other act of sovereignty: he arrived the next day at Veletri, and that same evening, the cardinal of Valenza, who was to have accompanied him, as a hostage, till he had completed the reduction of Naples, effected his escape. Nobody entertained a doubt but that the evasion of Cesar Borgia had been previously concerted with the treacherous pontiff; and the fact was soon ascertained. Zizim, brother to the sultan Bajazet, had been detained a prisoner at the court of Rome, and the sultan had offered the pope three hundred thousand ducats to put him to death; but Charles, who thought he might be of infinite service to him in his projected expedition against the Turks, had made the pontiff, by the late treaty, resign him to his care: soon after the flight of the cardinal, Zizim was seized with a dangerous illness, which, in a few days, put a period to his existence; and it was generally believed that the pope had caused him to be poisoned, in order to obtain the reward which had been offered by Bajazet. Nor were these the only effects of the pontiff's resentment, which the king was destined to feel. Alexander had long been soliciting Ferdinand the Catholic to declare war against France; and, to supply him with the means of supporting it, he had caused a crusade against the Infidels to be preached in Spain, all the contributions levied in consequence whereof he allowed the Spanish monarch to employ against the French. Tempted by this offer, Ferdinand sent Anthony de Fonseca, as his ambassador, to the court of Rome, with orders to regulate his conduct by the advice of the sovereign pontiff. Immediately after the evasion of the cardinal of Valenza, Fonseca repaired to the French camp, and, with a haughty mien, thus addressed the king:

“The



“ The king of Arragon and Castile, by whom I am sent to you, has some ancient claims to the kingdom of Naples, which, though he was willing to suppress them in favour of his relations, he has not renounced : he is in quiet possession of Sicily, and will not suffer a foreign prince to establish himself in his neighbourhood.”—“ When I ceded to him,” replied Charles, “ the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, Ferdinand swore that he would not oppose my designs upon Italy ; and I am unwilling to believe that so religious a monarch can be capable of violating the obligation of an oath.” The ambassador made no answer, but taking the original treaty from his bosom, tore it in pieces ; then calling, by their names, several Spanish officers, who had entered the French service, ordered them to follow him, under pain of being declared traitors to their country. Charles had sufficient resolution to restrain his anger, but many of the French officers reproved Fonseca for his insolence, and dared him to single combat<sup>37</sup>.

From Velettri, the army proceeded to invest the small town of Monte Fortino, which was taken by assault, and abandoned to the rage of the soldiers. Monte di San Giovanni was next reduced, and experienced a similar fate ; and this severity, to which the Italians were wholly unaccustomed, spread such a general consternation, that not another town durst refuse to open its gates.

Ferdinand, having assembled an army of fifty squadrons, and six thousand infantry, took possession of the strong post of San-Germano, resolved to dispute with the French the entrance into his dominions. He could not have chosen a more proper place for making a stand ; he was protected on one side by a steep and rugged mountain, on the other by impassable marshes ; and his front was defended by the river Garigliano. Ferdinand had also rendered the approach to it more difficult by cutting down a great quantity of trees, and by erecting batteries which commanded the road. The attempt to force this pass would have been extremely dangerous, but the terror which preceded the French had unmanned the enemy. They no sooner perceived Lewis d’Armagnac, count of Guise, son to the unfortunate duke of Nemours, advance towards them with three hundred lances, and two thousand infantry, than, forgetting the strength of their post, they fled with the utmost precipitation. Ferdinand, in vain, attempted to rally his troops, he was compelled to yield to the torrent, and to shut himself up, with his cowardly followers, in the town of Capua. Here he hoped to resist the attacks of the enemy, till the arrival of foreign succours ; but fortune continued her persecution, and soon deprived him of this last resource : the news of an insurrection at Naples, compelled him to fly to that capital, promising, however, to return to Capua the next day ; but after his departure, Gianiacopo da Triulzi, to whom he had entrusted the

<sup>37</sup> Garnier.

command of the town during his absence, surrendered it to the king. The town of Averfa, fituated mid-way between Capua and Naples, alfo sent a deputation to Charles. The capital itfelf was in commotion, and Ferdinand, compelled to yield to the ftorm, afsembled the principal citizens of Naples, in the open fpace before his palace, and thus addreffed them :

“ I call God to witnefs, and all thofe who have had an opportunity of knowing me,  
 “ that I never wifhed to afcend the throne from any other motive than that of regaining  
 “ your affection by an *oppofite* conduct to that which my father and grandfather ob-  
 “ ferved. The hope of deferving your efteem flattered me infinitely more, than the vain  
 “ fplendour of a crown ; but the misfortune attached to our houfe has not permitted me  
 “ to enjoy that fatisfaction : our affairs are now reduced to the laft extremity, and we  
 “ have the additional mortification to know that our ruin is owing lefs to the valour  
 “ of our enemies, than to the treachery of our officers, and the cowardice of our troops.  
 “ We fhould ftill have refources were we able to refift, for a time, fince the king of  
 “ Spain, and all the Italian powers, are rifing in our favour. Were my perfon alone  
 “ at ftake, I feel fufficient courage to terminate my exiftence by a death worthy a king ;  
 “ but as I could not acquire that glory without expofing the lives and fortunes of my  
 “ fubjects, I yield to the torrent, and refign a fceptre which I only accepted with a view  
 “ to promote their happinefs. I advife and exhort you to treat with France ; and, to  
 “ enable you to do fo without fhame, I releafe you from your oaths of allegiance to me :  
 “ may your timely fubmiffion difarm the victor’s rage ! Should his pride render the  
 “ yoke infupportable, and lead you to regret your lawful fovereign, I fhall not be far  
 “ off ; and you will ever find me ready to fhed the laft drop of my blood in your de-  
 “ fence. If, on the contrary, you fhould live happy and contented under your new maf-  
 “ ters, fear not that I fhall difturb your repofe ; the idea of your happinefs will confole  
 “ me in my retreat. Though banifhed from my dominions, I fhall fupport my fate  
 “ without a murmur, if you will but acknowledge, that, fince I frft drew my breath, I  
 “ never injured any one ; that I never betrayed any fymptoms of avarice, any difpofition  
 “ to cruelty ; and that I fuffer not for my own fins, but for thofe of my father<sup>38</sup>.

This noble fpeech had a momentary effect on the Neapolitans ; but their hatred to the houfe of Arragon foon ftifled all sentiments of loyalty and compaffion, and Ferdinand had no fooner returned to the palace, than word was brought him that the populace were pillaging the out-buildings. Enraged at the indignity they offered him, he rufhed out of the palace, and attacked the feditious rabble fword in hand. Having difperfed the mob, he felleded fuch veffels as he meant to take with him, and deftroyed the reft ; then

<sup>38</sup> Guicciardini, t. i. l. i. p. 113, 114.



hastened to the castle, and prepared for his departure. Having discovered, by certain symptoms, the intention of the garrison, which consisted of five hundred Germans, to seize his person, and deliver him to the French, he gave up to them all the furniture and effects which the castle contained; and while they were employed in dividing the spoil, he escaped by a private door, and embarked for the isle of Ischia, about thirty miles from Naples. On his arrival at that place, the governor refused to admit him into the citadel, unless he came unattended; a proposal which the unhappy monarch thought it advisable to accept; but as soon as he entered the citadel, he seized the governor, and threw him to the ground, to the great astonishment of the garrison, who, awed by this act of resolution, submitted to their lawful sovereign.

Charles, meanwhile, advanced to Averfa, where he received a deputation from the citizens of Naples, who sent him the keys of the town: and, on the twenty-first of February, he made his triumphant entry into that capital, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Thus, in the depth of winter, without money, and without magazines, did Charles march through Italy, and complete the reduction of that fertile country. From Lyons to Naples, not a town resisted his arms for more than one day, and the troops did not sleep in tents a single night. The whole expedition rather resembled the peaceable progress of a monarch through his own dominions, than the hostile march of a conqueror.

But Charles wanted prudence to secure this conquest; his ministers and favourites were suffered to act as they pleased; and their rapaciousness and oppressions soon disgusted the Neapolitans; even such of the native nobility as had been forward in assisting the progress of the French arms, were treated with neglect and injustice, and many others were despoiled of their estates and reduced to poverty. These injuries, sharpened by repeated insults, the subject of which was the impotent effeminacy of the Italian troops, produced a prompt revolution in the sentiments of the Neapolitans, who now conceived a violent hatred to the French, while their aversion from the house of Arragon was converted into pity and remorse.— Charles, however, who, wholly absorbed in pleasure, was ignorant of this change, and, by a considerable diminution of the usual imposts, had even been led to believe he had secured the affections of his new subjects, appointed the twelfth of May for his coronation: and that ceremony was accordingly performed, with the utmost magnificence.

Dazzled with so extraordinary a blaze of glory, Charles already meditated the attack of Constantinople, and the subversion of the Ottoman empire; but while he inconsiderately wasted his time at Naples, in festivals and triumphs, on account of his past successes, or was fondly dreaming of future conquests in the East, a powerful combination was formed against him. The first news he received of this confederacy, came from Philip de Comines whom he had sent as ambassador to the republic of Venice, to require their assistance in his projected expedition against the Turks. Comines soon had occasion to perceive

ceive that the rapid progress of the French arms was highly displeasing to the Venetians, and that they began to repent the encouragement they had given to Charles; for which reason he had advised his master to accept an offer made him by Ferdinand, to hold the kingdom of Naples as a fief of the crown of France, and to pay tribute for the same. But the king, intoxicated with success, rejected the advice of his ambassador. The more fortune seemed to favour an enterprize which prudence disavowed, the more did Comines tremble for the consequences. Apprized of the designs of the confederates—the Venetians, the kings of Arragon and Naples, the emperor Maximilian, and the duke of Milan—and finding all his remonstrances lost upon Charles, he wrote to the duke of Orleans to fortify the town of Aft, where he had been detained by a violent fever; to the duke of Bourbon, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to send, with all possible expedition, a strong reinforcement of troops to Aft, which was on the point of being besieged; and, lastly, to the marchioness of Montferrat, desiring her to supply the duke of Orleans with all her Gendarmes, to enable him to defend himself until the arrival of the expected succours from France. The duke of Orleans authorized his cousin, the duke of Bourbon, to sell, or mortgage, all the estates of his family, if he had no other means of collecting and forwarding troops; observing, at the same time, that on the celerity of their motions, the safety of the king, and of the kingdom, depended.—In fact, the danger was imminent; for, after much hesitation, the league had been finally concluded.

Ferdinand of Arragon engaged to send an army into the kingdom of Naples, commanded by one of his most experienced generals, and to make such a powerful diversion on the side of the Pyrenees, that the duke of Bourbon should not be able to send a reinforcement of troops into Italy. The emperor agreed to supply the confederates with a body of the best troops in Germany, and to enter Champagne with another army, provided they would furnish him with money for the expedition. The duke of Milan undertook to reduce the town of Aft, and to secure the passage of the Alps; and, lastly, the Venetians engaged to equip a fleet, and to pay, in conjunction with the pope and the duke of Milan, an army of forty thousand men, which should wait for the French at the foot of the Appenines. “The league,” says Comines, “was concluded late at night, and the next morning the senate sent for me at an earlier hour than usual. As soon as I was arrived and seated, the doge told me, that in honour of the Holy Trinity, they had concluded a league with our holy father, the pope, with the king of the Romans, the king of Castile, and the duke of Milan, for three purposes: first, for defending Christendom against the Turks; secondly, for the defence of Italy; and, thirdly, for the preservation of their dominions; and he desired I would carry this intelligence to the king.”

Although Comines was prepared for this news, yet still he was so thunder-stricken when he heard it, that, for a moment, he lost the power of utterance. But when he had reco-



vered his surprize, he replied, with apparent tranquillity, That he knew before what they had just told him, and many more particulars which they had not thought proper to notice; that he had not only apprized the king of these circumstances, but the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon also, in order that they might have time to provide for the safety of the town of Ast, which they had already done. The Venetians, who pique themselves on the secrecy of their deliberations, were extremely mortified at hearing this; and, in order to excite mistrust among the confederates, Comines added, That he had not even had the merit of being the first to inform the king of this league, since Charles had already received certain advice of it both from Rome and Milan. The doge was now disconcerted in his turn, and wishing to engage the ambassador in a conversation, he began by representing to him that a league, the only object whereof was to secure the dominions of the powers who had joined it, could not possibly injure the king, unless he had a design to attempt the conquest of Italy; he then asked him, whether he had no new proposal to make; but Comines replied, that it was too late to negotiate, when war was already declared.

Comines was so stricken with what he had heard, and was so buried in reflection, that, turning to the secretary, whom the senate had appointed to conduct him to his residence, he said to him—" *Pray, friend, repeat what the prince said to me, for I have forgotten every word of it: I don't know what is become of my memory and my reason!*"

Charles, though less alarmed than his ambassador, at length became sensible of his danger. In this critical situation there was not a moment to lose. If he gave time to the confederates to bring a strong body of disciplined veterans into Switzerland and Germany, and intrench them in the defiles of the Appenines, all was lost, and the laurels he had already reaped would only tend to augment the humiliation of his defeat. The only mode of escaping was to cut his way through the Italian states, while they had none but their own national troops to defend them. This, indeed, appeared no easy matter, for as he could not prevail on himself to evacuate Naples, and lose all the fruits of his labours, he was obliged to leave a part of his army behind him, under the command of Gilbert de Bourbon, count of Montpensier, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general in the kingdom of Naples. The character of this nobleman is given by Philip de Comines in a very few words:—" *He was brave, but possessed of little prudence;—he never rose till noon!*"

The king left Naples on the twentieth of May, 1495, with an army consisting of nine hundred lances, two thousand five hundred Swiss, and fifteen hundred household troops, amounting, in the whole, to nine thousand four hundred men<sup>39</sup>. The first enemy,

<sup>39</sup> Comines.—Guicciardini.—Giovio.





1495



W. J. G. del.

J. J. G. sculp.

*Charles the Eighth struck with remorse by a Lady  
invoking the Virgin to protect her honour from insult.*

*Published as the Act directs, July 23. 1792. by C. Lowndes.*



through whose dominions he had to pass, was the pope, who, conscious that he deserved no mercy from the French, withdrew from Rome, and wrote to Charles, informing him, that having taken care that the army should want for nothing in its passage through the ecclesiastical territories, he had retired to Orvietto, whence he would not fail to visit the king, as soon as he should be apprized of his arrival at Viterbo. Charles passed through Rome, but refused to alight at the Vatican, where apartments had been prepared for his reception. When he came to Viterbo, the pope fled to Perugia; but the king, notwithstanding the just grounds for complaint which he had against the treacherous pontiff, restored to him the towns of Civita-Vecchia, Terracina, Spoleto, and Viterbo, reserving only Ostia, which he afterwards resigned to the cardinal di San Pietro, in Vincola. All the places in the pope's dominions opened their gates to the French, and supplied them with provisions, except the small town of Toscanella, which refused them admission. It was, in consequence, taken by assault, and abandoned to pillage: among the prisoners, who had escaped the sword, was a young girl of extraordinary beauty, who was reserved for the king. Notwithstanding the horror and despair which were strongly depicted on her countenance, and notwithstanding the tears which streamed from her eyes, Charles seized her in his arms, and was proceeding to commit violence on her person, when, as she struggled to get loose from him, she perceived the picture of the Virgin hanging in the room:—" *In the name of her,*" exclaimed the virtuous maid, "*who, by her purity deserved the honour of becoming mother to the Son of God, O king, spare my honour!*"—Charles, casting his eyes on the picture, restrained his desires; and being informed that the maid was betrothed to a young man of a decent family, who, with her father and mother, had also escaped the fury of the troops, and were then prisoners in the town, he released them all, and gave the fair captive a marriage-portion of five hundred crowns of gold.

On the arrival of Charles at Sienna, he was met by Comines, of whom he enquired, with a smile, whether the proud republicans whom he had just left, meant to send any body to meet him? "Sire," replied Comines, "they assured me, when I took leave of them, that it was their intention to send forty thousand men to meet your majesty." The young courtiers, who held the Italians in contempt, and were persuaded that France was the only country for soldiers, were highly diverted with the ambassador's serious looks, and the king himself partook of their amusement. In vain did Comines expatiate on the number and quality of the enemy's troops, and the skill of their leaders; in vain did he conjure Charles not to wait the arrival of the Germans, whom the emperor had promised to send into Italy; nothing he could say had any effect on the king, or could induce him to hasten his march. He loitered away six days at Sienna, and was so imprudent as to yield to the solicitations of the inhabitants, who urged him to receive them as his subjects, and to the interested persuasions of the count of Ligni, who aspired to the government of the city; and to diminish his army, by leaving a garrison of three hundred men, who, soon after his departure, were expelled by the Siennese themselves.



Already were the combined forces of the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, on their march to the foot of the Appenines, where they intended to wait for the French. Besides this army, which consisted of between thirty and forty thousand men, Ludovico had raised a second, composed of seven hundred lances, and three thousand foot, which he destined for the siege of Asti, which he now summoned to surrender. But before he was in a condition to act, the duke of Orleans had received a reinforcement from France; and thus finding himself at the head of a little army of three hundred lances, and two thousand Swiss, besides a body of provincial troops from Dauphiné, he forgot the purpose for which these forces had been entrusted to his conduct: two Milanese gentlemen, having offered to procure him admission into the town of Novara, where they had formed a conspiracy, he accepted their proposal, and made himself master of the place without the loss of a man. This enterprize, rash as it was, might have been productive of the most happy consequences, had the duke of Orleans known how to profit by the advantage he had already gained. He ought either to have marched to Milan, whose inhabitants would have revolted at his approach, or, at least, to have laid in such a stock of provisions at Novara, as would have enabled that town to stand a siege: instead of which, he persisted in his attempts to reduce the citadel, and thereby gave time to the duke of Milan to secure his capital, and to send San-Severino to oppose him with such a superior army, that the duke, no longer able to keep the field, was reduced to the necessity of shutting himself up in his new conquest, almost without provision. Thus the troops, which had newly arrived from France, in order to secure the retreat of the army, far from being able to afford the smallest assistance to Charles, must necessarily fall into the hands of the enemy, unless the king could arrive in time to relieve them.

Charles was at Sienna, when he received intelligence of the first exploits of the duke of Orleans; he immediately left that city, and proceeded to Poggibonzi, a place belonging to the Florentines, where he received ambassadors from that republick, who urged him to fulfil his engagements, by restoring the towns which had been delivered to him on his march to Naples. The king promised to comply with their request on his arrival at Pisa, whither he was followed by the ambassadors; but the Pisans, shocked at the idea of again submitting to a power, from whom they had experienced nothing but tyranny and oppression, found means to interest the Swiss in their behalf; and the whole army rising, insisted that the inhabitants should be suffered to remain under the protection of the French.

Charles, deeming it prudent to suffer the zeal of his soldiers, in defence of the Pisans, to evaporate, feigned a compliance with their request, and secretly promised the Florentines to give them full satisfaction on his arrival at the town of Asti. Though highly displeased at this fresh delay, they, nevertheless, permitted two of their generals, Francisco Secco, and Camillo Vitelli, with three hundred lances, and two thousand infantry,

infantry, to accompany the king, and to serve with the French army, as long as they should remain in Italy.

But this reinforcement was trifling, when compared with the magnitude of the danger, though so far were the king, and the young warriors of France, from considering that danger, in a proper light, that the cardinal San Piètro-di Vincola, having promised, if they would give him a detachment of the French army, to excite an insurrection in Genoa, obtained, against the advice of the more prudent part of the council, all the troops he required—viz. one hundred and twenty French lances, some companies of Italians, and five hundred cross-bowmen, under the command of Philip of Savoy, count of Bresse; John de Polignac, count of Beaumont; and Hugh d'Amboise. This little army advanced to the suburbs of Genoa, where they meant to wait the arrival of the French fleet, commanded by Miolens, which, since the defection of Ludovico Sforza, was reduced to seven galleys, and four vessels of inferior size. These were overtaken by the Genoese fleet, reinforced by the pope's gallies, near Repallo, and, after a short contest, were all captured. The troops, after this misfortune, found it necessary to retire, by private roads, to the town of Asti, where they waited the issue of the king's expedition.

Charles, after staying six days at Pifa, passed through Lucca, Pietra-Santa, and Serezana, and proceeded to Pontremoli, the first place in the duchy of Milan. The inhabitants, having dismissed the garrison, opened their gates to the French, on condition that their lives and property should be safe. In violation of this agreement, the Swiss, forty of whose comrades had been killed the year before, in a fray with the inhabitants, drew their swords, and, without communicating their intentions to the French, massacred the defenceless citizens, pillaged their houses, and set fire to the town.

This infraction of the law of nations, this contempt of the royal authority, merited the severest punishment; the Swiss themselves, when the first ebullitions of their rage had evaporated, became sensible of the infamy of their conduct, and waited in silence the effect of the king's displeasure. A mode, however was pointed out to them of expiating their fault. The army being now arrived at the foot of the Appenines, the council were employed in deliberating on the best means of transporting the heavy artillery over those steep and rugged mountains, and by roads that appeared impassable. As no means could be devised which appeared feasible, it was proposed to leave the guns behind, after rendering them unfit for use; though, at the same time, they were aware, that by so doing they would deprive the army of its principal strength, and perhaps of its only resource. In this emergency the Swiss offered, on condition that the king should grant them a pardon for their late offences, to drag the artillery themselves over such places as were inaccessible to horses. Charles not only consented to pardon them, but promised never to forget so signal a service. Accordingly, the martial band prepared for the laborious task, which La Tré-  
mouille



mouille was appointed to superintend. He was careful to place, at certain distances, refreshments for the men, and to station relays of horses and mules wherever those animals could be employed: companies of pioneers preceded the Swifs to break off the rugged points of the rocks, and to fill up the ravines; other companies of carpenters, smiths, and wheelwrights, accompanied the carriages, to repair, without loss of time, any damage they might sustain on the road. La Trémouille was present every where, animating the workmen by his words and gestures. Convinced, too, that example is more persuasive than exhortation, he carried two cannon-balls himself. After sustaining incredible fatigue, the army at length reached the summit of the mountain. But the greatest difficulty yet remained to be surmounted; it now became necessary to support, with cables from behind, those enormous masses which they had had so much trouble to drag up, in order to prevent them from crushing the men who were before them. The fatigue of this laborious operation was greatly encreased by the extreme heat of the sun, which darting its rays from a cloudless sky, proved almost insupportable. When La Trémouille went to salute the king after the business was completed, some time passed before Charles could recollect him, his face was so much burned.

Meanwhile, the confederate army, under the conduct of Francesco da Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, had assembled in the plain beneath, to the number of five-and-thirty thousand men. Had their only object been to cut off the king's retreat to his own dominions, they would certainly have entrenched themselves in the narrow passes of the Appenines, whence it would have been impossible to dislodge them: but their superiority over the French army, which consisted of between seven and eight thousand men, harassed by a long and toilsome march, and destitute of provisions and of money, led the confederates to conceive more lofty designs:—they proposed to take the king prisoner, so completely to surround the French, that not a man might escape, and to strike such a terror into the nation, that they should lose all desire of re-visiting Italy. Their first design had been to fix their camp at Fornuovo, a village situate at the foot of the Appenines: but considering that the place would be too confined for an army so numerous, composed almost wholly of cavalry, to act in; afraid too, that if the king should perceive them from the summit of the mountain, he might be tempted to return to Pisa, and some other towns in Tuscany, where he had left garrisons; they abandoned this post, and pitched their camp near the abbey of Ghiaruola, three miles from Fornuovo, in a spacious plain, intersected by the river Taro, which, rushing down the mountains, empties itself into the Po. The position of their camp was such, that the French could not pursue their march without being exposed to the fire of their artillery, nor attack it without crossing the Taro, the banks of which being steep, and full of willows, would have thrown their squadrons into disorder. The plain was so spacious, that the whole army could, with ease, be drawn up in order of battle; they had laid in a sufficient stock of provisions to supply them for several months; and, in short, all their measures appeared to be so well planned, that had the courage of the Italian  
troops

troops proved equal to the skill and prudence of the generals, death or captivity must have been the inevitable fate of the French.

The Marechal de Gié, who commanded the van of the French, had crossed the Appenines several days before the rest of the army, in order to secure the defiles. On his arrival at the village of Fornuovo, he perceived the enemy's camp, which covered a vast extent of ground; and after he had detached a party to reconnoitre it, he sent a herald to the general to demand a free passage for his troops, who only wished to return in a peaceable manner to France, and who would pay for all the provisions they wanted. The arrival of this herald threw the whole camp of the confederates into confusion; they had hitherto persuaded themselves, that the report of their preparations, and the superiority of their forces, would deter the king from attempting to cross the Appenines. While he remained at Pisa, they believed that he would distribute the greater part of his troops in the different towns in Tuscany, and would embark with the rest at Leghorn, in order to return to France by sea, in which case there was a fleet stationed to intercept him; when they received intelligence that he was marching towards the Appenines, they imagined that as soon as he reached the foot of the mountain, he would abandon his artillery and baggage, and endeavour to reach Monferrat by private roads, rather as a fugitive than a king: but when they found that a part of the army had already established their quarters at Fornuovo, the consternation became general: the resistless impetuosity of the French troops, the steady firmness of the Swiss battalions, the dreadful fire of the artillery, all tended to strike a panic into the Italians; but nothing tended to discourage them more than the resolution of a small body of determined men, who came to meet them from the farther extremity of Italy, and who seemed to take a pleasure in braving dangers and death. Even the leaders themselves were not exempt from the terror which pervaded the troops: when they came to deliberate on the answer to be given to the herald, the two *Provveditori*, whom the senate of Venice had appointed to assist the marquis of Mantua with their advice, were of opinion, that since the French only asked permission to retire, in a peaceable manner, to their own country, they ought to be allowed a free passage. The count of Gaiazzo, general of the troops of Ludovico, and Francisco Bernardino Visconte, councillor to the duke of Milan, though aware of the danger to which their master would be exposed by the entrance of the French into the Milanese, did not dare to oppose the sentiments of the *Provveditori*. The Spanish ambassador, whose master ran no risk, and the marquis of Mantua, who was eager to signalize his generalship by some act of eclat, were the only persons who exclaimed against this proposal. They strongly insisted, that the confederates would be holden up as objects of ridicule to all Europe, if they should suffer a handful of French to insult them with impunity in their very camp: they expatiated on the danger to which the Italians would be exposed, if, neglecting the present favourable opportunity, they should permit the enemy to advance to their own frontiers, where they would not fail to reinforce their army, and return to the attack. After much discussion, it was at length agreed to inform



inform the Venetian senate of the demand of the French, and to wait for their orders; but as it could not be expected they would arrive in time, the herald was dismissed without an answer, and some companies of *Stradiotti* were sent to scour the country, and to drive in the enemy's out-posts. These *Stradiotti* were a kind of light-horse, composed entirely of Greeks, levied by the Venetians in the Peloponnesus, in Italy, and Epirus, and by them successfully employed in their wars with the Turks: Comines tells us, they were very hardy, and that both men and horses were accustomed to sleep in the open air throughout the year. They had a barbarous mode of making war, by cutting off the heads of their enemies, which they fastened to the pommel of their saddle, and carried to the Venetian *Provvéitori*, who gave them a ducat for every head.

If, instead of losing time in attacking the out-posts of the French, the confederates had immediately invested the village of Fornuovo, the van of the army must inevitably have fallen into their hands, and the French would have given up all thoughts of forcing a passage. The marshal de Gié was fully aware of the danger of his situation; and after having, in vain, urged the king to hasten his march, he evacuated the village, and retired nearer to the mountains. The confederates then deliberated on the propriety of attacking him in his new post; but the extreme caution of the *Provvéitori*, the fear that the king might arrive in the heat of the action, and that they might be obliged to engage in disorder, and on disadvantageous ground; together with the certainty that the French could not escape, without passing under the cannon of the camp, and through a plain in which they might be easily surrounded, determined them to remain within their lines. Thus the king was enabled to join the marshal, and the whole army encamped at the village of Fornuovo. The sight of the enemy's camp now alarmed the French as much as the arrival of the marshal had before alarmed the confederates. Charles himself, who had hitherto expressed his fear that the enemy would avoid him, and who, indeed, might easily have escaped them, if he had not loitered away, without the smallest occasion, fourteen or fifteen days at Sienna and Pisa, began to be sensible of the extent of the danger in which he had imprudently involved himself. Comines having told him that, before he left Venice, he had agreed with the *Provvéitori*, that, in case the two armies should meet, the generals should assemble, in order to prevent, by an accommodation, the effusion of blood, the king now ordered him to open a negotiation with them. Comines, accordingly, wrote to them, reminding them of their agreement, and desiring an interview at a place equi-distant from either camp. The *Provvéitori* replied, that the French, by committing hostilities in the Milanese, had sufficiently released them from their engagement, but that, nevertheless, they were willing to listen to any proposals they might wish to make. This vague reply did not satisfy the king, who was afraid that his troops would soon be reduced to extremities, for want of provision; and that the Italians, aware of this circumstance, only sought to secure him by studied delays; wherefore he called a council of war, at which it was determined, that the army should march the next morning; that, on their arrival at the plain where the enemy were encamped,

camped, they should fire a few pieces of cannon, and if the confederates did not leave their lines to attack them, they should pursue their road.

Accordingly, on the sixth of July, (1495) the king, clad in complete armour, drew up his troops in order of battle<sup>40</sup>. The van was composed of the flower of the army, and consisted of three hundred French lances, one hundred Italian lances, three thousand Swiss or Gascons, and three hundred archers of the king's guard. It was commanded by the mareschal de Gié, who had under him Gianiacopo da Triulzi, a Milanese nobleman, Engilbert of Cleves, Lornai, and Anthony de Bessé, bailiff of Dijon. The centre was entrusted to the conduct of the lord of Trémouille; and there the king fought in person, accompanied by his nine *preux*—viz. Mathew, bastard of Bourbon; Lewis of Luxembourg, count of Ligni; Lewis d'Armagnac, count of Guise; Hallewin, lord of Piennes; Bonneval; d'Archiac; Galiot de Genouillac; Fraxinelles; and Barafe: the rear was commanded by the viscount of Narbonne, of the house of Foix. The centre and the rear being too weak to support, separately, any formidable attack, marched so near each other as to be ready to afford reciprocal assistance. As no regular troops could be spared to guard the baggage, this care was entrusted to the workmen and followers of the army, who armed themselves with axes and long swords, and composed a body of about two thousand men. When the troops began to march, the king sent for Comines, and ordered him to renew the negociation: "Sire," said Comines; "I will do it most willingly, but I never saw too such large companies so near to each other, who parted without coming to blows." A herald was accordingly sent to the Provvéditori, and Comines repaired, not without great danger, to the place appointed for the conference. The confederates were already drawn up within their lines, in order of battle, and had dispatched some companies of Stradiotti, to harass the French army. While the Provvéditori were considering what answer they should give Comines, the French fired upon the Stradiotti, who had advanced too near their ranks; upon which the French herald was immediately dismissed, accompanied by another from the Marquis of Mantua, who informed the king that a conference would be opened, provided he would cease to fire. This was a stratagem adopted by the confederates merely for the purpose of reconnoitring the French, that they might know where to direct their principal attack; and might likewise discover where the king himself was stationed, and what distinctive marks he bore, by which he might be known in the heat of action. The French, not suspecting this treachery, admitted the herald into the ranks, and did not discover their error till they observed that he examined the king's person with peculiar attention. To avert the ill effects of this imprudence, the nine *preux* put on armour exactly similar to that which the king wore. As soon as the enemy had obtained all the information they desired, they left their camp, and advanced with confidence towards the French; their troops were so

<sup>40</sup> Comines---Guicciardini---Corio---Giovio---Benedetti---Bembo---Brantome.



disposed, that if they succeeded in breaking the first ranks, it would be impossible for a man to escape them. The marquis of Mantua, commander in chief, who was assisted by his uncle, Rodolfo Gonzaga, detached a company of Stradiotti, supported by a body of cross-bowmen, and a company of men at arms, to attack the baggage, and take possession of the village of Fornuovo. The marquis himself, with six hundred men at arms, and their archers, five thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred stradiotti, crossed the Taro behind the army, with the view to attack the rear, and then fall upon the centre. He left a considerable body of troops on the opposite banks of the river, under the command of Antonio la Montefeltro, natural son to the duke d'Urbino, who had orders to cross the stream, and take the enemy in flank, as soon as he should receive a courier from Rodolfo Gonzaga. At the same time, the count of Gaiazso, general of the Milanese forces, crossed the Taro in front of the French army, with four thousand men at arms, and two thousand infantry, leaving, on the opposite side, Annibale di Bentivoglio, with two hundred men at arms, who were to join him as soon as they should see him engaged with the van of the French, commanded by the mareschal de Gié. Two companies of men at arms, and one thousand foot, were left to guard the camp, under the conduct of the Venetian Provvéditori.

The marquis of Mantua displayed great courage in his attack on the rear of the French ; which was no sooner engaged than the bastard of Bourbon galloped to the centre, and called to the king to advance. Charles accordingly hastened to his assistance with the centre-division : the first shock was dreadful : in an instant the ground was covered with broken lances, and knights unhorsed. Charles fought in the foremost ranks with such little precaution, that the enemy seized his horse's bridle, and the bastard of Bourbon was made prisoner at his side. In the heat of the action, the French perceived that body of stradiotti which had been sent to pillage the baggage, and seize the village of Fornuovo, returning to camp with their booty ; and fifteen hundred of their comrades, whom the Marquis of Mantua had taken with him to attack the enemy with their sabres, as soon as their ranks should be broken by the men at arms, allured by the prospect of plunder, hastened to join them. Another accident, equally fortunate for the French, also occurred ; Rodolfo Gonzaga, who was to have sent orders to Montefeltro to advance with his corps-de-reserve, was thrown from his horse, and crushed to death. The Italian men at arms who accompanied the marquis, after they had broken their lances, and defended themselves for a short time with their sabres, finding themselves unsupported, fled with precipitation, and were pursued by the French, who put all they could overtake to the sword. The king ought either to have restrained the ardour of his troops, or else to have followed them ; but neglecting to adopt either of these precautions, he was left on the field of battle, accompanied only by his valet-de-chambre, where he remained about a quarter of an hour at a considerable distance from the van of his army. While his troops were intent on pursuing the fugitives, he had nearly been taken by a company of Italian men at arms, who, having been routed at the beginning of the action, had retreated to the banks of the  
river,

river, whence, seeing the field clear, they now ventured to return. Charles defended himself, for a long time, with extreme valour, but he must inevitably have fallen into the power of the enemy, but for the timely return of a part of his troops.

While the rear was engaged, the count di Gaiazzo attacked the van, but less from the hope of defeating it than with the view to prevent it from affording any assistance to the centre, against which the principal attack was to be directed. His men at arms, unable to withstand the impetuous courage of the French, and alarmed at the loss of Giovanni Piccinino and Galeazzo da Coreggio, two of their most celebrated captains, took to flight; and if the marechal de Gié had pursued them, the victory would have been complete; but perceiving a corps-de-reserve on the opposite side of the river, and ignorant as yet of what had passed in the centre and rear, he prudently checked the zeal of his troops, and remained where he was.

The action did not last more than an hour. The confederates lost three thousand five hundred men, among whom were many persons of distinction, while the loss of the French did not amount to two hundred, and the bastard of Bourbon, and Julian de Bourgneuf, captain of the king's guards, were the only officers missing. The precaution taken by the Venetian Provvéditori to secure their camp, saved the rest of the confederates, who, after they had been defeated, fled thither for refuge; but still the consternation was so general, that no body would have staid there, but for the exhortations of the count di Pitigliano, who represented to the officers and men, that the king of France had neither the ability nor the inclination to attack a camp strongly entrenched, and defended by an army twice or thrice as numerous as his own; that having risked a battle merely to open a passage for himself, he would be perfectly contented at being allowed to pursue his road. The count even proposed to renew the attack, but not a man seconded the motion.

In the king's camp, or rather, on the field of battle, a council was called, to decide what was best to be done in the present conjuncture. Gianiacopo da Triulzi, who, though a Milanese, was sincerely attached to the French; Francesco Secco, and Camillo Vitelli, the Florentine generals, maintained the propriety of profiting by the consternation of the enemy, to attack their camp, which they would not dare to defend. But the personal hatred which they bore to the duke of Milan, rendered them suspected; besides, the French, contented with the glory they had already acquired, were only eager to return, with all possible expedition, to their own country.

The day after the battle, an attempt was made by Comines to renew the negociation with the Venetian Provvéditori; but as he had no proposal to offer, and they still refused to make any overtures, they parted, after concluding a truce till next day, when Comines promised to renew the conference. Charles, however, afraid that the enemy might be tempted to avail themselves of the scarcity of provisions, which prevailed in his camp, to



prevent his departure, thought it prudent to decamp in the night. The confederates were not apprized of his departure till the next day at noon ; and when they attempted to pursue him, they found the river Taro so swelled with the rain which had fallen the two preceding days, that it was not possible to ford it in any part : late in the afternoon, indeed, the count di Gaiazzo contrived to cross it with two hundred lances, not with any intent of impeding the progress of the French, but merely with a view to arrive at Piacenza before them, as he knew that Triulzi had friends in that city, who, he thought, might be induced to open the gates to the enemy. In the course of the evening the rest of the confederates followed the count, but without any design of coming to action. Fortune, however, furnished them with a fine opportunity of revenge, if they had had but courage to seize it : the king, after crossing the river Trebia, left, on the opposite side, two hundred lances, a part of the Swifs, and all his artillery ; as the river was shallow, it was not supposed there could be any danger in thus dividing the army for the greater convenience of lodging. But the same accident which had swollen the waters of the Taro, occasioned a flood at the Trebia ; and, had the enemy appeared, one part of the army must have seen the other part massacred in their presence without the ability to assist them. They fortunately escaped for the fright, and after a toilsome march of five days, entered the Tortonese, when the enemy left them, and went to join the army which was employed in the siege of Novara. Triulzi, stimulated by his hatred to Ludovico, proposed in the French council, to proclaim Francesco Sforza, (son to John Galeazzo Sforza) duke of Milan ; affirming, that as soon as the news of his accession should be known, all the towns in the duchy would revolt against the usurper, and open their gates to the French : but Charles, either from his unwillingness to do any thing that would be prejudicial to the claims of the duke of Orleans, or from his eagerness to leave Italy as soon as possible, rejected the proposal.

The army was to pass under the walls of Tortona, the governor whereof was Guaspari da San Severino, surnamed *il Fracassa*, who, being informed of the king's approach, and dreading, probably, that he meant to invest the city, went to meet him, accompanied only by two gentlemen, and expressing his concern at his inability to receive him in the town, caused all kinds of provisions to be brought to his camp. The army crossed Montferrat, and, after sustaining incredible fatigue, reached, in safety, the town of Asti, where they found the body of troops which had been sent against Genoa, and some fresh reinforcements from France, under the command of the prince of Orange.

The French, without excepting even the principal officers, were so impatient to return to their native country, that they did not scruple to propose leaving the duke of Orleans to his fate, which they said he had deserved by his disobedience to the king's orders <sup>41</sup>. Of

<sup>41</sup> Corio,---Belcarius,---Comines.

seven thousand men, whom he had taken with him to Novara, two thousand had perished with hunger, and the rest were reduced to the last extremity. The prince himself, though greatly weakened by a slow fever, had invariably rejected the advice of those who wished to persuade him to provide for his own safety by secretly quitting the town, being resolved never to part from so many brave men, who had sacrificed themselves for him. The deplorable situation to which they were reduced, made the king determine, at all events, to march to their relief. It was a dangerous enterprize; for the army which besieged Novara consisted of thirty thousand men, among whom were a thousand German men at arms, who had been accustomed to fight against the French in the Netherlands, and ten thousand *Lansquenets*, the best infantry in Europe, after the Swiss. This formidable army had been just reinforced by the confederates, who, after the loss they had sustained at the battle of Fornuovo, were twice as strong as the French. It was necessary, therefore, to wait for a reinforcement, before any attempt could be made with the least prospect of success. Charles accordingly sent the bailiff of Dijon to the Swiss, while he advanced with his troops to Trino, as well for the greater convenience of sending convoys to Novara, as for the purpose of visiting a beautiful young woman, named Anna Solara, at whose father's house he had lodged on his road to Naples; and whose affections he had then found means to engage.

During his stay at Trino, an officer arrived from the pope, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to leave Italy in ten days; and to withdraw, within a given term, which he specified, all the troops which he had left in the kingdom of Naples; or else to repair to Rome in person, in order to give an account of his conduct. "I am much surprised," replied the king, "that the holy father, not having condescended to wait for me at Rome, when I went thither for the purpose of devoutly kissing his feet, should now express such impatience to see me there! You will tell him, that I think of opening myself a passage to him once more, and that I most urgently entreat him to have the complaisance to wait for me this time, that I may not perform the journey for nothing." The officer, who had been extremely averse from taking charge of such a commission, was very happy to find that the king made it a subject for laughter. The pope's desire, however, to witness the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples by the French troops, was soon accomplished. Ferdinand the Second, emerging from his retreat, assisted by the Spanish troops, under the command of Gonsalvo Hernandez, surnamed *The Great Captain*, returned again in triumph to his capital. The French, indeed, under the conduct of the constable d'Aubigny, gained an useless victory, and maintained their reputation for national valour; the count of Montpensier, surrendered Naples after an obstinate defence; and Capua, Averfa, and Otranto, returned to their allegiance.

Charles received this intelligence at Trino, and though to relieve the duke of Orleans, was the first object to be accomplished, still he did not neglect to take some steps for the recovery



recovery of Naples: unable at this period, to spare any troops for that purpose, he concluded a treaty with the republic of Florence, which, had it been duly observed, might have been productive of the greatest advantage. The Florentine ministers had persisted in following the king, notwithstanding the mortifications to which they were continually exposed; Charles, however, now determined to give them full satisfaction, and a treaty was concluded on the following terms:

“ I. All the towns and fortresses in Tuscany, in which the French have left garrisons, shall be faithfully restored to the republic of Florence, except the towns of Serezana and Piétra-Santa, which formerly belonged to the Genoese, to whom they shall be ceded at the expiration of two years, provided the republic of Genoa shall submit to the termination of the French; in which case the king shall make the Florentines amends for the loss of those two places.

“ II. The Florentines shall immediately advance the king the thirty thousand ducats, which remain to be paid of the sum promised by the treaty of Florence; but on condition that the king shall, on his part, give them a part of his jewels, as a pledge for the repayment of this sum, in case any impediment should occur to the restoration of their places.

“ III. Immediately after the restoration of their towns and fortresses, the Florentines shall lend the king, on the security of four of the principal receivers of his revenue, the sum of seventy thousand ducats, to be appropriated to the pay and subsistence of the troops which the king has left in the kingdom of Naples.

“ IV. They shall send to the assistance of those troops, two hundred and fifty lances, to be maintained at their own expence, and to serve in the kingdom of Naples till the end of the month of October.

“ V. Lastly, they shall pardon the inhabitants of Pisa for their past conduct, shall treat them with mildness in future, leaving them at liberty to carry on trade, and to exercise all professions whatever.”

The thirty thousand ducats were paid, and immediately sent to the bailiff of Dijon, who was employed in levying troops in Switzerland. The king, on his part, dispatched the most positive orders to the governors, whom he had left in the different towns in Tuscany, to restore those towns, without delay, to the commissioners appointed by the republic to take possession of them. These first orders never reached the place of their destination: the Florentine ambassador to whom they were entrusted, thought he might cross the duchy of Milan in safety, as the republic were not at war with Ludovico; but that usurper, in violation of the law of nations, stopped him, seized his papers, and informed the inhabitants of

of Pisa of the danger to which they were about to be exposed, unless they would consent to receive assistance from him. The Florentines were reduced to the necessity of applying for fresh orders, which were sent, but badly executed. The count of Ligni secretly advised the governors to find some pretext for evading them, promising to justify their conduct to the king. Saillant was the only officer who refused to be concerned in this infamous manœuvre; he restored the port and citadel of Leghorn, where he commanded, to the Florentine commissioners. Enragues, after many evasions, and after extorting from the commissioners a considerable sum of money, sold the citadel of Pisa to the Pisans themselves for twenty thousand ducats; twelve thousand of which he kept for his own use, and the rest he distributed among his troops. Librefatta, Serezana, and Piétra-Santa, were likewise sold to the Genoese, and the republic of Lucca. Charles, apprized of these infamous proceedings, ordered, as a mark of his displeasure, the count of Ligni's bed to be removed from his chamber, and he passed a sentence of banishment upon Enragues. His resentment, however, soon subsided; unable to support the absence of his favourite, he recalled him in a short time, and the first use which Ligni made of the influence he had recovered over his master, was to procure a pardon for Enragues, and all his accomplices. The unhappy Florentines, who were despoiled of their towns, and the thousands of brave men who had been left in the kingdom of Naples, were the only people who suffered for the king's weakness.

From Trino the army advanced to Vercelli, a town which had long been annexed to the duchy of Milan; Philip Maria Visconte had ceded it to the duke of Savoy, in order to detach him from a powerful league which had been formed against him; but he had expressly stipulated that it should observe a strict neutrality in all the wars which should be undertaken against the duchy of Milan. Ludovico, at the commencement of the present war, had exacted a renewal of the same promise from the dukes of Savoy; but that prince, who was sincerely attached to the French, could not withstand the solicitations of the king. As soon as he was in possession of the town, he established posts within a mile of Novara. He had not been long there, before a few companies of Swiss arrived with intelligence, that a large army of their countrymen might be expected in a short time. Had they all arrived, at that moment, a battle would have ensued, although most of the members of the council were extremely anxious that every thing might be settled by means of negotiation. The confederates were equally disposed to the adoption of pacific measures, and the only difficulty was to decide who should make the first proposal. The king, hitherto victorious, and commanding his army in person, deemed it derogatory to his dignity to sue for an accommodation; while the confederates, who acted in the name of the pope and of the emperor, and who, moreover, were afraid, by betraying their inquietude, of rendering the French more difficult in their terms, wished not to treat till famine and despair had delivered the first prince of the blood into their hands. Chance, however, resolved the difficulty. After the death of the marchioness of Montferrat, some disputes arose relative to



to the guardianship of her son, who was then a minor; and the states of the country, dreading the consequences of this division, obliged the competitors to chuse the king for their umpire. Charles being unable to take the commission upon himself, sent Comines to provide for the safety of the young prince, and to promote the establishment of concord.

This able minister, finding at the court of Montferrat a gentleman in the service of the marquis of Mantua, entered into conversation with him, and expressed his astonishment at the infatuation of his master, in not perceiving that by contributing to the elevation of the Venetians, he was promoting his own ruin. As he found from the gentleman's answer, that the marquis himself was aware of this circumstance, and that notwithstanding his title of Generalissimo, he would willingly accede to any proposals for an accommodation; Comines took upon himself to write to the Venetian Provvédtori, offering to renew the conferences which had been opened on the banks of the Taro. His proposal was accepted, and a place appointed for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries; but the person employed, by these artful politicians, who were sincerely desirous of peace, to make the first overtures, was the most improper man for the purpose they could possibly have chosen: this was the count Albertino Boschetto, a subject and intimate friend of the duke of Ferrara, who, having been despoiled of a part of his dominions, by the Venetians, was anxious to promote their humiliation, as the only means of repairing the losses he had sustained.

Albertino, after he had delivered his commission at a public audience, had a private interview with the king, in which he exhorted him not to grant any of the articles he had been sent to demand; declaring, that the confederates trembled in their camp, and that, on the first motion of the French army to attack them, they would fly with precipitation. Triulzi, from his hatred to Ludovico, and several of the French courtiers, from attachment to the duke of Orleans, supported this opinion; but Comines, la Trémouille, and the prince of Orange, opposed it with such warmth, that the king determined to send safe-conducts for the plenipotentiaries, who, on the part of the confederates, were the marquis of Mantua, Bernardo Contarini, and Francesco Bernardino Visconte: and, on the part of the French, the prince of Orange, marechal de Gié, the lord of Piennes, and Philip de Comines. The fear that the Swiss might arrive, and induce the king to change his mind, engaged the plenipotentiaries to accelerate their proceedings. In the very first conference, a truce for ten days was agreed on, and permission given to the duke of Orleans to leave Novara, but wholly unaccompanied, and on condition that if no treaty should be concluded, he should return in the same manner<sup>42</sup>. As the duke was to pass through the camp of the confederates, the marquis of Mantua offered himself as a hostage for his safety, and accordingly repaired to the French camp. The principal difficulty consisted

<sup>42</sup> Comines---Giovio---Benedetti---Corio---Guicciardini.

in persuading the garrison of Novara to consent to this arrangement; reduced to the most wretched situation, and exposed to all the horrors of famine, they were afraid, that after the departure of the first prince of the blood, they should be totally neglected and forgotten. In vain did the duke promise, either to effect their relief in the course of three days, or return to share in their fate; they would not consent to his departure, until mareschal de Gié sent his nephew, the marquis of Rochefort, as a hostage for his return. Three days after, it was agreed that the French should march out of the place with their arms and baggage; that the defence of the town should be left to the citizens; and that only thirty French troops should remain in the citadel, which they were to hold in the name of the duke of Orleans. The wretched remains of the garrison of Novara, exhausted with sickness, famine, and fatigue, accordingly retired from the scene of their misery, and joined their countrymen.

During these transactions the Swiss arrived, under the conduct of the bailiff of Dijon, but, instead of eight or ten thousand men which the king expected, he was much surprized at finding, that he had now under his command, including the Swiss whom he had brought back with him from Naples, and those whom he had just received from Novara, no less than two-and-twenty thousand troops of that nation. Their attachment to the French, and more than that, the hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of Lombardy, had made them flock to the army in crouds; among them were many grey-headed warriors, who had signalized their courage in the wars against Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, and who still appeared to be possessed of all the vigour of youth. This formidable army occasioned no less alarm to those whom they came to defend, than to the enemy they were destined to oppose. The king, and the chief nobility of France, were now left at the discretion of these mercenary troops; the only precaution that could be adopted was to station them at different posts, at a distance from each other, and the exertion of great prudence was requisite to prevent them from perceiving the motive of such precaution.

The duke of Orleans was the only person who exulted in the cause of this alarm; and his exultation proceeded from the conviction that the ducal crown of Milan could not escape him, if his attempts for defeating the negotiations for peace should be crowned with success. He secured cardinal Brissonet in his interest, by promising him an establishment that should produce ten thousand ducats a year, for one of his sons, as soon as he should have completed the conquest of the duchy. The cardinal served him with great zeal, but notwithstanding the ascendancy he had acquired over the mind of the king, he had the mortification to find that his influence was not unlimited. Charles, in consideration of the danger to which the duke of Orleans was exposed, had had the generosity to forget the just grounds for complaint which the duke had afforded him; but he had no inclination to expose his life, and the safety of his army, in pursuit of a conquest of which that prince would reap all the advantages, and which might, perhaps,



only serve to render him more untractable. The duke, perceiving that he could not succeed by this means, had recourse to the Swiss, whom he exhorted to insist on coming to action, assuring them that the king would not dare to reject their demand. This seditious measure came to the knowledge of the prince of Orange, who, foreseeing the fatal consequences to which it might lead, thought it his duty to inform the king of it. A council was accordingly assembled, where disputes ran so high, that the leaders of the different parties had nearly proceeded to blows. The duke of Orleans, enraged at the prince of Orange, forgot himself so far as publicly to give him the lie. Charles, however, interposed his authority, and put a stop to the quarrel; but his determination to sacrifice the interests of the duke of Orleans to more important considerations, acquired additional strength from this circumstance. The negotiations were carried on with great eagerness on both sides. So long as the evacuation of Novara had been the only object of discussion, the duke of Milan had entrusted every thing to his ministers; but as soon as the conclusion of a treaty of peace became the subject for debate, he attended the conferences in person, accompanied by his duchess, in whom he placed great confidence, and whose advice he followed on most occasions.

With regard to the town of Novara, no difficulty occurred; the French agreed to give it up, but they demanded, in return, the absolute sovereignty of the city of Genoa, which had formerly belonged to France, and the government whereof Lewis the Eleventh had ceded to the dukes of Milan, on condition of paying homage to the crown of France. It was maintained that Ludovico, by waging war against his lord paramount, had forfeited his fief; but that prince, who was endeavouring to extend his domains, and who had just sent a body of auxiliaries to Pisa, in order to obtain possession of that town under pretence of defending it, peremptorily refused to give up his claims to Genoa. He endeavoured to excuse his late conduct, by the necessity to which he was reduced of securing himself against the threats and intrigues of the duke of Orleans. Finding the French extremely impatient to return to their own country, this treacherous prince at length consented to make all the *promises* required of him; and so far imposed on the credulity of the plenipotentiaries, as to induce them to accept such slender security. By the treaty of Vercelli, it was stipulated—

I. That the king should restore the town of Novara to the duke of Milan, who should grant a general pardon to all the partizans of the duke of Orleans.—II. That the duke, in order to indemnify the king for the expences of the war, should forgive his majesty the eighty thousand ducats, which he had advanced him for the expedition to Naples; and should, moreover, pay the duke of Orleans the sum of fifty thousand ducats.—III. That the government of Genoa should remain as before in the hands of Ludovico, but on condition that he should fulfil all the duties of a vassal; that he should immediately equip, at his own expence, two large vessels, to be sent to the relief of the French, who still remained

mained in the kingdom of Naples; that, in the course of the following year, he should equip three more; that the port of Genoa should always be open to all French vessels which might repair thither for refreshment, or for the purpose of buying provisions; and that, on the contrary, it should be shut against all the enemies of France: that the fort, which commanded the harbour, should be sequestered in the hands of the duke of Ferrara, who should keep in it, for the space of two years, a garrison composed of his own subjects, to be paid partly by his majesty, and partly by the duke of Milan, and who should swear to restore it to whichever of the contracting parties that should have fulfilled, with the greatest precision, the conditions of the treaty.—IV. That Ludovico should bind himself by an oath to quit the confederacy of the Italian states, in case it should be found that that confederacy had been formed against the king; that he should, in concert with France, declare war against the Venetians, in case they continued to assist Ferdinand the Second, and refused to restore to the king the places they had taken from him in Italy; that he should allow a free passage, through his dominions, to the French troops who should be sent to Naples, provided that not more than four hundred lances, and four thousand foot, should be sent at one time; unless the king himself should lead them, in which case he should not only have a free passage for any number of troops, but the duke of Milan should be obliged to accompany him with all his forces.—V. That Ludovico should restore the nine French galleys which had been taken in the last action off Rapallo; that he should release the lord of Miolans, and all the other prisoners, without exacting any ransom; that he should swear never to molest the Florentines whom the king took under his protection; that he should recal, in a very short time, all the troops he had sent to the assistance of the inhabitants of Pisa; that he should restore all the possessions of Triulzi, and the other Milanese captains who were attached to the service of France: and, lastly, that he should give four hostages—two Milanese and two Genoese—to be chosen by the king, for the performance of his promises.

This treaty was signed by the king and the duke of Milan, on the tenth of October, the very day on which the conditions were settled by the plenipotentiaries. The reason of this haste soon appeared; for the Swiss, enraged at being disappointed in their hopes of plunder, and secretly instigated by the partizans of the duke of Orleans, assembled in a tumultuous manner; when some of the most violent among them proposed to seize the king, and all the principal nobility, carry them to Switzerland, and keep them there till they should consent to procure their liberty by the payment of such ransoms as the Swiss might think proper to exact. Others, rejecting this perfidious advice, proposed only to insist on receiving three months' pay, in conformity to a treaty by which Lewis the Eleventh had engaged to allow them so much whenever he should require them to march out of the limits of their own country. They began by seizing the bailiff of Dijon and Lornai, and by entering, in great numbers, the town of Vercelli. The king, apprized of their conduct, fled with precipitation to Trino; but as he could not wish the same facility take off his artillery and baggage, he was reduced to the necessity of com-



pounding with the Swifs, and of giving them security for the payment of the sum they demanded. Harmony was then re-established, and all the treaties that subsisted between the two powers were renewed; after which the king took the road to France.

This hasty departure contributed, more than all the errors which he had hitherto committed, to the loss of his Italian conquests. If, instead of re-passing the Alps, at a time when there was no occasion for it, Charles had directed his march to Genoa, he would have obliged Ludovico to deliver to him not only the hostages he had promised, but the nine French galleys which he detained, and the two large vessels he had engaged to supply for the relief of the French in the kingdom of Naples. This fleet, on board of which it was intended to embark three thousand Swifs, with an ample supply of all kind of military stores, would have sufficed to make Ferdinand raise the siege of the two castles at Naples, which were still in possession of the French; and on the preservation whereof the fate of that kingdom, in a great measure, depended. Charles was fully aware of this, but giving way to a blind presumption, he persuaded himself that the mere terror of his name would keep all the Italian powers in awe, and that he might entrust to his ministers the care of enforcing a strict observance of the late treaty. He soon, however, perceived his error. The only condition that Ludovico could be prevailed on to fulfil, was that by which he had engaged to admit a garrison, belonging to the duke of Ferrara, into the citadel of Genoa; and he only consented to this because he was persuaded that the duke of Ferrara, who was his father-in-law, would always be disposed to favour him to the prejudice of a foreign power: he congratulated himself on having found out such an easy mode of keeping a seditious town in awe; and of suspending, for the space of two years, all the projects which the French might have formed for getting possession of it. With regard to the other articles, he procured from the Pope a formal prohibition to fulfil them, under pain of incurring the censures of the church. The Venetians carried their dissimulation still farther: although their ambassadors had concurred in the treaty, they required two months to consider on the subject; and the king, on leaving Italy, sent Comines, as his minister-plenipotentiary, to Venice. Soon after his arrival he had an audience of the senate, who told him, that as the republic had confined herself to sending succours to her allies, and had no kind of dispute with the king, they could not perceive any occasion there was for them to accede to the treaty. To soften this refusal, the doge, adverting to the king's former project of a crusade against the infidels, offered, in the name of the republic, to engage the king of Naples to do homage to the French monarch, to pay him a tribute of fifty thousand ducats, and to leave him in possession of the town of Tarento, and of two other maritime towns, in order to facilitate the communication between France and Greece; he promised that the Venetians would, themselves, equip a hundred galleys, and compel all the other powers in Italy to furnish their contingency. Comines was too prudent to place any reliance on these vain promises; he learnt that the Venetians were, at this very time, contracting fresh engagements with young Ferdinand; that they had agreed to supply him with  
twenty

twenty galleys to block up the castles of Naples, and to send an army to his assistance, at their own expence, under the command of the marquis of Mantua; in return for which, they were to be put in possession of all the maritime towns situated on the gulph of Venice.

The extreme anxiety evinced by Charles to return to France, had chiefly proceeded from his earnest desire to send some effectual succours to the kingdom of Naples. But the attention he was obliged to bestow on the internal administration of France, and the difficulty of procuring money, after the numerous loans of the preceding year, had greatly retarded his intended preparations. He also lost much time by a free indulgence in all the pleasures of youth; and before he could take any steps for the recovery of his Italian conquests, it was necessary to protect the provinces of France from the depredations of the enemy.

A. D. 1496.] Ferdinand of Arragon, profiting by the absence of the French troops, had assembled all his forces in the province of Roussillon. He first attempted to surprize the castle of Son, which commands an entrance into the kingdom of Navarre; and had he succeeded in this attempt, it is highly probable he would have immediately taken that kingdom from Catharine of Foix, and her husband, John d'Albret<sup>43</sup>. Being compelled to desist from his enterprize, he made an incursion into Languedoc, and laid waste the environs of Carcassonne and Narbonne. The duke of Bourbon, who, besides his quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was private governor of the province of Languedoc, sent to its defence all the regular troops which he had at his disposal, under the command of Guichard d'Albon, lord of Sainte-André, and la Roche-Aimon, his lieutenants, with orders to remain on the defensive, and to strengthen the fortifications of Narbonne, which he was fearful the Spaniards would attempt to secure. Alain d'Albret, father to the king of Navarre, was ordered to convoke the ban and arriere-ban of Gascony, and to cover that frontier: things were in this situation when the king returned from Italy. Saint-André having then received a considerable reinforcement, which made his army amount to eighteen thousand men, advanced into Roussillon, took by assault, and reduced to ashes, the town of Salces (which Ferdinand had converted into an arsenal) almost in sight of the Spanish army, which, though more numerous than the French, did not dare to venture an action. Ferdinand, astonished at the rapid progress of the French arms, and afraid of losing the province of Roussillon, feigned an extreme anxiety for the conclusion of a peace, and sent to demand a truce, that the plenipotentiaries might assemble for the purpose of bringing the treaty to a speedy termination. Charles, who daily received bad accounts of his troops in Italy, willingly acceded to the proposition.

<sup>43</sup> Comines, --Dom Vaissette.



Since his return to France, the only forces he had been able to send to the relief of Naples were eight hundred lansquenets, which had been levied in the dominions of the duke of Gueldres <sup>44</sup>. The vessels appointed to convey them to the place of their destination had formed a junction with a French fleet that lay in the harbour of Leghorn; but before they arrived at Naples, they received intelligence that the castles had surrendered to Ferdinand. The fleet then proceeded to Gaietta, where three thousand men disembarked, with plenty of ammunition, and joined the count of Montpensier, who now wanted nothing but money. This, however, he was unable to procure, and Ferdinand having received considerable reinforcements from the Venetians, followed him from place to place, and at length compelled him to capitulate at Atella, on condition that he supplied him with vessels to transport his troops to France. A neglect, however, on the part of the governors of the different towns, to comply with the orders of Montpensier, who had consented to a total evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, furnished Ferdinand with a pretext for refusing to fulfil, on his part, the conditions of the capitulation; the troops were, therefore, sent to the small island of Procida, where most of them died of a contagious disorder, which put an end to the existence of Montpensier himself.

While these things were passing in the kingdom of Naples, Stephen de Vesc, who had, some time before, been dispatched to France by Montpensier, exhorted the king to send, without delay, a strong reinforcement of troops to the assistance of that nobleman. Charles was anxious to comply with his request; the council evinced a similar disposition; and even those who had been most strenuous in their opposition to the former expedition, were of opinion that a new armament should be immediately equipped <sup>45</sup>. But though France did not want soldiers, she had neither ships nor money. To obviate this last inconvenience, the king suspended the payment of all pensions, and even the salaries of his officers, till after his return from Italy: he then had recourse to the usual expedients for raising money, by encreasing the taxes, by opening loans, and by anticipations on the revenue; and lastly he demanded from the principal towns the necessary contributions for the equipment of a fleet. After he had settled this business, he regulated the march of his troops. It was resolved that Triulzi should first cross the Alps with eight hundred men at arms, and four thousand Swiss or Gascons, and that he should wait, at the town of Ast, for the rest of the army: that the duke of Orleans should command the main body, and that the king himself should follow with the rear. But all these projects were soon frustrated.

The city of Paris had been rated at a hundred thousand crowns. The municipal officers desired, that if the tax took place, it should be equally levied on every class of citizens;

<sup>44</sup> Guiccardini.---Giannone.---Comines.---Belcarius.  
Fontanieu.---Histoire de Languedoc, par Dom Vaissette.

<sup>45</sup> Comines.---Registres du Parlement.---Manusc. de

and they entreated the parliament to send a certain number of deputies to the municipal assembly at the town-house. The court replied, that they should not send any body, and only promised to assist the municipal officers with their advice, in case they came to consult them; and the magistrates availed themselves of this refusal of the parliament to offer the king only fifty thousand livres. Charles, who, in his present situation, could not consent to so material a diminution, sent Philip of Luxembourg, cardinal of Mons; the lord of Albret; admiral de Graville; and William of Poitiers, lord of Clérieux, to the parliament. These ministers declared to the court it was the king's pleasure, that the members of the parliament should, for this time only, contribute with the rest of the citizens; but the parliament persisted in their opposition, and many other towns in the kingdom followed their example.

The duke of Orleans, who was to have commanded the main body of the army, being discontented with the last treaty with the duke of Milan, and knowing that France was still negotiating with the usurper, exerted all his influence and credit to put a stop to the expedition. The dauphin, Charles Orlando, had died towards the end of the preceding year; and the queen, who was pregnant at the time, gave birth to another son, who lived but a few days. The king's health, too, being visibly on the decline, the secret advisers of the duke of Orleans persuaded him by no means to absent himself from the kingdom at such a critical conjuncture. Thus, though he expressed his readiness to obey the king's orders, he gave rise to numerous difficulties, and betrayed a strong repugnance to undertake the commission with which he was charged. Charles perceived this, and recollecting, at the same time, that the duke of Orleans had not sufficiently concealed his joy at the death of the two princes, and probably guessing the true motive of his aversion from the projected expedition, obliged him to withdraw from court, and retire to Blois<sup>46</sup>.

The king himself, at the very moment when every body expected him to begin his march to Italy, suddenly took the road to Tours, in order to visit, before his departure, the tombs of Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis. It was suspected, however, that love rather than devotion was the object of this pilgrimage; and a report was propagated, that during his residence at Lyons, where he had passed a year on his return from Italy, having become desperately enamoured of a young maid of quality, attached to the queen, he would not quit the kingdom without bidding her adieu. Be that as it may, Charles, after passing some days at the castle of Pleffis-les-Tours, repaired to Saint-Denis, and the Parisians, expecting a visit from him, prepared to receive him with the greatest magnificence; but displeased with their late refusal to supply him with money, he refused to honour the town with his presence. He even intended to carry his vengeance still

<sup>46</sup> Garnier, tom. xx, 493, 494.



farther: as he imputed to the parliament the resistance he had experienced from the municipal officers, he formed a plan for instituting a new parliament at Poitiers, and to extend its jurisdiction over the provinces of Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, La Marche, Aunis, and Angoumois. The Poitevins, apprized of his intentions, were extremely earnest in their solicitations to the king to put them in execution; but Robert Briffonet, the chancellor, who, through the credit of his brother, had succeeded the celebrated William de Rochefort, eluded their demand, and at length induced the king to give up the design.

The report of the preparations making by the French excited a general fermentation in Italy. The Venetians and the duke of Milan, who had joined in deceiving the king, began to harbour suspicions of each other<sup>47</sup>. These two powers had engaged to defend the town of Pisa against the Florentines; but, under the specious pretext of affording protection to the inhabitants, each of them endeavoured to get possession of the place. The expected arrival of the French induced them to suspend their mutual jealousy, and an union, cemented by fear, rather tended to confirm than diminish their mutual hatred. Ludovico, whose territories were destined to become the theatre of war, represented to the Venetians that the presence of the emperor would be absolutely necessary, to save them from the fury of the French; and he offered to defray one half of his expences. The Venetians considered Maximilian as a dangerous protector, on account of the pretensions of the empire, and of the house of Austria, to a part of their dominions; besides, they had an extreme repugnance to pay an army whose operations were to be directed by the advice of the duke of Milan. Nevertheless, as they had every reason to dread that Ludovico, if driven to extremities, would open a negotiation with the king of France, in which case they would be exposed to bear the whole weight of that monarch's resentment, they appointed ambassadors to accompany Ludovico's to the Imperial court, and promised the emperor sixty thousand ducats, for levying an army, and for supporting it during three months. Maximilian, after receiving a part of this money, evinced no disposition to fulfil his engagements, and, in a short time, demanded an addition of thirty thousand ducats to the stipulated sum. The Venetians, who had been led against their will, to contract the first engagement, openly rejected this new demand. Ludovico, however, undertook to pay the additional sum himself, in the hope of facilitating, by that means, the acquisition of the sovereignty of Pisa.

The emperor, at length, made his appearance, but with an army that neither corresponded to his engagements, nor to his dignity. Persuaded that he had only to issue his orders to ensure instant obedience from all the Italian states, he summoned the duke of

<sup>47</sup> Machiavel,---Giovio,---Comines,---Belcarius.

Savoy, and the marquis of Montferrat to attend him, but though those princes held fiefs of the empire, they, nevertheless, refused to obey the citation: the duke of Ferrara, himself, though father-in-law to Ludovico, refused to hold any commerce with the emperor, under pretext, that being appointed a kind of umpire between the French and the Milanese, he ought not to take any step that might render him an object of suspicion to either party. Lastly, the Venetians, far from affording that assistance which he had expected to receive from them, endeavoured to frustrate all his undertakings: compelled to renounce the flattering hopes which he had built on a sandy foundation, Maximilian began to perceive that he was exposing himself to the ridicule and derision of the neighbouring powers. Ludovico proposed to him, as the last resource, to offer himself as an umpire between the Pisans and Florentines; he represented to him that the Venetians, having no claim to the city of Pisa, could not possibly refuse to surrender that place into his hands; and, that the Florentines, too weak to resist, of themselves, the forces of the empire, and those of the confederates, would be compelled to submit to his arbitration. Ludovico flattered himself, that if Pisa were once delivered to the emperor, he should find it an easy matter, either by money or intrigues, to obtain possession of it himself. The Venetians, aware of his designs, accepted the proffered mediation of Maximilian, but, at the same time, took care to preserve a superiority, in point of forces, in Pisa; and they hoped that, if the emperor should succeed in procuring, as he had promised, for the Pisans, the restitution of the port of Leghorn, both that place, and Pisa itself, would, after his departure, fall into their hands, and render their power as much respected on those coasts, as it already was on their own gulph. The Florentines proved less docile and tractable than Ludovico had expected to find them: convinced that the emperor was guided entirely by the advice of the confederates, whose grand object was to aggrandize themselves at their expence, they replied, that the project for restoring peace to Italy was truly worthy his imperial majesty; that they should always hold themselves bound to honour and to serve him; but that he had too much equity to require, that those who had been violently despoiled of their possessions, should, in direct contradiction to the laws of the empire, submit to have their rights called in question, before those possessions had been restored to them; that, after such restitution, the republic, who desired to live at peace with her neighbours, and who was sensible of the rectitude of his imperial majesty, would make no difficulty to submit to his arbitration. As the Florentines did not flatter themselves that this answer would disarm the emperor, they strengthened the fortifications of Leghorn, and applied to the French for assistance. The event proved the wisdom of their precautions: the emperor, repairing to Genoa, there embarked a part of his army on board a fleet that was destined to attack Leghorn by sea, while he himself, with the remainder of his troops, made an assault on the town by land. But the arrival of a little squadron of French ships, under the command of Hugh d'Amboise, baron d'Aubijoux, enabled the Florentines to repel his attacks. The emperor was compelled to raise the siege, and, filled with indignation against the Venetians,



tians, to whom he ascribed the failure of his enterprize, he retired, with precipitation, into Germany, leaving a part of his troops with the duke of Milan.

Since the capitulation of Atella, and the death of Montpensier, the French had been unable to resist the successful exertions of Ferdinand. The governors of the few places in the kingdom of Naples, which still remained in possession of the French, being deprived of all communication with each other, and surrounded on every side by a superior force, only fought, by resistance, to retard their defeat for a few days, and to deserve the sterile honour of having been the last to surrender<sup>48</sup>. But before Ferdinand could behold the complete reduction of his dominions, he himself expired, crowned with glory. The desire of cementing his alliance with the court of Spain, had led him to contract a marriage with his aunt, Jane of Arragon, daughter to his grandfather, Ferdinand, by a sister of Ferdinand the Catholic. He was succeeded in his dominions by his uncle, Frederic, who, in a tide of uninterrupted success, swept away the few remaining garrisons of France which had escaped the arms of Ferdinand.—Such was the termination of an enterprize which prudence disavowed, which courage and fortune had rendered successful, and which was finally marred by presumption and neglect.

A. D. 1497.] So long as any of his subjects remained in the kingdom of Naples, Charles, by nature magnanimous, had thought his honour interested in their defence; though contradicted by his ministers, and betrayed by those in whom he had reposed his confidence, he never ceased to form schemes for their relief, as far as his aversion from business, and disposition to pleasure, would allow him. Even after that conquest had escaped him, he formed a project for recovering it; but he deemed it necessary to adopt a different plan of operations from that which he had before pursued, and to begin by making himself master of such places as might enable him to establish a communication between Naples and France<sup>49</sup>. Having dismissed a great part of the army he had assembled the preceding year, he sent the remainder, consisting of eight hundred lances, three thousand Swiss, and the same number of Gascons, into Lombardy, under the command of Triulzi. His choice of a general, who was highly respected in the Milanese, and the excellence of his troops, made Ludovico tremble for his safety; and it is probable that this little army would have sufficed to punish him for his past treachery, had Triulzi been at liberty to direct its operations as he pleased; but Charles, knowing that all the conquests he might make in the Milanese would prove advantageous to the duke of Orleans, whom he had just disgraced, had rendered him, in a manner, subservient to the cardinal San Pietro di Vincola, and Batistino Fregoso, who promised to introduce the French into the city of Genoa; the possession of which, the king considered as an object of greater importance—with regard to his design upon Naples—than the reduction

<sup>48</sup> Belcarius.—Guicciardini.

<sup>49</sup> Corio.—Giovio.—Comines.—Guicciardini.

of the whole duchy of Milan. Triulzi, therefore, was compelled to divide his army into three bodies: Fregoso, at the head of the first, reduced the town of Novi, by which means the communication was stopped between Genoa and Milan: the cardinal, with the second division, took possession of Ventimiglia; while Triulzi reduced the important fortress of Bosco, and kept all the forces of the duchy of Milan in awe. But this successful beginning was productive of no good effects; each of the three divisions, acting separately, was too weak to attempt any enterprize of importance: the Genoese remained quiet: the German troops, in the service of Ludovico, having advanced, with the view to invest Ventimiglia, the cardinal retired into the territories of the marquis of Montferrat. Fregoso then joined Triulzi, who having received information, that the Venetians were marching to the relief of the Milanese, with a powerful army, under the command of the count di Petigliano, was reduced to the necessity of retiring into the district of Ast.

During these transactions in Italy, Charles continued to negotiate with the Spanish monarch, in order to detach him from the confederacy of the Italian states. Ferdinand the Catholic now employed against France the same insidious policy which Lewis the Eleventh had exerted against Don Juan of Arragon. Without making any direct opposition to the king's projects, he kept him in suspense, and sought to amuse him till such time as all his Italian conquests should be taken from him. In a conference which Ferdinand had with William of Poitiers, lord of Clérieux, he proposed a means of effecting a pacification between the two crowns; by joining their arms to reduce the kingdom of Naples, and then to divide the conquest between them; Ferdinand said, that he would be contented with Calabria for his share. This proposal appeared too advantageous to be sincere; and as the French court were of opinion, that the king of Spain had imposed on the credulity of De Clérieux, they sent Du Bouchage to discover his real intentions. Ferdinand, when pressed for an explanation, by this new ambassador, did not deny that he had mentioned the subject, but, on reflection, he had found that the plan he proposed would be attended with so many obstacles, that it would not be prudent to attempt its execution. All that Du Bouchage could obtain from him, was a prolongation of the truce, which was to continue two months after either of the two powers should declare to the other his intention of putting an end to it: in this truce were included the emperor, Maximilian; the young archduke, son-in-law to Ferdinand, to whom the emperor had just ceded the government of the Low-Countries; and the king of England, whose eldest son had just married one of Ferdinand's daughters.

Now that Charles had secured himself from the dread of interruption from the neighbouring powers, he again turned his thoughts to Italy. The ambition of the Venetians, and the rapid increase of their power, had inspired all the states in their vicinity with alarm. The Florentines, despairing to regain possession of Pisa, without the assistance of the French, were urgent in their solicitations to Charles to repass the Alps; and pro-



mitted to equip an army of eight hundred men at arms, and five thousand infantry, which they desired the constable, d'Aubigny, might be sent to command<sup>50</sup>. The marquis of Mantua, who had commanded the Venetian forces, and rendered them such essential service in the conquest of Naples, disgusted with their ingratitude, and trembling for the safety of his own territories, offered to supply the king with three hundred men at arms: the duke of Ferrara promised him five hundred men at arms, and two thousand infantry; and several other petty princes engaged to join the confederacy. The pope himself—though little reliance could be placed on his word—affirmed, that he only waited for the king's arrival to declare in his favour. Thus, in Italy alone, a force might have been levied, at a trifling expence, to counterbalance that of the league; and if the French had appeared in Italy at this period, nothing could have impeded their progress. The king, flattered by these appearances, felt his first ardour revive; he openly confessed the faults he had committed in his last expedition; and he employed himself in the formation of new plans; but the deposition of Ludovico should have formed the basis of all his projects, and he was unwilling to render such an essential service to the duke of Orleans: besides, it was impossible to succeed without money, and the debts he had already contracted rendered it difficult to procure any. Cardinal Brissot, general of the finances, purposely enhanced these difficulties, in order to deter him from the enterprize. Charles, in this emergency, applied to the Florentines for a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and experienced a refusal. This imprudent step destroyed his credit in Italy; the duke of Ferrara, notwithstanding his attachment to the French, was fearful of trusting to them for protection, and therefore delivered the citadel of Genoa to the duke of Milan; while the king, passing at once from the extreme of enthusiasm to perfect indifference, laid aside all thoughts of Italy for the present, and applied himself entirely to the regulation of the internal government of the kingdom.

Charles the Seventh had, by an ordonnance, appointed customary laws in every province of France to be collected and arranged: Lewis the Eleventh renewed the injunction; but this salutary undertaking not having been executed by either of these monarchs, Charles the Eighth now determined to complete it; for which purpose, he issued orders to the different bailiwicks, to choose a certain number of persons, most distinguished for their knowledge and abilities in the three orders of the state, who were to extract, from memorials supplied by the mayors and aldermen of the different towns, the customs and privileges which prevailed in each district; he appointed commissioners to superintend this work, and when it was far advanced, he addressed letters-patent to Thibaut Baillet, president of the parliament of Paris, and some other magistrates, enjoining them to enforce the publication in every bailiwick and sénéchaussée, of the laws appointed to pre-

<sup>50</sup> Comines.—Guicciardini.—Belcarius.

vail there; in case of dispute, appeal was to be made to such commission, unless the object of dispute was of such importance as to render it difficult to be decided, in which case the parties were to be referred to the parliament. Charles the Eighth, however, had not time to finish this work, which, though continued by his successors, was not entirely completed till the reign of Charles the Ninth.

The states of Tours had entreated the king to ensure a fixed and permanent form to the great council, at which the chancellor had hitherto been accustomed to preside, assisted only by a few masters of requests, bailiffs, seneschals, and other officers of the crown, who happened to be at court. It often happened that there were not counsellors sufficient to proceed to business; at other times the same cause was tried before different judges, and those who heard only the latter part of it were called upon to decide, without being competent to the task. Notwithstanding the remonstrances and solicitations of the states, this abuse was suffered to subsist till the present period, when Charles attempted a remedy by the creation of seventeen counsellors, who, together with the chancellor and masters of requests, composed the great council, and decided in all causes that were brought before that tribunal. These counsellors had stated salaries assigned them, and were only obliged to reside at court six months in the year.

A. D. 1498.] A total revolution appears to have taken place in the manners and disposition of Charles; who, quitting those scenes of dissipation which he had long been accustomed to frequent, and foregoing his taste for illicit enjoyments, now applied himself, exclusively, to the cares of government. He resolved, in imitation of some of his ancestors, to administer justice to his subjects in person; and having received, from the chamber of accounts, the necessary informations with regard to the forms observed, on these occasions, by his subjects, he granted audiences to every person requiring it, listened to all complaints, and gave immediate answers to all petitions that were presented to him. By this means he discovered a variety of abuses, and acts of oppression, committed by his officers in the provinces; and the punishments he inflicted on the culprits tended greatly to the relief of the people.

The next object which attracted the attention of the king, was the extreme ignorance of the clergy, and the inattention of the bishops to the duties of their office; more intent on obtaining a plurality of benefices than improving the morals of their flocks, or enforcing a propriety of conduct in the inferior ecclesiastics entrusted to their care, they seldom resided in their dioceses: hence the lower clergy had become indolent, and were infected with those vices which indolence too often engenders, thereby rendering their profession contemptible, and exposing religion itself to the derision of the vulgar.—Anxious to reform this abuse, the king consulted the Parisian doctors on the extent of his power, with regard to the alterations in ecclesiastical discipline; but he did not live to execute either this salutary project, or the scheme he had formed for reducing the taxes.



taxes—after the payment of his debts—to the sum of twelve hundred thousand livres, stipulated by the states of Tours; which he meant to appropriate solely to the defence of the kingdom, reserving only for his own use the revenues of the domain, and the produce of the Gabelles. The taxes, at this time, amounted to two millions, five hundred thousand livres<sup>51</sup>.

In the midst of these occupations, the most glorious that can engage the attention of a monarch, an accident occurred which terminated the existence of this youthful prince. During his stay in Italy, Charles had contracted a taste for architecture; and, on his return, he gave orders for the construction at Amboise, the place of his birth, of a more magnificent edifice than any which had yet been seen in France. He meant to adorn this palace with a variety of costly furniture, statues and pictures, which he had brought from Italy; and that the building might correspond with the richness of the embellishments, he had had the precaution to attach to his service the most skilful architects, and the most celebrated painters he could meet with on his expedition. From a gallery in this castle, he was engaged in observing a game of tennis that was played in the ditch below; desirous that the queen might partake of the amusement, he went to her chamber, and conducted her to the gallery; but, in passing through a door, he struck his head with violence against the top, which was very low. He felt, however, no immediate bad consequence from the accident; but, after remaining some time in the gallery, as he was returning with the queen, he suddenly fell, senseless, to the ground: the attendants, alarmed at his danger, laid him on a wretched couch which stood in a corner of the gallery; thrice he recovered his voice, and as quickly lost it again; his expressions were solely those of devotion; and, notwithstanding every effort of medicine, he expired at eleven o'clock the same night, on the seventeenth of April, 1498, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and the twenty-eighth of his age.

The amiable qualities of Charles had acquired him the surname of *The Affable* and *The Courteous*; and his loss was deeply regretted by all ranks of people. His talents were not above mediocrity, and all his endowments were rather calculated to conciliate affection than to excite admiration. Of a rash and enterprising spirit, his ability in the execution greatly exceeded his wisdom in the formation of plans. His facility of disposition frequently rendered him a dupe to his ministers and favourites, whose dangerous influence was farther extended by his aversion from business: but towards the conclusion of his reign he remedied these defects, and deserved and obtained the grateful esteem of his subjects.

His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence: two of his domestics are said to have died of grief for the loss of their beloved master; and Anne of

<sup>51</sup> Comines.—Belcarius.

Brittany, his widow, abandoned herself to all the distraction of sorrow. During three days she never undressed, but secluded herself in her chamber, overwhelmed with despair, deaf to the friendly importunities of her attendants, and pertinaciously refusing to accept the nourishment that was repeatedly proffered to her.

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At the commencement of this reign, the roads and bridges were so bad in many parts of France, though contributions were levied on the passengers for keeping them in repair, that the states of Tours complained that many men and beasts of burden, had lost their lives in attempting to pass them; and that several villages were totally deserted from the difficulty of approaching them.

Each deputy of the states of Tours received a stated salary for his services, equal to four livres, one sol of the present money, per diem.

The venereal disease was introduced into France, during the reign of Charles, by the troops who had accompanied that monarch on his expedition to Naples. It is said that the French soldiers had contracted that dreadful disorder from the Neapolitans, and that on their return to France, they diffused it throughout Italy: certain it is, that it was called by the French, *The Neapolitan disease*, and by the Italians, *The French disease*<sup>52</sup>. The Neapolitans are supposed to have received it from Spain, where it had been imported by some of the sailors who had attended Christopher Columbus, in his expedition to the NEW WORLD.

<sup>52</sup> Guicciardini, tom. i. p. 210, 211.—Giovio.—Bembo.—Fracastoro.



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## LEWIS THE TWELFTH.

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A. D. 1498.] IN Charles the Eighth ended the direct line of Valois; and the sceptre passed to Lewis, duke of Orleans, his cousin, in the third or fourth degree, and grandson to that duke of Orleans who was assassinated at the instigation of John, duke of Burgundy. The new monarch was in his thirty-sixth year, and had, consequently, attained to a maturity of vigour both in body and mind: he had, moreover, received some salutary lessons in the severe school of adversity; and his misfortunes, with the reflections they occasioned, had produced a wholesome change in his disposition, by tempering the fire of youth, by teaching him to restrain the sallies of passion, and to submit the suggestions of enthusiasm to the dictates of reason.

Lewis the Twelfth was anointed at Rheims, on the twenty-seventh of May; on the first of July the ceremony of his coronation was performed at Saint-Denis; and on the following day he made his public entry into Paris. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he rewarded the zeal and fidelity of George d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, who had alike shared with him the smiles and the frowns of fortune, by raising him to the dignity of prime minister; and never did a favourite better deserve the confidence of his sovereign.

This prince had been compelled at an early age, and much against his will, to marry Jane, the youngest daughter of Lewis the Eleventh, a princess of an amiable disposition, but deformed in her person: on the oath of the king of France that he had never consummated the marriage, pope Alexander the Sixth was prevailed on to pronounce it null and invalid; Jane submitted with decent resignation to a sentence which deprived her of a crown, and only expressed her wish to be enabled to reward her domestics, and to relieve  
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the poor. The king accordingly assigned her the revenues of the province of Berry for her support, and retiring to a nunnery which she founded at Bourges, the capital of that province, she there took the veil, and closed a life of humble virtue.

A. D. 1499.] On the decease of Charles the Eighth, Anne of Brittany, after indulging for a time her unavailing sorrows, had retired into her own hereditary dominions, and maintained the rights of an independent sovereign. The articles of her marriage with the late king precluded her from disposing of her hand, in case of his death without male issue, to the prejudice of the state; but a stipulation, in which state policy was opposed to natural rights, was deemed equivocal, and prudence warned Lewis to secure the important acquisition of Brittany, by measures the most effectual. To the policy of the monarch were joined the inclinations of the man; when an exile in the court of duke Francis the Second, he was supposed to have regarded Anne with the fondest partiality; and it was equally believed that princess was only deterred by the perplexed state of his and her own circumstances, from preferring him to her other suitors.

The displeasure Anne had entertained at the levity of the duke on the death of the dauphin, was banished by the splendid prospect which presented itself, or swept away by the tide of returning affection. She refused, however, to accede to the proposals of Lewis, till that monarch had consented, that in case she should die without children, her duchy should revert to the heirs of her house; and that her marriage should be celebrated at the city of Nantz. The ceremony was accordingly performed in that city, on the eighteenth of January, 1499, whence the king conducted her to Paris, where she was received amidst the acclamations of the people.

The first acts of the administration of Lewis displayed the mild and magnanimous features of his character: he repealed several taxes most obnoxious to the people; and, when reminded by his courtiers that la Trémouille had made him prisoner at the battle of Saint-Aubin du Cormier, he returned the justly-celebrated answer—"It becomes not a king of France to revenge the quarrels of the duke of Orleans." He also signalized his accession by many salutary regulations, for the more speedy and impartial distribution of justice. By the advice of George d'Amboise, now promoted to the dignity of a cardinal, whom he had entrusted with the government of Normandy, he reformed the *Exchequer* of that province, an irregular court presided over by the seneschal, and subject to many abuses; and, by fixing the number of magistrates, and subjecting it to the same rules as the other sovereign courts, he converted it into a parliament, whose seat was at Rouen.

The king now determined to enforce the claims of his house on the duchy of Milan; but, that his kingdom might not be exposed to insult in the absence of his troops, he confirmed the treaties with all the neighbouring powers. Those which had been concluded



with the republics of Venice and Florence were renewed; the pope was secured in the interest of France; the peace with England was confirmed; Ferdinand and Isabella withdrew their troops from Italy, and resigned all the places they had taken in Calabria to Frederick; the archduke Philip did homage to the king at Arras, acknowledged the superiority of the parliament, and was restored to the possession of his towns in Artois: his father, Maximilian, was more difficult to treat with. The king had no sooner ascended the throne, than the emperor, at the instigation of Ludovico Sforza, made an incursion into Burgundy; but being repulsed by the count of Foix, he consented to a truce for a few months. Ludovico, apprized of the preparations that were making by the court of France for the invasion of the duchy, sought to persuade the states of Italy to defend his cause; but the pope rejected his proposals, and the Venetians replied, that they could have no faith in the promises of a man who was accustomed to betray his most faithful allies. The grand signior was the only potentate who would listen to his complaints, and he promised to make a considerable diversion in his favour.

The king, meanwhile, repaired to Lyons, in the month of July, whence he sent his army into Italy, under the command of Lewis of Luxembourg, count of Ligni, who had under him Triulzi and d'Aubigny: the Venetians, at the same time, made their troops advance to the banks of the Adda, and took possession of all the territory which the king had ceded to them between the rivers Adda and Serio.

The French entered the Milanese, and reduced and sacked, after a vigorous resistance, the towns of Alessandria and Novara; Mortara and Pavia capitulated; Valenza was betrayed into the hands of the French, by the treachery of the governor, Donata Raffamiro<sup>1</sup>; Tortona was reduced through the cowardice of Palivicini, who fled with his troops on the approach of the enemy. The inhabitants of Milan exhibited symptoms of revolt, and Ludovico, uncertain in whom he should confide, and incapable of resisting the storm, retired with his treasures to Inspruck, after providing the castle of Milan with every requisite for a long and obstinate defence, and entrusting the care of it to Bernardino da Corte, a man on whose fidelity he placed the firmest reliance. But he was deceived in his choice, and the governor, after a siege of twelve days, was induced, by a bribe, to surrender that fortress to the French; who, in less than a month, became masters of the duchy.

Lewis, who had remained at Lyons, was no sooner informed of the success of his troops, than he hastened across the Alps, entered the capital of his new dominions, clad in the ducal robes; and, during the three months that he remained there, by the advice of

<sup>1</sup> Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. iv. p. 367.

cardinal d'Amboise, he employed himself in recalling those that had been banished by Sforzo, in remitting a fourth of the imposts, in establishing a court of justice, and in assiduous endeavours to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of Milan.

The government of Genoa, which had voluntarily submitted to his power, was conferred by Lewis, on the lord of Ravestain; the Milanese was subjected to the authority of Triulzi, to whom, as well as to Ligni and d'Aubigny, considerable estates were assigned. But this alienation of the ducal domain displeased the people, while Triulzi, by his severity and pride, disgusted the nobles; a misunderstanding, also, prevailed between the generals and Ligni, and d'Aubigny refused obedience to the governor of the duchy.

A. D. 1500.] Ludovico, informed of the disposition of the people, who now began to pity the prince they had so lately detested, ventured to quit his retreat in Germany, and to re-enter the Milanese. The gates of the different cities were opened on the approach of Sforza, with the same facility as they had been unbarred to his enemies. The town of Como expelled the French, and obliged Ligni to leave the place. Milan revolted, and Triulzi, after placing a strong garrison in the castle, was compelled to retire. Tortona, Vigevano, and several other places, submitted to the conqueror. The king, who had returned to France, to be present at the delivery of the queen, who had just given birth to a princess, received with grief the account of this revolution, which the enemies of the cardinal d'Amboise ascribed to the imprudence of that prelate in procuring the appointment of Triulzi as governor of the Milanese; but the minister, heedless of their accusations, applied himself to the recovery of the duchy. He took upon himself the command of the troops, and appointed la Trémouille his lieutenant-general.

Ludovico, meanwhile, having obtained possession of Milan, left his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, to conduct the siege of the citadel, and proceeded himself to invest Novara. That town soon surrendered, but the famous Bayard, who was then a very young man, threw himself into the citadel, and refused to be included in the capitulation: Ludovico, by persisting in his determination to reduce Bayard, gave time to the French army to form a junction with the troops in Italy. Cardinal d'Amboise prudently forbore to censure the conduct of Triulzi, and promoted a reconciliation between that nobleman and the French generals; after which, la Trémouille marched to Novara, where he succeeded in his attempt to seduce the Swiss from the service of Ludovico. The want of pay furnished these mercenary troops with a pretext for refusing to fight; and the Germans, alarmed at their defection, fled with precipitation, so that the duke, betrayed on all sides, was reduced to the necessity of applying to the Swiss for permission to disguise himself as a private soldier, that he might escape in their ranks. The permission was granted, but either through treachery or accident, Ludovico was discovered, and conducted to the king, who then resided at Lyons. The temper of Lewis, naturally mild and humane, was steeled against Sforza by his repeated treachery and enormous crimes. He sentenced him to a ri-



gorous confinement in the castle of Loches, where he remained till released by death from a captivity of ten years, during which, according to Mezerai, he experienced the most severe and cruel treatment; though Seissel, a contemporary writer, affirms, in contradiction to all other historians, that the king treated him with great clemency.

Cardinal Ascanio, informed of his brother's misfortune, left Milan, with an escort of six hundred horse, in order to seek a refuge in Germany; but he was betrayed, by the treachery of Currado Lando<sup>2</sup>, into the hands of the Venetians, who were induced, partly by persuasion, and partly by threats, to deliver him to the king. He was conveyed to France, and confined in the tower of Bourges, whence, at the solicitation of Maximilian, he was very soon released.

The inhabitants of Milan being deprived, by the retreat of the cardinal Ascanio, of all means of defence, and dreading the resentment of the king, hastened to carry the keys of their city to the cardinal d'Amboise, who entered the capital of the duchy on the seventeenth of April, 1500. He reproached the citizens with their late seditious conduct, put some of the leaders of the insurrection to death, exacted from the city a contribution of two hundred thousand crowns, and then pronounced a general amnesty in the king's name. The cardinal took every precaution that prudence could suggest for the future security of the capital; he enacted new laws for the preservation of order, and procured the appointment of governor for Chaumont d'Amboise, who proved himself worthy of that important post.

The other towns which had revolted, followed the example of the capital, and submitted to a contribution proportionate to their faculties. The Swiss returned to their own country, but, on their road, they took possession of the small town of Bellingzone, situated in the mountains; a post which gave them, at all times, an entrance into the Milanese. The French, at first, might have induced them with a little persuasion to resign this post into their hands, but, as soon as they became sensible of its importance, they never could be persuaded to relinquish it. The cardinal d'Amboise, after he had settled the affairs of the duchy, and supplied the Florentines with a body of troops for the recovery of Pisa, returned to France, in order to concert with the king the plan of operations for the projected conquest of the kingdom of Naples.

A. D. 1501.] Frederic, king of Naples, informed of the preparations of the French, applied for assistance to the Venetians, who renewed the proposal which had been made to Charles the Eighth, for rendering the kingdom of Naples a fief of the crown of France, and for the cession of the principality of Tarento to the French; but this proposal, though

<sup>2</sup> Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 406.

acceded to by Frederic, was rejected with disdain by Lewis. Frederic then applied to Maximilian, who promised all he desired, and a treaty was accordingly signed between them; but the cardinal d'Amboise soon broke the alliance, and made the emperor consent to a prolongation of the truce with France.

Frederick next addressed himself to Ferdinand of Arragon, who engaged to afford him protection, but, by a signal instance of perfidy, that monarch treated at the same time with Lewis, and agreed to divide the kingdom he had promised to protect. The king of Spain, in order to palliate his treacherous conduct, preferred some obsolete claims to the dominions of Frederic, which that prince never expected he would seek to enforce, as he had never refused to assist his predecessors during the reign of Charles the Eighth. Frederic was destitute of those talents which are requisite to form, what is generally termed, *a great politician*, but he possessed the more enviable endowments which constitute an honest man, and his own candour would not permit him to suspect his kinsman of treachery. On the arrival of the great captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, with an army of ten thousand Spaniards, he entrusted him with the defence of Apulia and Calabria, which Gonsalvo assured him he would effectually secure from the invasion of the enemy. The French army, in the mean time, under the command of Nemours and d'Aubigny, had already entered the Florentine territories; and Frederic, having strengthened the fortifications of his frontier towns, hastened to their defence. At this period the Spaniards threw off the mask; the ambassadors of France and Spain procured from the Pope the investiture of their respective portions of the kingdom of Naples; the capital, and the northern parts of the kingdom, were assigned to Lewis, while the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were allotted to Ferdinand. It excited universal astonishment to see Lewis associate the king of Spain with him in this conquest; it was impossible that the division they had agreed upon could long subsist, and it was generally foreseen that one of these princes must finally be compelled to yield to the other. The union between them was the work of the cardinal, who was greatly blamed for it; the treaty, ill-planned and worse executed, proved highly prejudicial to the French.

Frederic, discouraged by this unexpected event, and surrounded by enemies on all sides, quitted the frontiers, and returned to Naples, in the determination to confine his efforts to the defence of that capital, of Capua and Averfa. Gonsalvo sent to demand the two queens-dowager of Naples to convey them to Spain; Prospero Colonna advised Frederic to reject the demand, to seize the gallies which had been sent to receive them, to collect his forces, and immediately march against the enemy. "If we conquer one of them," said he, "the other will soon be destroyed; if we are conquered, a monarch cannot die more gloriously than in defending his kingdom;" but his advice was not followed, and the two princesses were delivered to the Spaniards. The French, meanwhile, continued their progress; they reduced, with facility, the towns of San Germano and Monte Fertino, though this last was in a situation to sustain a siege. Capua was taken by assault; and the inhabitants



tants were exposed to the fury of an enraged and licentious soldiery; the men were chiefly massacred, and the women became the victims of lust and avarice; the altars were profaned, not even the chastity of the nuns was exempt from violation; many females of quality, it is said, preferring death to dishonour, threw themselves into the river; while others, who fell into the hands of the conquerors, were carried to Rome, and there exposed to sale. Cesar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, (son to the sovereign pontiff) who accompanied the French army, entered a tower whither a considerable number of these unhappy victims had retired for security, and after examining them all with the eye of a sensualist, selected forty of the most beautiful for his own use<sup>3</sup>. Gaietta experienced the same fate as Capua; and though Frederic was at Naples himself, the citizens sent a députation to the French, and surrendered the capital. The king retired into the castle, but, destitute of all means of defence, and dreading to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, he demanded a safe conduct into France, and threw himself on the well-known lenity of Lewis, from whose liberality he obtained an asylum in the duchy of Anjou, with an annual pension of thirty thousand crowns.

The skill and valour of Gonsalvo, the Spanish general, had made an easy conquest of the two provinces assigned to his master. Monfredonia and Tarento alone ventured to oppose his victorious career. The former was reduced after a vigorous resistance, and an honourable capitulation granted to the citizens; but the inhabitants of Tarento, confiding in the strength of their fortifications, and still farther animated by the presence of Ferdinand, the heir of the crown, and eldest son of Frederic, evinced a determination to hold out to the last extremity. But the count of Potenza, and Lionardo, a knight of Rhodes, to whose protection the youthful prince was entrusted, despairing of succour, consented to surrender Tarento, if they were not relieved within four months; but they demanded an oath that Ferdinand should be left at perfect liberty. Gonsalvo, whose military fame is stained with the blackest treachery and basest perjury, readily complied; he swore upon a consecrated host, and was admitted into Tarento; but the perfidious Spaniard did not scruple to detain the young prince as his prisoner; he was conveyed in that state to the king of Arragon; and, though treated with lenity, was for fifty years the captive of the court of Spain, till death extinguished in him the Arragonese line of Neapolitan kings.

Maximilian, whose second wife was niece to Ludovico Sforza, conceived a plan for restoring the duchy of Milan to her brother, Hermes Sforza, who had retired into Germany, and he endeavoured to persuade the Venetians and Florentines to second his project; but those powers could place no reliance on the emperor's promises, and were, moreover, too much afraid of Lewis to enter into any league that was prejudicial to his interests. Maximilian, despairing of success in the prosecution of his plan, was compelled to re-

<sup>3</sup> Guicciardini, tom. i. lib. v. p. 434, 435.

nounce it, and in the autumn of 1501 he had an interview, at Trent, with the cardinal d'Amboise, which, however, produced no event of importance. The emperor insisted on the release of Ludovico, and the king would only consent to set the cardinal Ascanio at liberty, on condition that he should retire to Rome. A treaty of marriage was set on foot between Charles, duke of Luxemburgh,—who afterwards succeeded to the empire under the appellation of Charles the Fifth—son to the archduke Philip, and grandson to Maximilian; and the princess Claude, daughter to Lewis and Anne of Brittany: the parties were both infants, and Maximilian promised, if the marriage should take place, to grant the investiture of the duchy of Milan to the king and his *female* heirs. The archduke and his wife, Joanna of Castile, went to France in the month of November, and were received with those marks of distinction which were due to their rank. Philip took his seat in the parliament as a peer of France; ratified the articles of the projected marriage, (which, however, never took place); passed a fortnight at Blois, where the court then resided; was escorted, with great pomp, to the frontiers; and received permission from the king to administer justice in all the towns through which he passed.

A. D. 1502.] Lewis and Ferdinand had acted with perfect cordiality in the reduction of Naples; but scarce had they completed that conquest before they turned their victorious arms against each other. The treaty of division was couched in such ambiguous terms, that both nations laid claim to a tract of country called Il Capatinato, which was separated from Apulia by the river Lofanto: the French affirmed that it belonged to the province of Abruzzi; while the Spaniards maintained that it formed a part of Apulia. In consequence of this difference, hostilities commenced between the two armies; the French seized on Tripalda; and Gonzalvo and d'Aubigny meeting, a conference ensued, in which a truce was agreed on that was soon broken.

The king, meanwhile, had repaired to Milan to provide for the safety of that duchy; on the twenty-sixth of August he made his public entry into Genoa, where he passed a week. He then took such precautions as he thought necessary against the Swiss, who, being masters of Bellinzzone, now threatened the Milanese; and after he had concluded a truce with Maximilian, no sooner concluded than violated, made some vain efforts to secure the Venetians, who had evinced a disposition to assist the Spaniards, and given orders to his officers to push the war with vigour in the kingdom of Naples, he left Italy and returned to Blois.

The progress of the French was so rapid that the Spaniards were soon expelled from almost every place in Apulia, Calabria and Il Capatinato, and Gonzalvo was reduced to retire to the city of Barletta; but as d'Aubigny neglected to push the siege with sufficient vigour, the Venetians had time to supply him with ammunition and provision. The duke of Valentinois, who had conceived a disgust against Lewis, for having opposed his attempts to reduce the republic of Florence, sent a body of troops to the assistance of the Spaniards;  
and



and the duke of Nemours having been imprudently led to a division of his forces, the affairs of Lewis in the kingdom of Naples soon took a different turn.

The succours supplied by the duke of Valentino enabled the Spaniards to surprize the small town of Callimera, but the booty they made there was taken from them by d'Aubigny. Meanwhile the blockade of Barletta was continued; the soldiers mutinied, particularly those who had served under Soto-Mayor, general of the cavalry, whom Bayard had slain in single combat; and Gonsalvo's provisions and money were exhausted, fifteen thousand ducats, which had been sent for the pay of the troops, having been intercepted by Bayard. Yet, notwithstanding these difficulties, Gonsalvo contrived to subdue the mutinous spirit of his troops, by artfully employing them in expeditions where the advantage was on their side. At the same time he entered into a negociation with Maximilian, whom he urged to break the truce which he had recently concluded with France; and pressed Ferdinand to supply him with adequate succours. The archduke of Austria, and his wife, were then at the court of Spain, where Isabella lay dangerously ill; her daughter, Joanna, wife to Philip, who was heiress of the kingdom of Castile, having thought it necessary to exact an oath of allegiance from her future subjects, during the life, and with the approbation of her mother. Ferdinand, in whom the prospect of soon losing the crown of Castile created a dislike to the presumptive heir, hurried the archduke out of his dominions, and sent him to France, to negotiate a peace with Lewis.

A. D. 1503.] Philip, flattered by this mark of confidence, demanded a safe-conduct to repair to Lyons, where he was received with great cordiality by Lewis. Neither the king nor the archduke were aware that Ferdinand was deceiving them; and that his only object in proposing a treaty was to gain time. They therefore proceeded to business, and the cardinal d'Amboise, and the bishop of Albi, were appointed to confer with the Spanish plenipotentiaries, whom Ferdinand had sent to accompany and assist his son-in-law. After much delay, the treaty was signed, and the contract of marriage of the princess Claude, the king's daughter, with Charles, son to the archduke, was received; and the two monarchs agreed to cede to Charles their respective claims on the kingdom of Naples, instead of the duchy of Milan, which had been promised before. Meanwhile, it was agreed, that each of them should keep what was then in his possession, and that the places which had given rise to the difference between them should be sequestered in the hands of the archduke. The Spanish ambassador not only signed this treaty in his master's name, but subjected himself to the pain of excommunication, in case the peace should be broken. It was, accordingly, proclaimed, on the second of March, 1503, and intelligence of this event was immediately conveyed to Naples. But Gonsalvo, though he had received it officially, from the ambassadors, refused to give credit to it, until he should receive positive orders on the subject from their catholic majesties. He had just been joined by two thousand Germans, whom Maximilian had sent to his assistance; he was acquainted with the disposition of the  
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pope and of the Venetians; he knew that the French squadron, which had been equipped at Genoa, and destined for Naples, had received counter-orders, and that four thousand French troops had been disbanded for want of pay; and this combination of favourable circumstances determined him to push on the war with vigour, certain that if he should prove successful, his master would not disavow him. The queen of France, who was extremely anxious to promote the union of her daughter with the duke of Luxemburgh, expressed the greatest satisfaction at the treaty; but before the rejoicings, on account of the peace, were finished, the king received intelligence that a Spanish fleet had sailed for Naples, and that the Germans had embarked for Barletta. Lewis reproached the archduke with his perfidy, but that prince took such pains to justify his conduct that the king was fully convinced of his innocence, and renewed his safe-conduct, by which Philip profited to return to his own dominions.

Gonsalvo soon threw off the mask, and renewed hostilities: Peter of Navarre, a soldier of fortune, who had been raised to the rank of lieutenant-general in the Spanish army, was admitted into Rutaliano by the citizens, who were disgusted with the insolence of the French. The chevalier Préjan, who had sailed from the port of Genoa, with four vessels, fell in with the Spanish fleet, which compelled him to take refuge in the harbour of Otranto, where he burned his ships, and then hastened to join the duke of Nemours. That prince finding his forces not sufficient to enable him to keep the field, had sent orders to d'Aubigny to join him; but d'Aubigny himself was in still greater embarrassment, being surrounded on all sides by a superior force; and he was at length compelled to engage the Spaniards on unequal terms near Seminara in Calabria. The French recollecting that on this very spot d'Aubigny had, eight years before, obtained a signal victory over Ferdinand, king of Naples, they were inspired with a blind confidence that degenerated into presumption; they fought without order or regularity, and though the Spaniards were, at first, unable to withstand their impetuous attacks, they soon rallied, and by a steady exertion of discipline, obtained that advantage which their superiority of numbers was calculated to ensure; the French were completely routed, and d'Aubigny, with difficulty, escaped the general massacre: he retired to Antigola, where he was invested by the enemy, and being destitute of provisions, was, in a few days, obliged to surrender. The duke of Nemours took every precaution to prevent Gonsalvo, who was still shut up in Barletta, from receiving information of the victory of Seminara; and the Spanish general, compelled at length to evacuate a town where he had suffered the extremes of pestilence and famine, marched towards Cirignuola, and having chosen an advantageous post, fortified his camp, and fought, by surrounding it with deep ditches, to secure it from insult. He was pursued by the duke of Nemours, who was persuaded by his officers, much against his inclination, to attack the Spanish camp late in the evening of the twenty-eighth of April, 1503. The French, though at first successful, sustained a total defeat, and the duke of Nemours fell in the ac-



tion<sup>4</sup>. D'Alegre, who had been chiefly instrumental in persuading the duke to engage, and the prince of Salerno, displayed their valour in a most signal manner, and made astonishing efforts to rally their troops; but neither their example nor exhortations could prevail; all the artillery, provision and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy: d'Alegre, with the scattered remains of the army, retired to Gaeta.

In less than a fortnight after the battle of Cirignuola, Gonsalvo reduced the cities of Naples, Capua and Aversa, so that, in the whole kingdom, the French only retained a few places of little importance in Apulia and Abruzzi, with the town of Gaeta, where d'Alegre had assembled a body of four thousand infantry and four hundred men at arms. Here he was besieged by Gonsalvo, whom he twice repulsed, and drove back to his camp; and the arrival of fresh troops from France compelled the Spanish general to convert the siege into a blockade.

During these transactions pope Alexander the Sixth died by that poison which he had destined for another: his son, the duke of Valentinois, had partaken of the fatal dose, but the strength of his constitution subdued its malignant influence, and that prince, anxious to secure the protection of France, promised to promote the election of the cardinal d'Amboise to the papacy; independent of the cardinal's own desire to obtain that dignity, the king himself was equally anxious to promote the elevation of his minister, from the conviction that it would be the only means of ensuring the success of his arms in Italy.

The archduke Philip, enraged at the perfidy of his father-in-law, and jealous of his own reputation, had returned to France, and again put himself in the power of Lewis. At the same time he dispatched messengers to Ferdinand, to remonstrate on the indelible infamy which must for ever stain his character, if he countenanced the treachery of Gonsalvo. But the king of Arragon, attentive only to the importance of his new acquisition, was indifferent to reputation. With his usual duplicity, he at one moment disowned his ambassadors, at another his general; while he secretly sent orders to push the war in Naples to the absolute expulsion of the French.

Lewis, whose magnanimous mind was superior to the dark artifices of his profligate rival, commanded the ministers of the king of Arragon to quit his dominions. Though he had severely suffered from the treachery of Ferdinand, he scorned to avail himself of any other arms than what became him as a monarch. While he dismissed the archduke with every mark of respect to pursue his route to Flanders, he addressed him at parting

<sup>4</sup> The duke of Nemours, who was killed at the battle of Cirignuola, was the last prince of the house of Armagnac, descended from Caribert, son to Clotaire the Second.—Garnier.

in these memorable words: "If your father-in-law has been guilty of perfidy, I will not resemble him; and I am infinitely happier in the loss of a kingdom, which I know how to re-conquer, than to have stained my honour, which I could never retrieve."

War was now declared against Spain, and the preparations of Lewis were proportioned to the injuries he had sustained from the conduct of his unprincipled enemy; three armies were assembled to invade on every side the dominions of the king of Arragon. The first, commanded by la Trémouille, and to be composed of eighteen thousand infantry, and two thousand men at arms, was destined to the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; the second consisted of five thousand Swiss and French, and a thousand men at arms, under the conduct of the lord of Albret, and the marechal de Gié, was directed to penetrate into the province of Fontarabia. The third, still more numerous, was entrusted to the marechal de Rieux, and was to invade the county of Rouffillon; at the same time a considerable fleet was fitted out to insult the coasts of Catalonia and Valentia, and to intercept any communication at sea between Spain and Naples.

The Italian expedition failed, partly from the infidelity of the Italian princes, who refused to supply their stipulated contingency of troops, and partly through the indisposition of la Trémouille, which compelled him to stop at Sienna, when the command of the army devolved on the marquis of Mantua, whose talents and disposition rendered him improper for the post he enjoyed. The operations were suspended by the cardinal d'Amboise, who was at a loss whether to make the troops proceed immediately to Naples, or to order them to march to Rome, whither he himself had repaired for the purpose of ensuring his election to the papacy. But the cardinal was disappointed in his hopes; cardinal Piccolomini was chosen by the conclave to fill the chair of St. Peter, and he accordingly assumed the appellation of Pius the Third; but after a short reign of twenty-six days, he expired, and was succeeded by the cardinal San Pietro in Vincola, a turbulent priest, who, though under infinite obligations to the French, proved their greatest enemy.

When the French troops arrived in the kingdom of Naples, the season was far advanced, and the roads were so bad, that it was with the utmost difficulty the artillery could be transported from one place to another. Gonsalvo had expelled the French garrison from the town of San Germano, which commanded the entrance into the kingdom, and after strengthening the fortifications, had advanced, with his army, to the banks of the Garigliano. In order to pass that river, the marquis of Mantua caused a bridge of boats to be prepared, and a fort to be constructed for its defence; as the workmen, employed in these operations, were only attended by a slight escort, the Spaniards resolved to profit by the neglect, and a detachment of a hundred men at arms was ordered to ford the river, while another party was sent to secure the bridge. The chevalier Bayard,



ever eager to fly where glory was to be acquired, hastened to the assistance of Cocles, who commanded the escort appointed to guard the workmen; by uncommon exertions of intrepid valour, he checked the progress of two hundred Spanish horse that were preparing to pass the bridge, and maintained the unequal contest till the arrival of succours enabled him to put the enemy to flight, and to pursue them with considerable slaughter: the fugitives, however, being reinforced by a strong detachment from the Spanish camp, Bayard was compelled to retreat, and his horse, overcome with fatigue, fell with him into a ditch, where he was secured by the Spaniards. The French, meanwhile, by whom this circumstance was unperceived, had passed the bridge: Guiffroy, a man at arms in Bayard's own company, was the first who missed his captain; alarmed at the loss, the generous soldier harangued his comrades, and exhorted them to return to the charge; the acclamation of "*France! France! turn Spaniards, you shall not thus take off the flower of chivalry!*" resounded through the ranks; the attack was instantly renewed with redoubled vigour; Bayard, mounting the first horse he could find, rushed into the midst of the enemy, and, with his brave companions, regained the bridge. But these heroic achievements, though productive of glory to those who performed them, were attended with little advantage to the army; the Spaniards still maintained their superiority, and the marquis of Mantua, though strenuously urged by the French officers, positively refused to pass the river. Gonsalvo, though in presence of the enemy, detached a part of his army to lay siege to Rocca Divandro, and the refusal of the marquis of Mantua to relieve that place inspired the troops with doubts of his fidelity. Aware of this disposition, the marquis, under pretence of sickness, gave up his command, and withdrew, with his company of men at arms; eight thousand Italians, in the pay of France, soon followed his example; and, not long after, entered into the service of Spain.

The French army being considerably weakened by the defection of the Italians, and left without a general, was thrown into the greatest confusion; as it was impossible to wait for the king's orders, the troops proceeded to appoint a leader, and their choice unanimously fell on the marquis of Saluzzo, who, though an Italian, had signalized, on various occasions, his zeal and attachment to France. The marquis immediately forced the passage of the Garigliano, but the Spaniards had so posted themselves as to preclude the possibility of pursuing his march to Naples, wherefore he deemed it prudent to re-pass the river, and having secured the fort at the entrance of the bridge, as well as a strong tower at the mouth of the Garigliano, he fixed his camp in a very advantageous situation, on the same spot where stood the ancient town of Minturnæ. He took every precaution which military skill and experience could suggest, and would certainly have been able to maintain his post, but for the infamous conduct of the treasurers and commissaries of the army; the troops were neither supplied with money nor provisions; the marquis reported this circumstance to the king, who having been careful to provide against every inconvenience of the kind, determined to punish the criminal neglect of his

his officers with exemplary rigour, and he accordingly sentenced John Heroef, the intendant of his finances, to lose his head. Meanwhile the marquis had been obliged to divide his troops into different bodies to facilitate the means of subsistence, and this division occasioned, in the sequel, the destruction of his whole army.

The prodigious efforts of France, during this campaign, proved every where unsuccessful. The army destined for the attack of Fontarabia was divided by the dissensions of its generals; the lord of d'Albret, either from a principle of revenge on account of the rivalry which had formerly subsisted between him and Lewis, or from his total ignorance of the art of war, led his troops, in opposition to the advice of the mareschal de Gié, who commanded under him, into a sterile part of the province of Biscaye, where a want of provision soon led them to disband: those who were under the immediate command of d'Albret retired in safety, while the rest perished, almost to a man, on their return to Guienne. The mareschal de Rieux formed the siege of Salses, but after the French had battered the town, during forty days, they were compelled to raise the siege, on the approach of Ferdinand himself, with an army of thirty thousand men. The fleet, also, after alarming the coasts of Valentia and Catalonia, was overtaken by a storm, and reduced to the necessity of returning to the port of Marseilles.

In Italy, Gonsalvo had made a fruitless attempt to burn the bridge over the river Garigliano; being repulsed with loss he retired to his camp, and the inclemency of the weather kept both armies in a state of inactivity for near two months. During that time, Gonsalvo had received a reinforcement from Spain, and his army being farther strengthened by the junction of the Orsini and their partizans, and by the secret promotion of the Venetians, he soon found himself in a situation to renew his operations. The French, on the contrary, were dispersed in search of provisions, and weakened by disease; and the Spaniards, resolving to profit by this circumstance, threw a bridge over the river, at some distance from the French camp, and taking the town of Fagio by surprize, massacred the garrison. The marquis of Saluzzo was no sooner apprized of this disaster, than he assembled his troops, and crossed the river; but being pursued by the Spaniards, an action took place near the bridge of Mola, in which the French, after displaying great valour, were defeated. D'Alegre, with a part of the troops, retired to Gaeta; while Lewis d'Ars and Bayard shut themselves up in Venosa, with the resolution to defend that place to the last extremity. Pietro di Medicis, who commanded the tower at the mouth of the Garigliano, embarked, on the approach of the enemy, with the artillery and a part of the baggage, in order to join the French fleet, but being overtaken by a storm, he perished in the attempt.

A. D. 1504.] On the first day of the year 1504, Gaeta was invested by the Spaniards; and though the garrison were provided with every necessary for a long defence, such was the terror with which the recent successes of the enemy had impressed the minds



minds of the French, that in a council of war, it was determined to capitulate, and d'Alegre was appointed to make the proposal to Gonsalvo. That general cheerfully accepted the terms, and a treaty was immediately signed, of which the surrender of Gaeta, and the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, constituted the principal articles: the French only obtained the liberty of retiring to France, either by land or sea, and the release of the prisoners; but Gonsalvo violated the conditions of the treaty, and shamefully detained in captivity all those who were natives of Naples.

The chevalier Bayard, and Lewis d'Ars, received with indignation the messenger sent by Gonsalvo to inform them of the treaty of Gaeta; they refused to sign it, protesting that they would rather lose their lives in Italy, than suffer the Italians to believe that all Frenchmen were cowards. There were several small towns dependent on Venosa, all of which these gallant officers undertook to defend; they gave free permission to their troops to depart if they chose it, but not a man would forsake them. Bayard and d'Ars exchanged their jewels and plate for provision and ammunition; in vain did Gonsalvo offer to grant them any terms they might think proper to impose, they courageously rejected his offers and repelled his attacks. Europe saw with astonishment these two knights, with a handful of troops, successfully defend themselves against the whole force of Spain. A misunderstanding prevailed in the camp of Gonsalvo, from the preference given by that general to the family of the Orsini over that of Colonna; and Prospero Colonna was induced to withdraw his troops, and to retire to Spain, where he excited suspicions in the mind of Ferdinand, on the fidelity of Gonsalvo, whom he represented as a man elated with victory, aspiring to independence, and anxious to keep for himself the conquests he had made for his master. These insinuations induced Ferdinand to revoke a part of those powers with which he had entrusted Gonsalvo, who, in consequence of this affront, neglected for some days the duties of his station. Lewis d'Ars and Bayard, attentive to his motions, profited by the opportunity to make incursions into the neighbouring country, where they acquired a considerable booty, which they conducted in safety to Venosa. Ferdinand was destitute of money, his army in Italy was on the point of revolting, and he learned that Lewis was making great preparations in France; in this emergency, he proposed a truce for a year, which was accepted by the king. But Lewis d'Ars and Bayard did not surrender the towns they occupied in Italy till the year following, when they received express orders from Lewis to return to France, where they received those honours and rewards to which their services were so justly entitled.

The anxiety which Lewis had experienced from the ill-success of his arms, and from the distress under which his subjects laboured from the united attacks of pestilence and famine, brought on a fever, which raged with such violence as to baffle the skill of his physicians, and to threaten his immediate dissolution. Anne, daily apprehensive of the death of her royal consort, determined to provide for her own security, embarked her most precious

precious effects, and meditated a retreat into her native dominions of Brittany. The vessels which she had laden were stopped by the forward and imprudent zeal of the marechal de Gié; an offence, which Anne could never forgive in a man who had been born her subject. She refused to listen to the marechal's excuses, and, on her husband's recovery she obtained an order for his trial by the parliament of Toulouse. Every circumstance of his life was investigated, in order to find matter for an accusation; and it having been proved that he had **once** received pay for fifteen *dead* men, supposed to be on duty in his castle of Fronfac, he was deprived of his places and pensions, prohibited from exercising the functions of a marechal for five years, and forbidden to approach within ten leagues of the court.

On the king's recovery, the negociations for peace were renewed; a treaty was concluded, by cardinal d'Amboise, with the emperor, who, in consideration of being allowed to assert his claims to certain towns belonging to the republic of Venice, and on condition of receiving twelve hundred thousand florins, to be paid by instalments, a pair of golden-spurs, every Christmas-day, and a body of five hundred lances, whenever he should chuse to go to Rome, consented to bestow the investiture of the duchy of Milan on Lewis and his male *descendants*, or, in default of males, on his daughters. This treaty had been preceded by another with the archduke Philip, which occasioned great uneasiness to Ferdinand, who was afraid of his son-in-law, and therefore endeavoured to create fresh disturbances. He sent ambassadors to France with proposals that he never wished to be accepted; offering to place the crown of Naples on the head of the prince of Tarento, son to Frederic, the deposed monarch, on condition that he should marry his niece. Frederic accepted the proposal, but Lewis being informed of the circumstance, ordered the Spanish ambassador to quit his dominions.

Frederic died soon after, as did also Isabella of Castile, wife to Ferdinand of Arragon. The archduke Philip, in right of his wife Joanna, on the death of Isabella, claimed the inheritance of her dominions, and changed the system of European politics. Ferdinand the Catholic was again reduced to his original kingdom of Arragon, after having ineffectually exerted his usual finesse in order to obtain the regency of Castile.

A. D. 1505.] Hitherto Lewis had considered the archduke as a vassal, and as a vassal whom he loved and esteemed; but his late acquisition rendered him a formidable neighbour. The county of Flanders, the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, the empire of the kingdom of Castile, were now likely to center in one prince, whose son, too, was to augment these extensive possessions, by his marriage with the princess Claude, with the duchies of Brittany and Milan. This vast combination of power might, in the sequel, prove destructive to France, and proper measures, therefore, were immediately, though secretly, taken to counteract its effects. The ambassadors sent by the king of Arragon to notify the death of his wife to the French court, experienced a  
gracious



gracious reception ; and as Ferdinand was still young, Lewis engaged him to marry his niece Germana, daughter to the count of Foix ; the king gave up his part of the kingdom of Naples, as a marriage-portion for the young princess, on condition that, if Ferdinand should die before her, and without children, the whole of that kingdom should revert to France ; if, on the contrary, Ferdinand should survive his wife, and have no child, he was to keep possession of Naples ; the catholic king engaged to pay Lewis seven hundred thousand crowns, in ten years, to reimburse him for the expences of the war ; and Lewis honourably stipulated, that the Neapolitan nobility, who had been imprisoned as his adherents, by Gonfalso, should be restored to their freedom, and to the possession of their estates ; and that the partizans of the house of Anjou should be reimbursed for the losses they had incurred by their fidelity to that family ; a condition which the situation of Ferdinand's affairs compelled him to accede to, and which the king of France took care that he should punctually perform.

A. D. 1506.] The queen was extremely anxious that the projected alliance between her daughter Claude, and Charles of Luxemburgh, should take place, but the nation entertained very different sentiments, and were greatly alarmed at the prospect of wars and dissensions which, in their opinion, that alliance was calculated to produce. The states of Tours, which assembled on the fourteenth of May, 1506, presented a remonstrance to the king on this subject ; in which they expatiated on the inconveniencies which, they conceived, must result from the marriage of the princess with a foreign potentate, and besought his majesty to bestow the hand of his daughter on Francis, duke of Valois, a prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown.

Lewis, astonished at this proposal, or, at least, feigning to be so—for it is uncertain whether or not the plan originated with himself—promised to give his answer in a few days. After conferring with the princes of the blood, and finding that the sentiments of the council coincided with those of the states, he cheerfully assented to the proposed alliance. The queen, however, opposed it to the utmost of her power ; she saw, with grief, that, by this marriage, Brittany must inevitably become a province of France ; besides, she had another motive for her opposition, in her hatred to the countess of Angoulême, mother to Francis, an intriguing and ambitious princess ; and had Anne survived her husband, it is probable, the marriage had never taken place. But however great the ascendancy which she had acquired over the mind of Lewis, she could not, in this instance, prevail on him to change the resolution he had taken to satisfy the states. The chancellor, accordingly, informed that assembly of his majesty's determination to comply with their wishes ; the ceremony of betrothal was to be celebrated without delay ; and the marriage to be consummated as soon as the parties should come of age ; the princess was then in her eighth year, and the duke of Valois in his fourteenth. The king exacted from the states a promise, confirmed by an oath, that, in case he should die without male heirs, they would enforce the consummation of the marriage, and acknowledge the duke of Valois for their lawful sovereign.

Lewis

Lewis sent an ambassador to Valadolid to inform the king of Castile of this event, and of the reasons which had induced him to violate the marriage-treaties which had been concluded between their children. Philip received the intelligence without betraying any symptoms of resentment, and expressed an earnest wish that this circumstance might not be suffered to interrupt the harmony which subsisted between the two crowns. Maximilian, however, shewed his discontent, by immediately calling on the king to fulfil the terms of the last treaty, by supplying him with five hundred lances to escort him to Rome. His demand was complied with, but Lewis took care to prevent his journey, by exciting the apprehensions of the pope and the Venetians, who refused him a passage through their dominions, unless he chose to come with no other attendants than his usual retinue. Meanwhile, a dispute having occurred between the king of Castile and the duke of Gueldres, the latter applied for assistance to Lewis, his kinsman and ally, who immediately sent him four hundred lances, under the command of Robert de la Marche. Philip, complained, and not without reason, of this proceeding, as an infraction of the treaty; he protested it was his wish to live at peace with the king, but threatened, at the same time, to defend himself with vigour if he perceived any intention of attacking him. Lewis, on his part, declared that he would not be the first to break treaties, but complained of the secret practices of Maximilian in Italy, and with the Swiss. These mutual remonstrances did not prevent the continuation of hostilities in the duchy of Gueldres. Henry, king of England, as an ally both of Philip and of Lewis, employed his mediation on this occasion, and sent an ambassador to France, who represented to the king, that as the duke of Gueldres had been the aggressor, to afford him assistance was to violate the treaties which subsisted between him and the king of Castile; that if he continued to send troops into the duchy of Gueldres, and should be led to invade the county of Flanders, the king of England would be obliged to assist his ally the king of Castile; but if, on the contrary, Lewis would recall his forces, Henry would persuade Philip to accommodate matters with the duke of Gueldres. Lewis consented to the proposal; but the death of the king of Castile, which occurred on the twenty-fifth of September, 1506, changed the face of affairs. This prince, who lost his life by drinking cold water when he was hot, left two sons, Charles and Ferdinand; and, by his will, he appointed Lewis to be guardian to Charles, who was the eldest. Lewis accepted the office, and undertook to protect those same dominions which, had Philip lived, he would, most probably, have very soon attacked: he recalled his troops from Gueldres, and engaged the duke to sign a truce.

A. D. 1507.] The attention of Lewis was now called to the affairs of Italy, where he was so impolitic as to enforce the pretensions of the pope to the sovereignty of Bologna. He had soon, however, occasion to repent this condescension, for Julius the Sixth, who since his accession to the papal throne had displayed a disposition better suited to the camp than the conclave, forgetful of the protection he had received, exerted his



genius in exciting the enemies of France, and nourishing the discontents of the Genoese. These at last broke out into open revolt, expelled the French, and declared Paul Nuova, a silk-dyer, their doge. They were privately encouraged by Julius and the emperor Maximilian, and were openly reinforced by the troops of Pisa.

Lewis, sensible how much his reputation depended on immediately crushing the insurgents, assembled an army of twenty thousand men, and marched towards Genoa, notwithstanding the opposition of the queen, who exerted all her influence to prevent him from engaging in an expedition, the consequences whereof she dreaded. Lewis, however, forced the passes which the rebels had occupied, and, in person, stormed their entrenchments. The Genoese, disconcerted by his rapid approach, endeavoured to disarm his resentment by submission. On the twenty-ninth of April, 1507, the king, clad in complete armour, and with a stern countenance, entered Genoa: but his natural clemency prevailed; and, after punishing Paul Nuova, the popular doge, and Justiani, another incendiary, with death, he contented himself with depriving the citizens of their privileges, and with imposing on the city a fine of three hundred thousand ducats.

Before Lewis returned to France, he had an interview at Savona, in the territories of Genoa, with Ferdinand of Arragon, who was in Italy when he received the news of the death of his son-in-law Philip. The fears of Ferdinand, lest the king of France should oppose his designs on the regency of Castile, were his concealed motives to this interview. The two monarchs again renewed their alliance, and swore to the strict observance of the articles of peace; but Ferdinand, who acknowledged no principle but his own private interests, infringed and violated every condition on his return into Spain.

A. D. 1508.] The formidable preparations made by the king for the conquest of Genoa, had spread an alarm over a great part of Europe; his intention, it was generally believed, was to subdue Italy, to recover the kingdom of Naples, to assemble a council, depose the pope, and procure the election of the cardinal d'Amboise to the chair of Saint Peter; in consequence of this supposed design, Julius endeavoured to form a confederacy against Lewis. Maximilian was the first to promote this plan; he assembled a diet at Constance, where he expatiated, with great energy, on the boundless ambition of the king of France, which urged him to the violation of all treaties; he represented to the princes of the Empire, that it was their interest to oppose the conquest of Italy by Lewis, which would deprive the Empire of its rights to that country; and his eloquence prevailed so far as to extort from the princes a promise to supply their quota of troops, for opposing this imaginary expedition. By the time Maximilian had assembled his army and entered Italy, the king of France had completed the reduction of Genoa, and dismissed his troops.

The Germans, finding no enemy to encounter, refused to proceed; and the apprehensions of Julius with regard to the French being dispelled, he now began to read the designs of the emperor, and accordingly engaged the Venetians and the Swiss to refuse his troops a passage through their territories. The emperor advanced as far as Trent, with five or six thousand men, who were defeated by the Venetian general, Alviano. The Venetians, however, notwithstanding this victory, applied for assistance to the king, who sent them a body of troops, under the command of Triulzi; that general again defeated the Germans, who persuaded the Venetians to sign a truce for a year, without consulting the king, and without including the duke of Gueldres, as they had promised. It was by such mistaken policy that the Venetians afforded subjects for complaint to all the different powers, and engaged them to enter into that famous league, which was formed the following year, and which had their destruction for its object.

The king was the more irritated at the exclusion of the duke of Gueldres from the treaty, as the territories of that prince were in a state of revolt, and the rebels were assisted by the Imperialists; while the forces which Lewis had sent to the relief of the duchy, under the orders of the count of Rethel, were too inconsiderable to reduce the rebels to obedience, and were, moreover, destitute of money.

Maximilian was glad to bring his affairs in Italy to a conclusion, in order to attend to the state of his grandson's dominions in Flanders; he made every effort to procure from the Flemings the appointment of guardian to Charles, but, averse from his power, they refused to admit his pretensions, and, in compliance with the will of their late sovereign, placed themselves under the protection of Lewis, whom they desired to choose a governor for their youthful prince<sup>s</sup>. Lewis, accordingly, appointed Philip de Croy, lord of Chievres, to that important office; and Maximilian, perceiving the inability of resistance, and pleased, moreover, with the king's choice, withdrew his claims, and made a similar attempt on the kingdom of Castile, where he was opposed by the king of Arragon. These two princes afterward chose Lewis as an arbiter between them; who decided that Ferdinand should keep the regency of Castile as long as he should remain without children, on condition that he should pay the emperor fifty thousand ducats out of the revenue of that kingdom, and a similar sum for the support of young Charles. This agreement took place in 1509. Maximilian, determined to have some influence on the affairs

<sup>s</sup> This opinion has been adopted by all the French historians, from Varillas to Garnier; but the Spanish, German, and Flemish writers, concur in contradicting their assertions; and maintain, that Lewis had lost the confidence of Philip, by consenting to the marriage of Germaine de Foix with Ferdinand. Hewterus, a Flemish historian, of great authority, asserts, that when Philip set out for Spain, he had himself entrusted Chievres both with the care of his son's education, and with the government of his dominions in the Low Countries; and that nobleman continued to discharge both the offices which Philip had committed to him, until the arrival of the princess Margaret in the Netherlands.—See *Robertson's Reign of Charles V.* vol. ii. p. 30, Note g.



of Flanders, persuaded his daughter Margaret—now a widow—to repair thither, in the hope that the Flemings would entrust her with the administration: nor was he disappointed in his hopes; that event took place, and de Chievres only retained the title of governor to Charles. It does not appear that Lewis made any opposition to this change, with which, indeed, he had every reason to be satisfied; for Margaret, a princess of uncommon merit, was studious to ensure the continuance of peace in the dominions of her nephew, and to promote a reconciliation between the emperor and the king of France; she at length concluded, with the cardinal d'Amboise, in the names of Maximilian and Lewis, the famous league of Cambray, formed against the Venetians, but the interests of the different powers who engaged in it were so different, as to promise but little solidity to the compact.

To humble the republic of Venice, and to divide its territories, was the avowed object of all the princes who united in this confederacy. The civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries; during which the senate conducted its affairs by maxims of policy, no less prudent than vigorous, and adhered to these with an uniform spirit of consistency, which gave that commonwealth great advantage over other states, whose views and measures changed as often as the form of their government, or the persons who administered it. By these uninterrupted exertions of wisdom and valour, the Venetians enlarged the dominions of their commonwealth, until it became the most considerable power in Italy; while their extensive commerce, the useful and curious manufactures which they carried on, together with their monopoly of the precious commodities of the East, rendered Venice the most opulent state in Europe.

Their power was the object of terror to their Italian neighbours: their wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who could not vie with their private citizens, in the magnificence of their buildings, or in splendour and elegance of living<sup>6</sup>. Julius the Second, whose ambition was superior, and whose abilities were equal to those of any pontiff who ever sat on the papal throne, formed the idea of this league against the Venetians, and endeavoured by working on the avarice, ambition, fears, and resentment of other princes, to persuade them to join in it. By this means he succeeded in forming one of the most extensive confederacies against those haughty republicans, that Europe had ever beheld.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Arragon, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almost all the princes of Italy acceded; the least considerable of them hoping for some share in the spoils of a state, which they already

<sup>6</sup> Heliani oratio apud Goldastum in polit. Imperial. p. 980.

deemed to be devoted to destruction. The Venetians might have diverted this storm, or have broken its force; but, with a presumptuous rashness, to which there is nothing similar in the course of their history, they waited its approach<sup>7</sup>. The object of Maximilian in joining this confederacy, was to recover the sovereignty of several territories, in possession of the Venetians, particularly of Padua, Vicenza, Verona and Lignano, to which he preferred some obsolete claims. Julius, whose mind never retained the sense of an obligation, though indebted to the republic for the dignity he enjoyed, aimed at the possession of Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, and some other towns in Romagna; and at the recovery of the bishopric of Vicenza, which the Venetians withheld from him. The king of Arragon likewise sacrificed his gratitude to his interest, for though his general, Gonsalvo, had received assistance from the Venetians in the recovery of Naples, the acquisition of the forts of Otranto, Brindisi, Trano, Monopoli and Pulignano, which they possessed in that kingdom, was a temptation too powerful for such a prince as Ferdinand to withstand. In Lewis the gratification of a just resentment coinciding with interest, he wished to gain possession of those places in the Milanese, which he had ceded to the republic at the conquest of that duchy.

A. D. 1509.] Julius was the first to repent of this new alliance, and offered, if Faenza and Rimini were restored to the church, to desert the cause he had embarked in; but Venice, confident of her strength, rejected his proposals; and the pontiff, enraged at their obstinacy, issued a sentence of excommunication against the proud republicans, who prepared to meet, with firmness, the danger that threatened them. They raised an army of six thousand lances, four thousand light horse, and three-and-thirty thousand foot; these troops, who were chiefly mercenaries, were put under the command of the count of Pitigliano and Alviano. Andrew Gritti and George Cornaro, noble Venetians, and men of established reputation, were appointed *Provvéditori*<sup>8</sup> to the army. When they had thus provided for their defence, they exerted all the arts of policy to promote a dissolution of the confederacy, but in vain; their offers were rejected by the different powers, and their destruction seemed inevitable—even the elements appeared to conspire against them—A vessel, sent with money for the troops in garrison, at Ravenna, was lost in a storm; the castle of Breno, in which the archives of the republic, and other papers of the highest import, was deposited, were destroyed by lightning; the arsenal of Venice took fire, and, with all it contained, was reduced to ashes. But the greatest misfortune which the republic experienced at this period, was the division that took place between their generals. Pitigliano insisted on the propriety of abandoning the towns on the Adda, and of encamping in the country that lies between the rivers Oglio and Serio.

<sup>7</sup> Robertson.

<sup>8</sup> The *Provvéditori* of the Venetians, like the field-deputies of the Dutch republic in latter times, observed all the motions of the general, and checked and controuled him in all his operations.



Alviano, on the contrary, proposed to pass the Adda, and, by invading the Milanese, make that duchy the seat of war. Both these projects, however, were rejected by the senate, who ordered their generals to prevent the French from passing the Adda, and to avoid a general action, unless they could engage with an apparent certainty of success. These orders, however, it was found impossible to execute.

The French army was divided into different bodies, which invaded the territories of the republic in five different parts. The garrison of Leco extended their depredations to the gates of Bergamo; those of Lodi and Piacenza invaded the Cremonese on either side; the marquis of Mantua reduced the town of Casale Maggioné; while Chaumont passed the Adda, and invested Trévi. The garrison of Trévi made a vigorous sally, but they were successfully repulsed by the French, who pursued them so closely, that they entered the town with them. Morosin, the governor, was taken prisoner, together with the garrison, consisting of four hundred light horse, and twelve hundred infantry. Chaumont, after he had exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and appointed Fontrailles to command in the place, repassed the Adda, and hastened to join the king, who had, by this time, reached Milan. The Venetians ordered their generals to profit by the absence of Chaumont, to recover the town of Trévi. Pitigliano and Alviano did not approve of this plan, and proposed another, which, in the opinion of most men, was much more advantageous; but the senate, unused to contradiction, enforced their orders, and Trévi was accordingly besieged at the beginning of May, 1509.

Fontrailles, who had only fifty men at arms, and one thousand Gascons, under his command, plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him long to resist the attacks of the Venetian army. He immediately apprized the king of his situation, observing that the walls of the town were in such a bad state, that the enemy's artillery must speedily destroy them; assuring him, however, that he would not fail to hold out to the last extremity. The council, who had been assembled on the reception of this news, were divided in their sentiments: Triulzi maintained that it was too late to think of marching to the relief of Fontrailles; that all the Venetian forces being united on the banks of the Adda, would prevent the troops from passing that river, and that the attempt would only occasion a great loss of time, that might be usefully devoted to other purposes: but Chabarone de la Palisse was of a different opinion, and insisted on the necessity of setting out immediately for Trévi; this advice coinciding with the sentiments of Lewis, the army was put in motion without farther delay: it consisted of six thousand Swiss, twelve thousand French and Italian infantry, and two thousand Gendarmes. Lewis reached the banks of the Adda on the ninth of May<sup>9</sup>, at the very mo-

<sup>9</sup> Guicciardini, tom. ii. lib. 8. p. 199.

ment that Fontrailles, after defending the town of Trévi as long as possible, surrendered it to the enemy. Lewis, though apprized of this disaster, pursued his design, and marched along the banks of the river till he came opposite to Casciano, where he passed the Adda, with his whole army, without receiving the smallest molestation from the Venetians, who were employed in plundering the town of Trévi, and refused to obey the commands of their officers<sup>10</sup>. The ground about Casciano is elevated so as to command the river, and is, by its numerous interfections, peculiarly adapted for the encampment of a small army; on the side of that part of the country which is called the *Ghiara d'Adda* it is protected by a canal twenty feet wide and six in depth, which runs entirely round it. Triulzi was fully persuaded that the Venetians, who were encamped about five miles from Casciano, had secured this important post; but when he found it vacant he could not refrain from exclaiming, with a degree of candour worthy a hero, that had his advice been followed, the French would have been lost; and he added—"Now, most Christian King, the day is your own." This exclamation, from the mouth of an experienced general, increased the confidence of the troops, who were farther encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, proceeding, according to some, from the mutinous disposition of the soldiers<sup>11</sup>, and, according to others, from the division which prevailed between the generals<sup>12</sup>.

Lewis finding it impossible to force the Venetian camp, moved towards Rivolta, which lay to the left of the enemy, to try whether the desire of saving that place would not induce them to come forth, and risk an action. Rivolta, however, was taken by assault in sight of the Venetian army; and the king having passed a night in the town, marched the next morning, with his whole army, with the view to secure either Vailà or Pandino, by which means he would be enabled to cut off the communication with Cremona or Crema, whence the Venetians drew their provisions. There were two roads to these places; that which the king took was the longest, and lay along the side of the Adda; the other was much shorter, and ran in a straight line, and this induced the Venetians to quit their post, in the hope of arriving at Vailà before the French. They formed their army in two divisions, the strongest of which was entrusted to Alviano, and the other to Pitigliano. The latter marched first, and had nearly reached Vailà, when the former was overtaken, and attacked by the van of the French army, under Chaumont and Triulzi. Alviano immediately sent a messenger to Pitigliano, to apprize him of the circumstance, and posted his infantry in some neighbouring vineyards, where he converted the vine-props into palifades; he erected some batteries with great expedition, and drew up his cavalry in a plain behind the ground occupied by the infantry. Chaumont was repulsed with loss in his first attack; the Swiss, whose heavy-armed infantry could not make their way through the rows of long pikes that were stuck in the ground,

<sup>10</sup> Guicciardini, tom. ii. lib. viii. p. 199.<sup>11</sup> Idem, *ibid.*<sup>12</sup> Mocenigo.



met with no better success; and the van was in danger of sustaining a defeat, when the king came to their assistance with the rest of the army. Some of his officers, it is said, endeavoured to deter him from pursuing his march, by observing that the Venetians were already in possession of Vailà; but Lewis replied, "We shall then have the additional trouble of dislodging them," and pressed onward. He rallied the Swiss, made the Gascons advance, and supported them with the troops from Trévi, who were anxious to revenge the affront they had recently sustained. Animated by the presence of their sovereign, and the exhortations and example of the gallant veteran La Trémouille, the troops despised all danger, and rushing forward with irresistible impetuosity, bore down all before them. Lewis exposed his person in the thickest of the fight, and vied with his men in exertions of personal valour. The Venetians, after an obstinate contest, yielded up the palm of victory, and left eight thousand of their best troops on the field of battle: their cavalry fled without striking a blow; their principal officers were taken prisoners, and among them was Alviano, who had been wounded in the action, in which he had displayed the courage of a soldier, and the skill of a commander. This battle was fought at Vailà in Ghigradadda, on the fourteenth of May, 1509<sup>13</sup>. The king caused a church to be built on the spot, which he called *Notre Dame de la Victoire*, and which is still standing. The loss of the French was inconsiderable; Pitigliano attempted to march to the assistance of his colleague, but his troops refused to follow him; most of them disbanded, and with the few that remained he took possession of Vailà.

The king, after passing two days on the field of battle, prepared to profit by his victory: he formed the siege of Carravagio, which the inhabitants compelled the garrison to surrender; and Bergamo and Brescia opened their gates at his approach. Peschiéra being taken by assault, the garrison were put to the sword, and a noble Venetian and his son<sup>14</sup> were hanged on the ramparts by the king's command: this act of cruelty is ascribed by the French writers to the desire of revenging the infidelity of the Venetians, who broke the capitulation at Trévi; and by the Italians, to the wish to intimidate the other towns, and so deter them from resisting the French. Crema and Cremona made no opposition; and, in less than a fortnight, the king had conquered all the places for which he had stipulated by the treaty of Cambrai. The pope, meanwhile, had assembled an army of thirteen thousand men, which he entrusted to the care of the duke of Ferrara; the victory gained by Lewis at Vailà, greatly facilitated the duke's operations, who immediately after obtained possession of all the places in Romagna except the castle of Ravenna.

From the height of presumption the Venetians now sunk to the depth of despair; they no longer sought to resist the confederates, but endeavoured to soothe by submission where they could not repel by arms; all the places claimed by the Spaniards and the em-

<sup>13</sup> Mocenigo—Equicola—Bembo—Giustiniano—Guicciardini.

<sup>14</sup> Guicciardini, tom. ii, lib. viii. p. 207.

peror were surrendered without hesitation or delay, and these haughty republicans having in vain endeavoured to appease, by servile solicitations, the resentment of Julius, Maximilian and Ferdinand, retired to their capital to wait the fatal blow which was to extinguish their power. But the emperor neglected to avail himself of this favourable opportunity; he had dissipated, in vain expences, the money that was destined to raise an army, and was compelled to wait at Inspruck for fresh supplies; the troops he sent into Italy were inadequate to any enterprize of importance; and he advanced, himself, no farther than Trent. The cardinal d'Amboise there paid him a visit, and appointed an interview between Maximilian and Lewis; a day was fixed for the purpose, and the king made the most splendid preparations for receiving his imperial guest; but the emperor wanting money to appear in a style suitable to his rank, declined the interview. During his residence at Trent, however, he granted to Lewis, agreeably to the engagement he had contracted by the treaty of Cambrai, the investiture of the duchy of Milan, for him and his heirs, male or female, and in default of heirs, to the count of Angoulême and his successors.

The king having secured his conquests, and concluded a new treaty, offensive and defensive, with the pope, returned to France, leaving the chief command of his forces to Chaumont. The cardinal d'Amboise had advised Lewis to remain longer in Italy, from the dread that the number of nobility who must necessarily accompany him would greatly diminish the army, and encourage the Venetians to profit by his absence. This proved to be the case; their courage revived, and they made some spirited attempts to recover their lost territories. Padua again fell into their hands; and although the emperor, with an immense army, entered Italy, for the purpose of retaking it, they baffled all his efforts, and compelled him to retire with disgrace. They also made an attempt on Verona, but the timely arrival of Chabannes and Bayard, who had been detached by Chaumont, with a body of French troops, saved the town, and obliged the Venetians to retreat to Vicenza, which they evacuated on the approach of the French.

A. D. 1510.] During the winter the king made the most formidable preparations for opening the ensuing campaign with vigour and effect; but he could not persuade his allies to make equal exertions. As he was preparing to pass into Italy he had the misfortune to lose his friend and favourite, the cardinal d'Amboise, who expired on the twenty-fifth of February, 1510, universally regretted by the nation. The virtue and disinterested spirit of this statesman, have been justly celebrated by contemporary historians. Though his power was almost unlimited, he was never known to abuse it; and he fulfilled all the duties of his elevated station, both in church and state, with unwearied diligence and exemplary zeal. Though legate to the pope, and prime minister of France, he possessed but one benefice, the archbishoprick of Rouen; and he displayed as much vigilance and attention in the government of his diocese as if he had not other affairs on his hands. His memory is still holden in



eneration at Rouen, to the cathedral of which city he gave the famous bell which bears his name<sup>15</sup>.

Julius, notwithstanding his late treaty with the king, had lent a favourable ear to the overtures made him by the Venetians, and had promised to take off the censures which he had pronounced against them. Lewis and Maximilian opposed this indulgence, as an infraction of the treaty of Cambrai; but the pope, secretly encouraged by Ferdinand, disregarded their complaints, and having obtained from the Venetians some advantageous concessions, political and commercial, he granted them, in full consistory (on the twenty-fifth of February) the promised absolution.

This was the first step towards the execution of that plan which the enterprising spirit of Julius had formed for the total expulsion of every foreign potentate from Italy. He now exerted his skill and address in persuading the Swiss to renounce their alliance with France, and even to declare war against that power. On the expiration of the treaty between France and the Swiss, the latter assembled at Baden, and made a demand of twenty thousand livres, in addition to their former pension, from the persuasion that the French could not do without them. Lewis thought the demand extremely unreasonable, as he had already augmented their pension from twenty to sixty thousand livres, and the private pensions he paid amounted to nearly as much as the subsidy itself, the whole formed a considerable sum. The matter, however, was submitted to the council, who being of the same opinion with the king, the demand of the Swiss was rejected with contempt, their alliance renounced, and some observations were made on their conduct, which offended them highly, and led them to seek for revenge. Lewis accepted the offer of the Grisons, who agreed to serve him at a more moderate price; and the Swiss immediately formed an alliance with the pope.

Julius, encouraged by this accession of strength, now ventured to declare war against the duke of Ferrara, whom the king had taken under his immediate protection: Chaumont was sent to his assistance, and both he and the duke were excommunicated by the vindictive pontiff. The papal army was commanded by the duke di Urbino, nephew to the pope, and the cardinal of Pavia. The duke reduced several places of little importance, made a fruitless attempt on Lunigiana, and retired in disorder on the news that the French had joined the duke of Ferrara; Julius, however, soon repaired this disgrace by the reduction of Modena. The duke, intimidated by the loss of that city, retired to his capital, which he resolved to defend to the last extremity. His ally, the king of France, to whom he applied for assistance, was now engaged in repelling an attack of the Swiss, who, in the

<sup>15</sup> This bell, known by the name of *George d'Amboise*, was founded in 1501. It measures thirty feet in circumference, and ten in diameter: the clapper weighs seven hundred and ten pounds; and the bell itself, forty thousand.

month of September, had made an irruption into the duchy of Milan. They had already taken Como, and Lewis was fearful that they would soon penetrate farther into the Milanese; but he was released from his apprehensions at a time when he had least reason to expect it. The Swiss soldiers having applied to their officers to advance them some pay, experienced a refusal, which enraged them so much that they immediately mutinied, and returned to Bellinzone. At the same time the Venetian general had laid siege to Verona, of which la Palisse was governor, who, in a sally planned with judgment, and executed with vigour, defeated the enemy, and compelled them to retire with considerable loss. They were equally unsuccessful in two different attempts which they made upon Genoa, in concert with the pope; their fleet was defeated by the French, and afterwards dispersed in a storm. The republic, disheartened by such repeated losses, solicited Julius to give peace to Italy; but such a proposal by no means coincided with the ambitious plans of that turbulent pontiff.

The king, who had with difficulty prevailed on himself to bear arms against the successor of St. Peter, and who was incessantly tormented by the complaints and scruples of the queen, convoked, at Tours, in the month of September, 1510, an assembly of the Gallican church, to which he explained the motives of his conduct; and desired to know, whether he could in conscience wage war against the pope. The assembly replied, that his motives were just, and those of his adversary unjust, and that it was his duty not only to act on the defensive, but to carry the war into the enemy's country. After this decision, the king forbade his subjects to hold any commerce with the court of Rome.

Chaumont had an opportunity of finishing the war by a single blow, since the pope and the whole conclave had repaired to Bologna, which he might easily have reduced. The Bentivoglios, who were attached to France, urged him to profit by the opportunity, and invest a place, the reduction of which would be greatly facilitated by the secret correspondence they maintained with some of the principal inhabitants: but Chaumont, who had already lost time in a fruitless attempt on Modena, and in throwing succours into Verona, which was on the point of revolting, suffered himself to be detained, at the distance of three leagues from Bologna, by Pic de la Mirandola, who was sent by the pope to open a negotiation with the French. Pic was himself deceived by the treacherous pontiff, whom he believed to be really desirous of peace; Chaumont was of the same opinion, and he accordingly dictated terms which Julius feigned to accept; but while the French were thus employed in settling the plan of an accommodation, the Spaniards and Venetians sent a strong body of forces into Bologna, and Chaumont was obliged to retire, oppressed with shame at having been the dupe of an unprincipled priest. Julius now laid siege to Mirandola; and the progress of his forces not equalling his expectation, the vicar of Jesus Christ appeared in the trenches, clad in complete armour, exhorting his troops to the attack; and, on the surrender of the city, caused himself to be carried in military triumph through the breach of the wall.



A. D. 1511.] Ferdinand of Arragon had, at last, thrown off the mask, in consequence of having received from the pope the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, on condition that he should every year present a white palfrey to the sovereign pontiff, and supply him with a body of three hundred lances whenever he should be engaged in a war. Ferdinand, not content with entering into a league with Julius against France, endeavoured to make the emperor follow his example; but failing in this point, he offered himself as mediator between the pope and the confederates. Some fruitless negotiations were the consequence of this offer, which only served to shew the aversion of the pontiff from all pacific measures. After attempting, in vain, to corrupt the ambassadors of Lewis and Maximilian, and to promote dissensions in Genoa and Florence, he intrigued with the court of England, which was now ruled by Henry the Eighth, to whom Margaret of Austria—apprized of the pope's machinations—wrote on the occasion, to deter him from engaging in schemes that were hostile to the interests of his kingdom. Julius created eight new cardinals, in order to oppose a part of the Holy College who had declared for France, and retiring to Milan, had just summoned, with the approbation of the emperor and the king, a general council to meet at Pisa, on the first of September.

Chaumont dying soon after the reduction of Mirandola, the command of the French forces devolved on the marshal Triulzi, who opened the campaign by the siege of Concordia, which he took, and then marched against Bologna. On the approach of the French the pope retired to Ravenna, and the inhabitants of Bologna, attached to their old masters, the Bentivoglios, compelled the garrison to lay down their arms, and received the French into the city; the rear of the papal army was attacked by the French, who took all their artillery and baggage; the Venetians also sustained a defeat, and had Triulzi pursued his advantage, he might have secured the pope in Ravenna, and put an end to the war; but Lewis, actuated by the same ridiculous scruples as his wife, had given the most positive orders not to push matters to extremities. This ill-timed moderation revived the arrogance and vindictive spirit of the Roman pontiff, who now repaired to Rome, where he had the mortification to find himself cited to attend the council of Pisa, under the simple denomination of cardinal San Pietro di Vincola. Julius was at first intimidated by these proceedings, and opened a negotiation with Lewis; but he soon changed his mind, and having determined to oppose council to council, summoned another to meet at Rome on the nineteenth of April, 1512, excommunicated the six cardinals who had convoked the council of Pisa, and expelled them from the sacred college. The council of Pisa, which did not meet till the twentieth of October, produced nothing of importance; no bishops, either from Germany or the Netherlands, attended. The Pisans, alarmed at the interdict imposed on their city by the pope, compelled the fathers of the council to transfer it to Milan; whence an invasion of the Swiss obliged them to remove to Lyons. Julius was tried and deposed by this council, but no one was appointed to succeed him in the Papal throne; in revenge, that pontiff laid the whole kingdom of France, and the city of Lyons in particular, under an interdict.

Gaston de Foix, nephew to the king, who had lately been created duke of Nemours, was now appointed governor of the Milanese; and though Lewis was blamed for entrusting so important a command to so young a man, who had scarcely attained his twenty-third year, yet the subsequent conduct of the duke fully justified the choice of his sovereign. Chabannes, lord of la Palisse, was, at the same time, sent into Italy, with a considerable reinforcement of troops, and with orders to be guided in his operations by the commands of Maximilian. The emperor, whose army was not yet prepared to take the field, ordered la Palisse to dislodge the Venetians from a strong post which they occupied not far from Vicenza; having performed this task, and taken the Venetian general prisoner, he reduced Suana, at the beginning of August; then pursuing his march to Padua, he undertook to turn the stream which supplied that city with water, but as he was preparing to put this plan in execution, he received orders from the emperor to enter the province of Friuli, where, in a short time, he dispossessed the Venetians of almost every town and fortress in that country, and these republicans once more retired to their capital, having lost all their places on the continent, except Padua and Trevigi.

During the victorious progress of la Palisse, the Swiss had entered the Milanese, which was almost destitute of troops: Gaston, the governor of the duchy, retired before the invaders, to the suburbs of Milan, where he was invested by the Swiss, who expected to receive succours from the pope and the Venetians; but being disappointed in their expectations, and Gaston's army daily receiving some accession of strength, they retired, with precipitation, into their own country; while Gaston profited by their absence to put the duchy in a proper state of defence.

On the twentieth of October, 1511, according to Mezerai<sup>16</sup>, Julius concluded a league with the Venetians, and the king of Arragon, against France; the avowed object of which was, to restore harmony to the church, to annihilate the council of Pisa, to recover the territories of the church, and to expel from Italy all who should oppose such salutary measures. It was agreed that Ferdinand should supply twelve hundred lances, one thousand light-horse, and ten thousand infantry; the Venetians, eight hundred lances, one thousand light-horse, and eight thousand foot; and the pope, four hundred men at arms, five hundred light-horse, and six thousand infantry: Julius and the Venetians engaged to advance twenty thousand ducats for the support of the Spanish troops; the fleet was to consist of twelve Spanish and fourteen Venetian galleys. Don Ramondo di Cardona, viceroy of Naples, was appointed to command the army of this league, which was dignified with the appellation of *Holy*. Some efforts were made to induce Henry the Eighth and Maximilian

<sup>16</sup> Histoire de France, tom. vii. p. 201. But Guicciardini says it was signed at Rome on the fourth of October, and published at Venice on the twentieth. Tom. ii. lib. x. p. 402, note a.



to join the confederacy ; but those monarchs rejected, for the present, the solicitations of the pope, though they already evinced a disposition hostile to Lewis.

A. D. 1512.] The army of the Holy League entered Romagna in the month of November, and after reducing all the places belonging to the duke of Ferrara, beyond the Po, laid siege to Bastia. The governor signalized his courage in defence of the town, but he was unfortunately killed in the breach with a great part of his garrison ; and the Spaniards, in revenge for the loss they had sustained in the attack, put the rest to the sword, together with numbers of the inhabitants. The duke of Ferrara did not give them time to repair the fortification, but attacking the Spaniards on every side, he obtained a complete victory, and recovered Bastia the same day on which it was taken. This check, however, did not prevent the Spaniards from laying siege to Bologna, to the assistance of which Gaston had already detached two thousand Germans and two hundred Gendarmes, under the command of Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, a young warrior of twenty ; Yves d'Alegre, and some other experienced captains ; but this succour was insufficient for the defence of the city, which must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if a difference of opinion among the Spanish generals had not occasioned a considerable loss of time. Peter Navarre, the second in command, promised to take the town by springing a mine ; and while he was making the necessary preparations, the besieged received a fresh reinforcement, and adopted a resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity ; the failure of the mine only tended to encrease the courage of the garrison. Gaston profited by these delays, and collecting his troops, marched to Bologna, and entered the city, under cover of a prodigious fall of snow, unperceived by the assailants, who instantly retired from before the place.

The Venetians, meanwhile, had obtained possession of Brescia, through the treachery of count Lewis Avogaro, who resided in that city. Gaston no sooner received the news of this event than he determined to recover the place ; he accordingly left a garrison in Bologna, sent succours to Ferrara, and, after marching forty leagues in the depth of winter, arrived, in the night of the fourteenth of February, before the town of Brescia. Bayard and Taligni, who had preceded the army, attacked and defeated a body of Venetians, and made a great number of prisoners ; an abbey, near one of the gates of the city, was invested by d'Alegre, who forced an entrance, and put the troops stationed to defend it to the sword.

The day after his arrival, Gaston, and his army, entered the citadel, which still held out for the French. A council of war being called, a general assault was determined on ; Gonet, governor of the citadel, marched at the head of the Gascons ; and Bayard followed on foot, with his men at arms. The contest was long and bloody ; but the superior courage and discipline of the French at length prevailed, and the Venetians were every where routed : d'Alegre being stationed at the gate of Saint John, the only gate that was open,

to intercept them in their flight, a dreadful carnage ensued; Mezerai<sup>17</sup> says they lost eight thousand men; other writers have encreased this number to twelve thousand, but Guicciardini<sup>18</sup>, who lived at the time, reduces their loss to eight hundred; according to his account, indeed, all the Venetian forces then in Brescia did not amount to twelve thousand men. The town was pillaged and sacked; one house only escaped, through the generosity of Bayard, who had been conveyed thither, after receiving a dangerous wound, and who repaid the hospitality of its inhabitants, by the preservation of their lives and property. Federigo Contareno, the Venetian provvéditore, was killed; Andrew Gritti, and Antonio Giustiniano, two of their generals, with several other noblemen, were taken prisoners. The count d'Avogaro and his son, who had betrayed the town into the hands of the Venetians, were beheaded. The pillage of Brescia, then the most opulent city in Lombardy, proved the ruin of the army: the troops, enriched with the booty they had acquired, deserted in crowds, and none but raw recruits remained, whose zeal was insufficient to supply their want of experience.

At this period, Gaston received orders from the king to hazard a decisive action, since the situation of his affairs rendered it absolutely necessary to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. The emperor's conduct gave reason to apprehend that he would soon be induced to yield to the solicitations of the sovereign pontiff; the king of England evinced a similar disposition; all hopes of an accommodation with the Swiss were at an end; and the Florentines themselves seemed inclined to favour the pope, who had lately revoked the sentence of excommunication he had passed on them, and had returned them thanks for having compelled the fathers of the council to quit Pisa, and retire to Milan.

In consequence of these orders, Gaston entered Romagna with an army composed of eighteen thousand foot, besides a numerous cavalry, but as Ferdinand had expressly ordered his generals to avoid an action, he had considerable difficulty in effecting his purpose. He took, in sight of the Spanish army, the towns of Castel di Solarolo, Cotignolo and Grannarolo; and, at length, laid siege to Ravenna. The Spaniards had pledged themselves to Mark Anthony Colonna, who commanded the town, to march to his relief in case the French should attack him; they accordingly advanced to within two miles of Ravenna, where they fixed their camp; still, however, resolved, if possible, to avoid an action. Gaston, having in vain endeavoured to allure them into the plain, at length came to a resolution of attacking their camp. On the eleventh of April, the French army passed the river Ronco; the van, commanded by the duke of Ferrara, was composed of the German infantry, and seven hundred Gendarmes; in the center were stationed all the French infantry, with five thousand Italians; the rear consisted of six hundred lances,

<sup>17</sup> Tom. vii. p. 201.

<sup>18</sup> Tom. ii. lib. x. p. 445.



and was led by la Palisse, and cardinal San Severino ; Yves d'Alegre commanded the corps-de-reserve, which was composed of four hundred lances. Gaston stationed himself in no particular place, that he might be at liberty to repair wherever his presence might be required. The enemy, meanwhile, had strongly fortified their camp, and appeared determined not to leave it, though the French artillery made considerable havock among their troops. But Fabricio Colonna, enraged at seeing his cavalry destroyed without fighting, disobeyed the orders of the viceroy, and advanced towards the French; the Spaniards being obliged to follow them, the action became general. Equal skill and courage were long displayed on either side : Colonna, who had pierced the ranks of the French, was attacked in his turn, and with such resistless impetuosity, that he was compelled to leave the field ; and the viceroy, Cordonna, soon became the companion of his flight. Navarre, who commanded the infantry, still kept his ground : twelve hundred of his men defeated a detachment of Gascons, and endeavoured to throw themselves into Ravenna ; but being attacked by a body of cavalry, under the bastard du Fay, they were compelled to give up this attempt, and join their leader, who defended himself, with extraordinary courage and presence of mind, against the attacks of the whole French army : at length the Germans, animated by the spirit of revenge for the loss of their leader, rushed on the enemy with incredible fury ; one of them, a man of uncommon strength, cut his way through their ranks, and opened, at the expence of his life, a road for his comrades: the opportunity was eagerly seized, and successfully improved: Navarre being wounded in several places, was taken prisoner, and his troops, pressed on all sides, were soon dispersed with great slaughter. The victory was complete, and among the prisoners, who were numerous, was the cardinal de Medicis, the pope's legate.

In this celebrated battle, Gaston displayed the qualities of a consummate and experienced leader: hitherto he had escaped unhurt, but perceiving a body of Spaniards, who were retiring in good order, he imprudently rushed forward to attack them, accompanied only by about twenty gentlemen. The consequence was such as might have been expected; his cousin, Lautrec, was wounded at his side ; Gaston's horse was killed under him, and he himself, after having fought with the most heroic courage, fell, pierced with fourteen wounds. In vain did Lautrec exclaim—" 'Tis Gaston, 'tis the brother of your queen, do " not kill him."—The Spaniards, deaf to his cries, and bent on revenge, vented their cowardly rage on the unarmed and defenceless hero.

Never was any commander more deeply regretted ; and never was any one more deserving of regret: the mental endowments of Gaston corresponded to his personal accomplishments; and had his courage been tempered by prudence, he would have been as much admired as a general as he was esteemed as a man. His body was carried to his tent by his gentlemen, amidst the lamentations of the army, whose grief for the loss of their leader greatly exceeded their joy for the victory they had gained. This last imprudent attack proved fatal to Yves d'Alegre, his son, the lord of Molard, and several other noblemen, who

who lost their lives in defending their commander. The French called on la Palisse to place himself at their head, and conjured him to lead them, without delay to the attack of Ravenna. That city was taken by assault, while the generals were engaged in a parley, through the fault of Jacquin Caumont, a German captain, whom la Palisse caused to be immediately hanged; but he was unable to restrain the soldiers, who, under pretence of revenging the death of Gaston, committed the most dreadful disorders. Calonna surrendered the citadel, and Vitelli, having withdrawn the garrison from Città de Castello, that town opened its gates to the French.

The Romans now trembled within their walls; the treacherous pontiff deemed his deposition inevitable; and had la Palisse continued his victorious progress, the total reduction of Italy might have been effected with ease; but he did not dare to proceed until he had received orders from the king. Lewis, unable to profit by the splendid victory he had obtained, was soon obliged to recal his forces from Italy to the defence of his own dominions. The troops, on their return to the Milanese, paid the last duties to the duke of Nemours, whose body was deposited in the metropolitan church of Milan, where the marks of his victory served as trophies for his tomb; but these honourable embellishments were soon removed by the Spaniards, whose malignant revenge led them to destroy the tomb itself; thus disturbing the ashes of a hero, who, when alive, had made the boldest of them tremble.

Meanwhile, the cardinals, alarmed at the rapid progress of the French, and shocked, we must hope, at the vast effusion of blood occasioned by these destructive wars, on their knees conjured the pope to give peace to Europe: but the profligate pontiff delighted in blood, and cared not how many of his fellow-creatures were sacrificed to the gratification of his own boundless ambition. He feigned, however, a compliance with their wishes, and once more imposed on the candour and consideration of Lewis, by talking of a peace which he had resolved not to conclude. The cardinal de Medicis, though a prisoner, confirmed him in this resolution: having found means to ingratiate himself with the cardinals of the council of Pisa, he obtained permission to send a messenger to Rome, under pretext of arranging some domestic concerns, but in fact, to inform the pontiff of the situation to which the French were reduced. It was such, that their army appeared rather to have suffered a defeat, than to have obtained a victory; it was considerably diminished by sickness and desertion; all discipline was destroyed; and la Palisse enjoyed the title of general, without any portion of a general's authority. To complete their misfortunes, the king's commissary, to whom the task of recruiting the army was entrusted, dismissed, from a spirit of economy, all the recruits he had raised; and Maximilian, in consequence of a truce which he had concluded with the Venetians, sent orders to the Germans to quit the French camp without delay.



Thus la Palisse was left alone to oppose the Swiss, who had rushed, like a torrent, into the Milanese. In vain did he write to the General of Normandy (that was the title which the king's commissary bore) to levy fresh recruits; his letter, in which he expatiated on the dreadful situation to which he was reduced, fell into the hands of the Swiss, whose courage it served to inflame. They immediately joined the Venetians, the Grisons having granted them a free passage through their territories, under a pretence of being compelled thereto by ancient treaties. They experienced no greater difficulty in crossing the territories belonging to the emperor. The Italian princes, who had been shaken by the battle of Ravenna, observing the wretched situation of the French, either renewed their treaties with the pope, or remained in a state of inactivity. The object of the confederates was to recover from Lewis the duchy of Milan, which la Palisse was wholly unable to defend. Maximilian wished to secure it for his grandson, Ferdinand, who had been brought up in Spain; and the king of Arragon wanted it for himself; but the Swiss, the pope, and all the Italian princes, who equally feared both those powers, and were desirous of giving the duchy to a prince who was dependent on themselves, destined it for Maximilian Sforza, son to Ludovico, a young prince whose talents and merit but ill-accommodated with the graces of his person. Ludovico himself had just expired at the castle of Loches, at the very time, as some historians have asserted, that the king, wishing to oppose him to the enemies of France, had come to a resolution to replace the ducal crown upon his head.

Young Sforza, conducted by the Swiss and the confederates, was received, amidst the acclamations of the people, in all the towns in the Milanese, which la Palisse was obliged to abandon; while the rear of the French army was cut to pieces at the passage of Tesino. The revolution soon became general: Milan, Lodi, and several other towns, preserved themselves from pillage by the payment of considerable sums, which were given to the Swiss. Bologna implored the clemency of Julius, who was, with difficulty, prevailed on to pardon the inhabitants; it is even pretended, that but for his death, which fortunately occurred soon after, that beautiful city would have been consigned to destruction. Florence again submitted to the authority of the Medici. The French had evacuated the duchy of Milan, excepting some few places, which soon surrendered. Genoa once more revolted, revived the ancient form of government, and raised James Fregoso to the dignity of doge. Maximilian Sforza was acknowledged as duke of Milan, and the Swiss still continued to ravage that beautiful country. The cardinal de Medicis escaped from the French, and repaired to Rome; while the cardinals of the council of Pisa, who had retired to Lyons, were condemned by the council of Lateran, opened by the pope on the sixteenth of November, when the interdict which had been imposed on the kingdom of France was renewed: Julius even wished to transfer the title of Most Christian King from Lewis to Henry the Eighth, that is, from one of the most virtuous to one of the most vicious monarchs that ever existed. The emperor Maximilian, strange as it may appear, actually aspired to the triple crown. There is a letter of his to his daughter  
Margaret,



Margaret, still extant, dated the twenty-eighth of September, 1512; in which he tells her, that—"He is endeavouring to get himself appointed co-adjutor to Julius, in order that he may afterward become pope; and that it will be a glorious thing for her, after having honoured him as a father and as emperor, to honour him as pope, and as a saint."—Julius, doubtless, profited by this strange idea, to bind the emperor to his interest.

Lewis, meanwhile, after seeing all his Italian conquests wrested from him, found his kingdom threatened by an invasion of the English. Henry the Eighth had sent a herald to Paris, to exhort the king not to wage impious war against the sovereign pontiff; and when he returned without success, another was sent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces of the English crown, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy: this message was understood to be a declaration of war, and Lewis accordingly prepared for the consequences. Henry was advised, by Ferdinand the Catholic, not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him, but exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined, the English had still some adherents. Ferdinand promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army; and so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. The marquis of Dorset commanded this armament, which consisted of ten thousand men, mostly infantry.

But the secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this affectation of concern for the interests of the English monarch, was to secure for himself the kingdom of Navarre, the conquest whereof he had long meditated; and as John d'Albret, the sovereign, was connected by friendship and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity seemed favourable to the king of Aragon, while the English forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Pisa lay under the sentence of excommunication, to put himself in possession of these dominions. No sooner, therefore, was Dorset landed in Guipuscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him with his forces, to make, with united arms, an invasion of France, and to form the siege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne<sup>19</sup>: but he remarked to the English general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in close alliance with France, could easily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide against so dangerous an event, he required that John d'Albret should stipulate a neutrality in the present war; and when

<sup>19</sup> Herbert.—Hollingshead, p. 813.—Hume.



that prince expressed his willingness to enter into any engagement for that purpose, he also required, that security should be given for the strict observance of it. D'Albret having likewise agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded, that he should deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places of his dominions, together with his eldest son, as a hostage. These were not terms to be proposed to a sovereign; and as the monarch expected a refusal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invasion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva soon made himself master of all the smaller towns, and being ready to form the siege of Pampeluna, the capital, he summoned the marquis of Dorset to join him with the English army, and concert together all their operations.

Dorset began to suspect the insidious designs of Ferdinand, and having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, he refused to take any part in the enterprize, and therefore remained in his quarters at Fontarabia. But so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the English army lay in that situation, it was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that Alva, having full leisure to conduct the siege, made himself master of Pampeluna, and obliged John to seek for shelter in France, whither his consort, queen Catherine, had retired before him. That spirited princess, mortified at the loss of her crown, could not refrain from exclaiming to her husband—“*Had I been John, and you Catherine, we should never have lost our kingdom.*”

The Spanish general applied again to Dorset, and proposed to conduct, with united counsels, the operations of the *Holy League* against Lewis; but Dorset, by this time convinced of Ferdinand's perfidy, insisted on being supplied with vessels to return to England; and though, previous to his embarkation, an order came from Henry, for him to remain in Spain, the soldiers were so discontented with the treatment they had experienced, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to set sail for England.

The English acquired little honour from this ill-conducted enterprize, and an action at sea, which occurred soon after, produced nothing more decisive. An English fleet of forty-five sail, under the command of Sir Thomas Knevet, was sent to insult the coasts of Brittany; after they had committed some depredations, they were met and attacked by a French fleet of thirty-nine sail, under the conduct of Primauguet. Primauguet's ship took fire, and that officer, finding his destruction inevitable, bore down upon the vessel of the English admiral, and, grappling with her, resolved to make her share his fate. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men saw with horror the flames which consumed both vessels, and heard the cries of fury and despair, which came from the miserable combatants. At last the French ship  
blew.

blew up, and, at the same time, destroyed the English <sup>20</sup>. The rest of the French fleet made their escape into different harbours.

Lewis, meanwhile, anxious to enforce the restoration of John d'Albret, sent an army into Navarre, under the command of the duke of Valois. John accompanied the duke, and, at his approach, many of the towns voluntarily rose in his favour, while some others were reduced by arms. But when the French formed the siege of Pampeluna, they were opposed by the whole force of Spain; and being destitute of provision, and moreover unable to cope with such a powerful army, they raised the siege and returned to France: their retreat was followed by the total subjection of Navarre to the power of Spain. During these transactions, the king and the duke of Ferrara had opened, by means of a monk, a private negotiation with the prince of Tarento, who was still a prisoner at the Spanish court, for the purpose of placing him on the throne of his father; and his partizans only waited for his arrival at Naples to declare openly in his favour: Cupolo, a Neapolitan nobleman, had repaired to Spain, in order to accompany him on his voyage, and every thing being prepared for their departure, they were on the point of setting out, when the plot was detected; in consequence of which Cupolo lost his life, and the young prince was committed to close custody, in the fortress of Xativa.

Ferdinand, anxious to secure his new conquest, and interested in preventing a farther extension of the Papal or Venetian power in Italy, consented to a truce with France for one year.

A. D. 1513.] Lewis was, by this time, fully convinced of the consequence of detaching the Swiss from their alliance with the pope; la Trémouille, therefore, for whom they had always evinced a marked predilection, was sent to Switzerland, in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary; but they refused to hold any commerce with him. Triulzi, who held a considerable rank among this mercenary people, also exerted his influence in favour of France; but he met with no better success, and la Trémouille was obliged to return without fulfilling the object of his embassy. At the same time the king received proposals for an accommodation from Maximilian and from the Venetians; between which he was at a loss to chuse, for by declaring himself the ally of one, he would necessarily be considered as an enemy by the other; since their interests were totally opposite, the emperor wishing to establish his power in Italy, and the Venetians being anxious to promote his expulsion from that country. The pope, who had been reduced to the same alternative, had abandoned the Venetians in favour of Maximilian, who had consented to renounce the council of Pisa, and to acknowledge that of Lateran. The emperor proposed to sign a treaty with Lewis, on condition that the princess Renée, the

<sup>20</sup> Pelydore Virgil, lib. xxvii.—Stowe, p. 490.—Languet's Epitome of Chronicles, fol. 273.



king's youngest daughter, should marry one of his grandsons, and be immediately sent to the Imperial court; but the tender years and delicate constitution of that princess, exciting apprehensions for her life, in case she were married too soon, the queen opposed her departure, and Maximilian immediately put a stop to all farther negotiation.

The Venetians still continued to solicit the friendship of a prince, who having proved his ability to destroy, might, they conceived, be able to restore them to their pristine splendour, or, at least, to preserve them from the dangerous encroachments of their powerful neighbours. The matter was debated in council, and more inconveniences than advantages were deemed likely to spring from the projected alliance; but the influence of Triulzi, who was extremely anxious to promote it, prevailed; and Andrew Gritti, then a prisoner to Lewis, being released, received ample powers from the republic of Venice, and appeared as their ambassador at the court of France. Julius did not live to be informed of this treaty, which was concluded but a few days before his death: he died as he had lived, a stranger to the principles of christianity; instead of expressing his remorse for the numerous sins of his life, his last moments were only embittered by regret at not having lived to fulfil his projects of ambition, and to complete his schemes of vengeance. What Guicciardini has said of the cardinal San Severino may, with greater justice, be applied to Julius—"He was more disposed to martial achievements and to feats of arms, than to acts of devotion and pious meditations."—As a man, he was treacherous, faithless, and vindictive; as a minister of religion his conduct was still more detestable; and his memory must ever be holden in abhorrence by all who are not inclined to think that splendid talents afford an adequate compensation for the absence of every virtue.

Julius died on the twenty-first of February, 1513, and on the eleventh of March following the cardinal de Medicis—who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna—was appointed to succeed him in the Papal throne. The new pontiff, who assumed the appellation of Leo the Tenth, prosecuted with diligence and ability the plans of his predecessor. The death of Julius produced but little alteration in the affairs of Italy; the Spaniards took possession of Parma and Piacenza, which were evacuated by the troops of the church, and the people swore allegiance to the duke of Milan. The duke of Ferrara recovered some places which had been taken from him by the pope, but the Spaniards recovered the cities of Modena and Reggio, which formed a part of his territories.

The king of England had obtained a supply from the parliament for the prosecution of the war with France, and the most formidable preparations were now making for that purpose. The dread of an invasion deterred Lewis from passing into Italy as he had intended, and la Trémouille was appointed commander of the troops destined for that expedition, who were to be joined by the Venetians. On the appointed day, the army of  
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the republic took the field under the conduct of Alviano, who had been released by the French. La Trémouille, on his arrival in Italy, recovered in one-and-twenty days, the whole duchy of Milan, except the towns of Como and Novara. Sforza had retired to Novara, where he was invested by the French; but on the news that ten thousand Swiss, followed by a second army of five thousand, were advancing to the relief of the place, which it was found impossible to take by assault; the breach not being yet practicable, la Trémouille determined to suspend the operations of the siege, and march to attack the Swiss before their two armies should have effected a junction. Triulzi received orders to proceed, without stopping, as far as Trecario; but under pretence that his troops were fatigued, he pitched his camp on the road in a marshy place, where the different corps of the army were so divided that it was impossible for them, in case of attack, to afford timely assistance to each other. La Trémouille, on his arrival with the rear of the army, immediately reproached Triulzi with the fault he had committed, which he would fain have repaired by continuing his march, but it was too late, and he was compelled to pass the night on the spot. The next morning (June the sixth) before day-break he was attacked by the Swiss, whose forces were superior to his own, as a part of his troops were still in Savoy: la Trémouille drew up his army in order of battle, while his artillery made considerable havock among the enemy; but, after an obstinate resistance, the French and Lansquenets were routed, and seven thousand of them left dead on the field. La Trémouille, who was wounded in the action, effected his retreat with the remainder of his troops to Vercelli, whence he proceeded to Sufa. The French lost on this occasion seven-and-twenty pieces of cannon.

The Milanese now again submitted to the domination of Sforza, and the Swiss exacted heavy contributions from all the towns which had opened their gates to the French. Genoa, which had likewise been reduced by la Trémouille, was retaken by the Spaniards, who restored Octavian Fregoso to the dignity of Doge. The Venetian general, Alviano, who had entered the duchy of Milan, retired with precipitation, reduced Lignano, and made an ineffectual attempt on Verona. Leo having joined the Spaniards, their united forces committed dreadful depredations on the Venetian territories, which induced Alviano to risk an action near Vicenza, in which he sustained a total defeat.

Lewis was wholly unable to afford his allies that effectual relief which their distressed situation seemed to require; his own dominions were threatened with attacks on every side, and his troops barely sufficient to defend his kingdom against the numerous enemies with which it was surrounded. Picardy and Burgundy were exposed to imminent danger, but the misconduct of the English saved the one, and the prudence of la Trémouille preserved the other.

Five-and-twenty thousand Swiss made an irruption into Franche-Comté, where they were joined by a body of Imperialists, and after laying waste the country, they



they laid siege to Dijon. That place was not in a state of defence; yet la Trémouille, who was governor of Burgundy, threw himself into it, with the resolution to hold out to the last extremity; and when the town should be no longer tenable, to repair to some other, so as to prevent the enemy from penetrating to the capital. The magistrates and people of Dijon were in the greatest consternation; the Gendarmes had entered the city, and were distributed in different parts, with orders to encourage the citizens; the infantry were posted on the ramparts, the cannon pointed, and the gates blocked up except two—that which led to Paris, left open for the convenience of receiving succours, and facilitating a retreat, in case of necessity; and that which faced the enemy's camp. The governor sent an officer to the king to demand succours, while Mouffi had orders—which he could not execute—to open a negociation with the Swiss. The people, in alarm, followed the magistrates to the palace, whither la Trémouille had summoned them to attend: he there reproached them with their want of spirit: “If we cannot conquer”—said he—“we can at least hold out till the arrival of succours, which are not far off. Observe our preparations; look on that formidable train of artillery; the very sight of it has already stricken the Swiss with terror; what, then, will be the case, when it shall begin to play upon them?” But the eloquence of la Trémouille was insufficient to revive the drooping spirits of the inhabitants; *that* the arrival of succours could alone effect, and the king was unable to send any: he apprized la Trémouille of his inability, and told him, that being attacked on all sides, he was under the necessity of entrusting solely to his prudence for the defence of Burgundy. The letter which conveyed these dismal tidings was kept secret by la Trémouille, who immediately took his resolution, and repaired to the enemy's camp, where, without betraying any symptoms of fear, or assuming a misplaced confidence, he offered them peace. “On two conditions”—replied the Swiss—*we will accept it;—Money for ourselves, and Burgundy for the emperor.*” This proposal was rejected with disdain by la Trémouille, who harangued the Swiss with so much energy, that those who had at first been most violent against him, now listened to him with patience; meanwhile his secret partisans exerted their influence; and the Swiss, by degrees, began to relax: he seized, with judicious eagerness, the favourable moment, and instantaneously concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to pay them six hundred thousand crowns, part of which was immediately advanced; and for the payment of the remainder he gave them his nephew and some other persons as hostages: he assured the Swiss that the king should be reconciled to them, should renounce the council of Pisa, and cede to them several places in the Milanese. The inhabitants of Dijon were transported with joy at the news of this treaty: they cheerfully contributed to supply a part of the promised sum, and the Swiss immediately returned to their own country. In signing the treaty la Trémouille had rendered a signal service to the state; but the king, not having authorised him to take such a step, thought himself justified in refusing to ratify the terms. The Swiss threatened to revenge themselves on the hostages they had received, but were at length prevailed on, by the payment of a considerable sum, by way of ransom, to restore them.

While

While the Swiss were in Burgundy, Henry, king of England, had landed at Calais, with an army of fifty thousand men: he was soon after joined by Maximilian, with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new-levied forces. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, the emperor enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a day, as one of his subjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the English camp, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert, who had landed first with the vanguard of the army, had formed the siege of Teroüane, a town situated on the frontiers of Picardy. Teligny and Crequi, who commanded in the town, made a stout resistance, but at the expiration of a month, finding themselves without provisions, they apprized the king of their situation, who sent orders to de Piennes, governor of the province, to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this small force he made an unexpected irruption into the English camp, and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the fossée of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. They immediately returned on a gallop, and were so fortunate as again to break through the English, and to suffer little or no loss in this dangerous attempt. But the French cavalry, who had advanced to support this detachment, in case of necessity, having thrown aside their helmets and cuirasses, on account of the extreme heat, and moving carelessly on without order or regularity, were suddenly attacked by the English, on the eighteenth of August, when so far from defending themselves with their usual courage, they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. The duke of Longueville, Buffi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, and several other officers, were taken prisoners: Bayard was among the number, but the manner in which he was taken deserves to be noticed. Being abandoned by his men, and left almost alone, he perceived an English man at arms, who tired with pursuing the fugitives, was resting himself at the foot of a tree; Bayard rode up to him, and putting his sword to his breast, told him to surrender himself or he was a dead man. The soldier, who was unarmed complied with the demand, when Bayard, resigning his own sword to him, said "And I, too, am your prisoner, on condition that you will restore me my sword, in case we are attacked on the road." Bayard was then conducted to the enemy's camp, where he was received with great distinction by the emperor and the king of England. Henry would fain have engaged him to enter his service, but Bayard, faithful to his sovereign, rejected his solicitations. A few days after the battle, Bayard expressed a wish to return to the French camp, pretending that he was no prisoner; the matter was referred to the emperor, who declared



him free to return, but exacted a promise that Bayard should not bear arms against him for six weeks.

Meanwhile the defeat or rather rout, of the French troops in the late action, which is sometimes called the battle of Guinegatte, from the place where it was fought, but more commonly *The Battle of Spurs*, because the French, on that day, made more use of their spurs than their swords, had occasioned the greatest consternation in the capital, whither it was expected the English would immediately march, since there was nothing on the road to impede the progress of their troops. But Lewis heard, with great pleasure, that instead of pushing their victory, they had returned to the siege of Teroüane. The governors were obliged, soon after, to surrender, and Henry found his acquisition of so little moment, though gained at the expence of some blood, and much valuable time, that he immediately demolished the fortifications, in direct violation of the terms of capitulation <sup>21</sup>.

The English were again at liberty to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity their arms had procured for effectually crushing the power of France. But the measures of Henry shewed equal ignorance in the art of war with that which the Swiss had recently betrayed in negotiation. Maximilian, desirous of freeing his grandson from a troublesome neighbour, advised the king of England to lay siege to Tournay; and Henry, not considering that such an acquisition would nowise advance his conquests in France, was so imprudent as to follow this interested council. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garrison, the burghers, against the remonstrance of their sovereign, strenuously insisted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themselves, to make a vigorous defence against the enemy <sup>22</sup>. They found themselves, however, inadequate to the task, and, after a few days siege, the place was surrendered to the English <sup>23</sup>. The bishop of Tournay was lately dead, and as a new bishop was already elected by the chapter, but not installed in his office, the king of England bestowed the administration of the see on his favourite, the celebrated cardinal Wolsey. Hearing of the retreat of the Swiss from Burgundy, and observing the season to be far advanced, Henry thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him.

Lewis was thus unexpectedly delivered from a danger as formidable as any that had ever threatened the French monarchy; he was however, tired of the war; and the queen incessantly repeating to him that he could never expect to see it brought to a conclusion so long as he continued at variance with the sovereign pontiff, Lewis, at length, yielded to her importunate solicitations, and suffered her to make overtures to Leo, which were

<sup>21</sup> Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 214.

<sup>22</sup> Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges.

<sup>23</sup> Mezerai, ubi supra.

favourably

favourably received by that pontiff, who did not wish to promote the ruin of France, but only to prevent her monarch from obtaining the duchy of Milan. An accommodation was accordingly effected between Lewis and the pope, the former having previously renounced the council of Pisa, and acknowledged that of Lateran, in consequence whereof the king and kingdom were absolved from all the censures which had been pronounced against them.

A. D. 1514.] The queen did not live to reap the fruits of this accommodation, which she regarded as her own work; she expired at Blois, on the ninth of February, 1514, regretted by the nation, and deeply lamented by the king, by whom she was tenderly beloved. The aversion of Anne from the countess of Angoulême, had made her conceive a dislike to the young duke of Valois, the consummation of whose marriage with her daughter Claude had, on that account, been hitherto prevented; but soon after her death, on the fourteenth of May, 1514, the nuptials were celebrated at Saint Germain-en-Laye.

The Swiss, enraged with the king for his refusal to ratify the treaty they had concluded with la Trémouille, now meditated a fresh invasion of Burgundy, and were busily employed in raising troops for that purpose; but the pope, fearful that Lewis might be unable to sustain a second campaign against such a powerful confederacy, undertook to appease the Swiss, and an accommodation might have been effected, had Lewis possessed less candour and sincerity; but it was a peculiar misfortune attending this prince, that his virtues generally proved prejudicial to his interests. The pope required, as a previous condition, the absolute renunciation of the duchy of Milan; but Lewis assured him it was impossible to comply with his demand, since that duchy had been united to the domain of the crown. In vain did his ministers endeavour to persuade him that the very reason he had urged as an objection, ought to operate with him as the strongest inducement, since the renunciation required, being contrary to the laws of the realm, could not possibly be deemed binding, and he would, therefore, be justified in enforcing his claims on the first favourable opportunity. This equivocation had no effect on the generous monarch, who peremptorily refused to swear to the execution of a treaty which he had no intention of fulfilling: his noble candour put a stop to the negotiation, and once more rendered the pope his enemy.

The truce with Spain, however, was prolonged for a year, and the emperor, hoping to obtain the princess Renée for his grandson Charles, and by that means to secure the duchy of Milan, became less attached to the interests of England. Henry received with indignation the intelligence of the perfidy of his allies: the archduke Charles had, during the life-time of Henry the Seventh, been affianced to Mary, younger sister to the present king of England; and as the prince now approached the age of puberty, that monarch had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and the honourable settlement



element of a sister for whom he entertained a tender affection. The treachery of Maximilian, therefore, enraged him to the highest degree; and as his resentment against Ferdinand was equally strong, the duke of Longueville, who was still detained a prisoner in England, was encouraged to avail himself of his favourable disposition, and to propose a peace, which he knew to be passionately desired by his master. This nobleman represented to Henry, that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, an opportunity was thereby afforded for an affinity which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, and which would serve to terminate honourably all the differences between them: that she had left Lewis no male children; and as he had ever entertained a strong desire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage seemed more suitable to him than that with the princess of England, whose youth and beauty afforded the most flattering hopes in that particular: that though the marriage of a princess of sixteen with a king of fifty-three might seem unsuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a sufficient compensation for this inequality: and that Henry, in loosening his connections with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a close affinity with Lewis, a prince, who, through his whole life, had invariably been guided by the principles of honour and probity<sup>24</sup>.

As Henry seemed to listen with pleasure to these insinuations, Longueville informed his master of the probability, which he discovered, of bringing the matter to a happy conclusion; Lewis, who still grieved for the loss of Anne, his late queen, had no inclination to marry again; but the account he received of the charms of Mary, joined to his desire of promoting the happiness of his people, by the restoration of peace, were motives too strong to be resisted, and he accordingly gave Longueville full powers for negotiating the treaty. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Henry should receive payment of six hundred thousand crowns<sup>25</sup>, as well for arrears of the pension promised by the treaties of Péquigny and Estampes, as to reimburse him for the expences of the war; and that the princess Mary should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the last, who was heiress of Brittany. The two princes also agreed on the succours with which they should mutually supply each other, in case either of them were attacked by an enemy<sup>26</sup>. In consequence of this treaty, Mary was sent over to France with a splendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated on the tenth of October, 1514.

A. D. 1515.] This marriage diffused an universal joy throughout the kingdom, and the court became a scene of festivity and pleasure. Lewis was enchanted with the beau-

<sup>24</sup> Hume:<sup>25</sup> Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 218.<sup>26</sup> Du Tillet.

ty, grace, and numerous accomplishments of his youthful consort, for whose gratification he totally changed his manner of living; but, unfortunately, his excess of affection proved prejudicial to his health; by stimulating a disposition naturally amorous, it led him to indulge too freely in those enjoyments which are ill-suited to the autumn of life. He had been frequently heard to repeat, that—"Love is the king of young, but the tyrant of old men;" and he was condemned to experience the truth of that maxim. His constitution, already shaken, received an additional shock, from a fit of the gout and a slow fever; yet still he continued his preparations for an invasion of Italy; the troops had already advanced to the frontiers, and only waited the return of spring to pass the mountains. The Venetians, having rejected the solicitations of the pope, to conclude a treaty with the emperor, had considerably augmented their forces, and were resolved to second the operations of Lewis. On the other hand, the Swiss had undertaken to guard the Alps, and threatened to exterminate the French. But the execution of these projects were, for a time, suspended, by the death of the best of kings, who, in addition to his other disorders, was seized with a dysentery, at the palace of the Tournelles, in Paris, which brought him to the grave, on the first of January, 1515, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age.

The superior integrity of Lewis, in an age when most of the European princes were actuated by a spirit of perfidy, and made interest the grand object of their pursuits, and the sole rule of their conduct, merits the highest commendations which the pen of the historian can bestow. A professed enemy to falsehood and equivocation, he punished with severity every deviation from truth. Frank, open, candid, affable, and gay, he conciliated the affections of all who knew him, while his attention to the welfare and felicity of his subjects, procured him the honourable appellation of *The Father of his People*. As a politician, indeed, his abilities may be called in question; though the failure of his schemes may, in general, be ascribed to the excellence of his principles; and the monarch who becomes a dupe to his virtues cannot fail to secure the esteem of posterity, while the prince who is indebted for his success to his vices, must be holden in perpetual abhorrence. His inconsiderate expeditions to Italy are certainly obnoxious to censure, for though his claims to the duchy of Milan were incontrovertible, the conquest of Naples was rather influenced by ambition than justice, and occasioned a vast effusion of blood. But how far this one error should be allowed to counterbalance the numerous virtues of Lewis, we must leave to the reader to decide.

Lewis the Twelfth had, by his consort, Anne of Brittany, widow to Charles the Eighth, two sons, who died in their infancy, and two daughters, Claude married to Francis the First, and Renée, who espoused the duke of Ferrara.

Francis had been greatly stricken with the charms of the English princess Mary, wife to Lewis; and, even during his predecessor's life-time, had paid her such assiduous court,



as made some of his friends apprehend that he had a design upon her person. On the death of Lewis, his attention was redoubled ; but being warned, that, by yielding to this propensity, he might probably provide a master for himself, he suffered the fear of losing a crown to subdue his rising passion ; and he even watched the young dowager with a very careful eye, during the first months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, at the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most expert in all the fashionable exercises of the age. He was the English monarch's principal favourite, and Henry had even once intended to give him his sister in marriage, and had encouraged a mutual passion between the youthful pair. The queen now asked Suffolk whether he had the courage, without farther reflection, to espouse her ? and she told him that her brother would more easily be induced to forgive him for not asking his consent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk had too much spirit to decline such an inviting offer ; and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleased with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any advantageous alliance by means of his sister, interposed his good offices in appeasing him ; and his interposition being seconded by the English minister Wolsey, Suffolk and his consort obtained permission to return to England.

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## FRANCIS THE FIRST.

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A. D. 1515.] WITH Lewis the Twelfth expired the elder branch of the house of Orleans, and the sceptre of France was transferred to that of Angoulême. Francis the First succeeded his great-uncle Lewis, without opposition or difficulty: the order of succession was firmly established; and this was the third time, since the accession of the monarchs of the Capetian race, that the crown, in default of heirs male, had passed to a collateral branch. The coronation of Francis was performed at Rheims, on the twenty-fifth of January, amidst the acclamations of a people, whose affections his external endowments, and popular manners, were well calculated to acquire. But the adulation he received had a fatal effect on his conduct, by inflating his pride, and flattering his ambition. The first act of authority he performed, proved the strength of his filial affection—the county of Angoulême was, in favour of his mother, converted into a duchy; the patent of the creation is dated the fourth of February, 1515.

The office of grand-master of the king's household was taken from la Palisse—who was promoted to the dignity of a marshal of France—and conferred on Gonfrier Boissi, governor to Francis; and this nobleman, in conjunction with Florimond Robertet, was entrusted with the chief management of affairs. Hitherto there had only been three marshals of France, but Francis created a fourth, and afterward a fifth: the officers who were now honoured with this distinction were Triulzi, Lautrec, d'Aubigny and la Palisse. The office of constable had lain dormant, ever since the execution of the count of Saint Pol; the jealous policy of Lewis the Eleventh had led that monarch to avoid the bestowal of unnecessary power on any of his subjects, and his son Charles, as well as Lewis the Twelfth, had, in this instance, followed his example. Francis, on the contrary,



trary, hastened to revive it, and the duke of Bourbon was, accordingly, promoted to the dignity of Constable. The seals were taken from Pouchet, bishop of Paris, and entrusted to Anthony Duprat, first president of the parliament of Paris, a man, whose vices and persecuting spirit involved his country in confusion and disgrace.

After regulating the internal administration of his kingdom, Francis turned his attention to foreign affairs. His first care was to renew the treaty of peace which his predecessor had concluded with Henry the Eighth. He received homage from the count of Nassau, in the name of his master, the archduke Charles, for the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois; and he concluded a treaty with that prince, the terms of which it is needless to specify, as the treaty itself was annulled by another which was signed between Charles and Francis, the following year.

During these transactions an attempt was made to procure a renewal and prolongation of the truce with Spain, but this Ferdinand refused, unless Italy and the Milanese were included in the treaty; and Francis having rejected with disdain a proposal which tended to thwart his favourite project, the king of Arragon entered into a league with the emperor Sforza and the Swiss, for the defence of the Milanese: the Swiss engaged to make an irruption into Burgundy, and to spread terror and devastation throughout that fertile province. The pope, at first, hesitated to join this formidable confederacy, but was at length, in the month of July, induced to accede to it. The Venetians, whose safety, in a great measure, depended on the protection of France, renewed with Francis the treaty they had signed with his predecessor. The king, meanwhile, continued to make the most formidable preparations, amused the pope by negotiations, which Leo thought necessary for the concealment of his designs, secured the Genoese in his interest, and engaged Octavian Fregosa to quit the title of doge for that of governor for the king. Every thing being ready for his expedition, the king left Lyons on the fifteenth of August, after he had appointed his mother, Louisa of Savoy, regent of the kingdom during his absence. The character of this princess had a considerable influence on the various transactions which occurred during the reign of her son. In person eminently beautiful, the hand of time had scarcely been able to diminish the splendour of her charms; while the gifts of nature had been carefully improved and embellished by the acquisitions of art. Born with strong talents, and a mind active, courageous, penetrating, and decisive, she aimed at the acquisition of power, and braved, unappalled, the most furious storms of adversity. But, unhappily for the nation, her virtues were greatly overbalanced by her vices: her passions were strong and impetuous, and to their gratification she sacrificed all that a woman should hold dear in life: vain, avaricious, intriguing, and jealous, implacable in her resentments, impatient of controul, and insatiate in her avarice, she thwarted the best-concerted projects of her son, and occasioned the greatest distress to the nation.

In order to supply the necessary funds for his Italian expedition, Francis had recourse to measures the most arbitrary and impolitic. It was on this occasion that the offices of the crown were first exposed to sale, at the instigation of the chancellor Duprat<sup>1</sup>; a dangerous innovation, which was strongly opposed by the parliament, who refused to register it without the usual clause, in all cases where their own judgment was compelled to yield to the plenitude of the regal power, that it was entered in the registers, *by the express command of the king*<sup>2</sup>.

The army destined for this enterprize was formidable from its numbers, and splendid from the rank of its officers and commanders. Besides a great number of nobility, the king was attended by seven princes of the blood-royal. In vain did the kings of England and Spain endeavour, by threats and remonstrances, to deter Francis from the execution of a project, which appeared to be attended with difficulties insurmountable. The Swiss, after laying waste the duchy of Savoy, had secured all the passages of the Alps, to force which it would have been necessary to sustain an action at every defile, in which twenty men might impede the progress of an whole army. Triulzi received information, from a peasant, who inhabited the mountains, of a secret path, which was left unguarded, because believed to be impracticable; and having previously explored it, it was resolved to pursue it. It was necessary to blow up several points of rocks which intercepted the passage of the troops; and Peter Navarre, who had entered the French service, because the king of Spain had refused to pay his ransom when taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, rendered essential service to Francis on this occasion: both the army and the artillery reached the opposite side of the Alps in safety, and unperceived by the Swiss,

<sup>1</sup> Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> When the practice of *verifying* and *registering* the royal edicts in the parliament of Paris became common, the parliament contended that this was necessary in order to give them legal authority. It was established as a fundamental maxim in French jurisprudence, that no law could be published in any other manner; that, without this formality, no edict or ordonnance could have any effect; that the people were not bound to obey it, and ought not to consider it as an edict or ordonnance, until it was verified in the supreme court, after free deliberation. (*Roche-flavin des Parlemens de France*, quarto, p. 192.)—The parliament, as we have already shewn, had, with great fortitude and integrity, opposed the will of their sovereigns, and, notwithstanding their repeated peremptory requisitions and commands, had refused to verify and publish such edicts as it conceived to be oppressive to the people, or subversive of the constitution of the kingdom; and many similar instances of a spirited opposition to arbitrary measures, will appear in the course of this history. But the power of the parliament to maintain and defend this privilege, bore no proportion to its importance, or the courage with which the members asserted it. When any monarch was determined that an edict should be carried into execution, and found the parliament inflexibly resolved not to verify or publish it, he could easily supply this defect by the plenitude of his regal power. Then, according to another maxim of French law, the king himself being present, neither the parliament, nor any magistrate whatever, could exercise any authority, or perform any function. *Ad niente Principe, cessat magistratus*. *Roche-flavin, ibid.* p. 928, 929. *Encyclopedie*, tom. ix. Art. *Lit de Justice*, p. 581.—Thus by an exertion of prerogative, which, though violent, seems to be constitutional, and is justified by innumerable precedents, all the efforts of parliament to limit and controul the king's legislative authority, were rendered ineffectual. *Robertson*.



whose attention was called to another quarter, by some troops of horse, stationed purposely to amuse them, on mount Cenis. The French descended the Alps into the marquisate of Saluzzo, and Bayard surprized Prosper Colonna, the general of the papal forces, who, ignorant of the approach of the French, was negligently encamped, with a thousand cavalry, at Villa-France, near the source of the Po<sup>3</sup>. But two men of the whole detachment escaped: the rest were all killed or taken, and the booty is represented as immense.

This successful beginning inspired the French troops with additional courage; while the allies remained in a state of suspense, and divisions and mistrust began to prevail among them. The viceroy of Naples had intercepted a letter from the pope to the king of France, on the subject of a negociation; and the inactivity of Lorenzo de Medecis confirmed the suspicions of the Spanish general. The Swiss were the only enemies who were actuated by hostile zeal and violent resentment; enraged at their failure in preventing the French from passing the Alps, they had retired into the duchy of Milan, with the resolution to defend it to the last extremity. The king, meanwhile, had joined his army in the plains of Quieras; and the town of Novara immediately surrendered to his arms. The Swiss continued to retreat before him, as if anxious to avoid a battle; owing to a dispute with the cardinal of Sion, who had arrested one of their chiefs, named Albert. The cardinal was obliged to release Albert, who took the road to Berne with a part of his companions, while the rest of their troops lent a favourable ear to a proposal made by the duke of Savoy, in the king's name, to advance them seven hundred thousand crowns, and to give Maximilian Sforza an establishment in France. The treaty appeared to be on the point of conclusion, when the arrival of ten thousand of their countrymen, and the powerful exhortations of the cardinal of Sion, made the Swiss change their mind. Inspired by his eloquence, and inflamed by a kind of military enthusiasm, they furiously marched forwards to attack the lines of the French, who were encamped at Marignano, about a league from Milan.

History scarce affords any example of a battle disputed with greater obstinacy than that of Marignano. It began about four in the afternoon, of the thirteenth of September, and lasted more than three hours after the night closed; when lassitude and darkness separated the combatants, without abating their animosity. The king, who passed the night completely armed, on the carriage of a cannon, was surprized to find himself, at dawn of day, within a few paces of the enemy, who renewed the charge with renovated vigour. The black bands, so called from the colour of their standards, commanded by the duke of Guise, in the absence of his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, who had given way the day before, now retrieved their honour, by the most spirited and successful exertions. The

<sup>3</sup> Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xii. p. 151.

Swiss, repulsed on every side, and perceiving Alviano approaching with a chosen body of Venetian cavalry, returned to Milan, without being pursued by the French. Discouraged at the loss they had sustained, and unable to procure any money from Sforza, who had none to give them, they left him fifteen hundred of their men to defend the castle of Milan, and hastened back to their own country. Francis remained master of the field, which was strewed with the bodies of ten thousand Swiss, and from three to four thousand of the French, among whom were many of the nobility: of this number were Francis de Bourbon, duke of Chatelleraud, brother to the constable; the prince of Talmont, only son to la Trémouille; Buffy d'Amboise, nephew to the cardinal; the count of Sancerre; Imbercourt, and several other noblemen of distinction. The duke of Guise was thrown from his horse, and was indebted for his life to the courage and fidelity of his esquire, who sacrificed his own to the preservation of his master's. Francis himself, who displayed the most signal intrepidity, on this memorable day, was exposed to the most imminent danger, his horse was wounded, and his body was covered with contusions.

The king would not suffer the Swiss to be molested in their retreat, but he could not prevent his soldiers from inhumanly committing to the flames two companies of the enemy, who had taken refuge in a village, where they obstinately refused to surrender. Alviano, who did not arrive till the end of the action, anxious to share in the glory of the day, attacked the rear of the Swiss; but the attempt proved unsuccessful, and was attended with the loss of many officers of note, among others, young Pitigliano, son to the general of that name. Triulzi, who had been present at seventeen pitched battles, said, that "that of Marignano was a combat of giants, and all the rest but mere children's play!"—The king rewarded the valour of the chevalier Bayard, by receiving the honour of knighthood from his hands.

The terror which the battle of Marignano inspired, together with the departure of the Swiss, left Maximilian Sforza almost destitute of assistance. Yet he sought to prolong the moments of his sovereignty by retiring into the castle of Milan, while Francis took possession of the city; but that fortress was incapable of withstanding the ardour of the French, directed by the duke of Bourbon. It was surrendered to that general, together with the city of Cremona; but Sforza obtained, at least, honourable terms from the victor; and a safe retreat, with a pension of thirty thousand ducats, was assigned him in France. Destitute of ambition, and of talents, he gladly retired from a situation to which he was unequal, and, at last, expired at Paris, after lingering fifteen years through a life of contempt.

When the king made his entry into Milan, he exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and established a parliament, in imitation of his predecessor, after which, he passed a week in visiting the different towns of the duchy. At Vigevano, he received the congratulations of the Italian princes, who, astonished at the victory of Marignano, rejoiced or



grieved at the event, according to their different interests. The viceroy of Naples hastened to lead back his troops to the defence of that kingdom; the pope, fearful lest Francis might be tempted to pursue his conquests and proceed to Rome, made proposals of peace; and the Venetians, as most interested in the event, were the first to congratulate him on his success. At the same time they demanded the succours stipulated by treaty, which, being immediately granted, enabled them to retake several of their towns.

Leo the Tenth, versed in all the refinements of Italian policy, abandoned with their fortunes, the cause of his allies. He courted an interview with Francis; and that monarch suffered himself to be conducted, by the cardinals de Fiesco, and de Medicis, to the city of Bologna. The treaty was soon concluded; Leo agreed to withdraw his troops from the cities of Parma and Piacenza; in return for which concession, Francis consented to abandon the duke di Urbino, an uncertain ally, and the declared enemy of the house of Medicis, in whose favour he was despoiled of his duchy: Had the king gone no farther, his policy would not have been prejudicial to the nation, but he was so weak as to accede to the pope's proposal for the total abolition of the PRAGMATIC SANCTION—an abolition destructive of the privileges of the Gallican church—for which he substituted the *Concordat*, whereby Leo ceded to Francis the right of appointing bishops and abbots, throughout the French dominions; and the king, in return, granted the pope the *Annates*, or first fruits of those ecclesiastical benefices<sup>4</sup>. The parliament long refused to register the *Concordat*, continued to regulate their decisions according to the Pragmatic Sanction, and confirmed the opposition of the university. The clergy, too, called loudly for the convocation of a national council; but the authority of the king prevailed, and the parliament were, at length, obliged, much against their will, to give the disgraceful compact a place on their registers, where it was inserted, on the twenty-second of March, 1518, with the usual clause of disapprobation.

While the king thus suffered himself to be duped by the artful adulation of the pope, his ministers concluded a more honourable and more advantageous treaty with the Swiss; by which they consented to acknowledge Francis for duke of Milan, count of Ast, and lord of Genoa; engaged to assist that monarch, and to defend his dominions, and to restore all the places they held in the Milanese, except Bellinzone. The king, on his part, engaged to pay them six hundred thousand crowns, and the annual pension which they received before their rupture with Lewis the Twelfth: but five cantons having refused to subscribe these conditions, the others stipulated that they should never be obliged to bear arms against their countrymen.

After he had arranged his affairs in Italy, and given orders for the defence of the Mi-

<sup>4</sup> Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 249.

lanese, where the constable was left with seven hundred men at arms, and ten thousand infantry, Francis quitted Bologna, on the fifteenth of December, and returned to Lyons.

A. D. 1516.] The victory of Marignano had inspired with terror the mind of Ferdinand of Arragon; the accommodation with the pope, and the treaty with the Swifs, which he had, in vain, exerted his utmost efforts to prevent, had encreased his alarm; he trembled for the throne of Naples, and, anxious to avert the danger with which he conceived himself to be threatened, he endeavoured to revive the animosity of the neighbouring powers, and once more to excite a formidable confederacy against France; but death put a stop to his plans. Ferdinand had long discovered an excessive solicitude to have children by his youthful consort, who had only given birth to one that died in its infancy: in order to procure a blessing, of which, from his advanced age, and the intemperance of his youth, he could have little prospect, he had recourse to his physicians, and, by their prescriptions, took one of those potions which are supposed to add vigour to the constitution, though they more frequently prove fatal to it. This was its effect on a frame so feeble and exhausted as that of Ferdinand; for though he survived a violent disorder which it at first occasioned, it brought on such an habitual langour and dejection of mind, as rendered him averse from any serious attention for publick affairs, and fond of frivolous amusements, on which he had not before bestowed much time<sup>s</sup>. He died on the twenty-third day of January, 1516. By his will he left the archduke Charles sole heir of all his dominions, and allotted to Ferdinand, brother to Charles, a scanty pension of fifty thousand ducats; the regency of Castile was committed to cardinal Ximenes, a prelate who possessed the spirit and talents of Thomas à Becket, without the vices of the English primate; and the archbishop of Saragossa was appointed regent of Arragon.

Meanwhile the French, who now only acted as auxiliaries to the Venetians in Italy, formed the siege of Brescia, under the command of the mareschal Lautrec, whose brother, Triulzi, had been appointed general of the Venetian forces on the death of Alviano. The garrison agreed to surrender if not relieved within twenty days; but the German general, Roquendorf, hastened to their assistance, with a body of six thousand men, and was close followed by the whole Imperial army, led by Maximilian himself. On the emperor's arrival Lautrec raised the siege, and retired with precipitation to Milan, where the alarm was so great that Maximilian might easily have made himself master of the city; but, instead of marching directly to Milan, he amused himself by laying waste the country between the Po and the Adda, and thereby gave time to the constable to put himself in a state of defence. In the city of Milan there were thirteen thousand Swifs, in the pay of France, but as they refused to fight against their countrymen, who were in the Imperial

<sup>s</sup> Zurita, *Annales d'Aragon*, tom. vi. p. 347.—*Petri Martyris Anglerii Epistola*, 531.—Argensola, *Annales d'Aragon*, lib. i. p. 4.—Robertson's *Reign of Charles V.* vol. ii. p. 27.



army, the constable dismissed them. Maximilian, who invested Milan, was soon reduced to the same dilemma; his Swiss troops demanded their pay, and the emperor having dissipated the money that was destined for that purpose, they mutinied, and returned to their own country. The Germans, too, dispersed, and the whole army evacuated Italy. Brescia was then besieged anew, and, at length, taken; and Lautrec, after an unsuccessful attempt on Verona, retired to Villa-Franca, where he could easily intercept any convoys destined for the relief of that city.

During these transactions Charles, anxious to take possession of his Spanish dominions, and desirous to secure, during his absence, the Netherlands from invasion, evinced a strong disposition to maintain peace with France: the Flemings, too, who had long possessed an extensive commerce, which, during the league of Cambray, had grown to a great height upon the ruins of the Venetian trade, dreaded a rupture with that power; and Chievres, the Flemish minister, sagacious to discern the true interest of his country, warmly adopted the same sentiments. Francis, solicitous to secure his late conquests in Italy by a treaty, listened with joy to the first overtures of accommodation. Chievres himself conducted the negotiation, in the name of Charles, while Boisi appeared as plenipotentiary for Francis. Each of them had presided over the education of the sovereign whom he represented; they had both adopted the same pacific system; and were equally persuaded that the union of the two monarchs was the happiest event for themselves, as well as for their kingdoms: in such hands the negotiation did not languish. Soon after opening their conferences at Noyon, they concluded, on the sixteenth of August, 1516<sup>o</sup>, a treaty of confederacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs, the chief articles of which were, that Francis should give in marriage to Charles his eldest daughter, the princess Louisa, an infant of a year old, and, as her dowry, should make over to him all his claims and pretensions upon the kingdom of Naples; that in consideration of Charles's being already in possession of Naples, he should, until the accomplishment of the marriage, pay an hundred thousand crowns a year to the French king, and the half of that sum annually as long as the princess had no children; that when Charles should arrive in Spain, the heirs of the king of Navarre may represent to him their right to that kingdom; and if he do not give them satisfaction, Francis shall be at liberty to assist them with all his forces<sup>7</sup>. This alliance not only united Charles and Francis, but obliged Maximilian, who was unable alone to cope with the French and Venetians, to enter into a treaty with those powers, which put a final period to the bloody and tedious war which the league of Cambray had occasioned. This treaty was signed at Bruxelles, in the month of December, 1516, and confirmed by another treaty, concluded at Cambray, in the month of March following.

A. D. 1517.] About the same period a more durable treaty was signed between the

<sup>6</sup> Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 252.

<sup>7</sup> Leonard, Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. p. 69.

French and Swiss; the five cantons who had refused to subscribe the former conditions, now joined their countrymen, and acceded to a treaty of perpetual alliance: in consideration of an additional pension, they promised never to serve against France; and this treaty has subsisted till the present time, without any alteration.

A. D. 1518.] The constable de Bourbon had been recalled from the Milanese, and was succeeded in his government by the mareschal de Lautrec, who, intoxicated with the favour he enjoyed, and jealous of Triulzi, represented that gallant veteran, at the court of France, as a secret enemy to the country he professed to serve. Triulzi, justly incensed at this malicious imputation, immediately hastened to France—though he had completed his eightieth year—in order to justify his conduct; but the reception he experienced from Francis, who, having inconsiderately given implicit credit to the base insinuations of Lautrec, did not deign to speak to him, made such an impression on his mind, as soon brought him to the grave. In vain did the king, feeling a just remorse for his conduct, endeavour to soothe by consolatory language the man he had so essentially injured. Too susceptible of insult, the veteran replied—“*It is now too late; the blow is given, and no remedy remains.*” The death of Triulzi tended to alienate the affections of the Milanese, and their particular detestation of Lautrec, was speedily converted into a general hatred of his countrymen. The mareschal’s staff, which Triulzi had so long and so honourably borne, was conferred on Lescun, brother to Lautrec.

Bonnevet, admiral of France, was now dispatched to London, in order to gain the confidence and friendship of Henry the Eighth; and he was directed to employ all his insinuation and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himself a place in the good graces of cardinal Wolsey, that monarch’s prime minister and chief favourite. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master’s regret, that, by mistakes and misapprehensions, he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch; and he thenceforth expressed himself in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interests, Francis entered into such confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs; and had recourse to him in all difficult emergencies, as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy<sup>8</sup>. The cardinal made no secret of this private correspondence to his master, who was so prepossessed in favour of his minister’s capacity, that he said, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself<sup>9</sup>.

When matters seemed to be sufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his master’s desire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey, immediately, without hesitation, en-

<sup>8</sup> Hume.

<sup>9</sup> Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii.



gaged to effect his purpose. He took an opportunity of representing to Henry and the English council, that Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places: that as it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: that, even in time of peace, it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the mutinous disposition of its numerous inhabitants, who were ever discontented with the English government: and that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, as it afforded little, if any, means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

These reasons being deemed convincing by the English council, a treaty was concluded for the cession of Tournay; and in order to give that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed, that the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter to Henry, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it seldom happened that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in the erection of a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him six hundred thousand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them noblemen, for the performance of the article<sup>10</sup>: and lest cardinal Wolsey should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishoprick of Tournay. Francis, availing himself of the ascendancy, which, by means of presents and caresses he had acquired over Wolsey, attempted to procure the restitution of Calais, but Wolsey found such a strenuous opposition to the distant overtures which he made for that purpose in the English council, that he did not think it prudent to proceed any farther in the business.

[A. D. 1519.] But while Francis was diligently employed in securing the amity of the neighbouring powers, an event occurred, that formed a kind of æra in the general system of Europe. This was the death of the emperor Maximilian, who expired at Lintz upon the Danube, on the twelfth of January, 1519; an event, in itself, of little importance, for that prince was equally destitute of power, of talents, and of virtue; but rendered by its consequences more memorable than any that had happened during several ages. It broke that profound and universal peace which then reigned in the Christian world; it excited a rivalry between two princes, which convulsed all Europe, and kindled wars more general, and of longer duration, than had hitherto been known in modern times.

<sup>10</sup> *Memoires du Bellay*, lib. i.—*Mezerai*, tom. vii. p. 264.

Not long before his death, Maximilian discovered great solicitude to preserve the Imperial dignity in the Austrian family<sup>11</sup>, he had, at first, cast his eyes on Ferdinand, the youngest of his grandsons, for his successor; that prince having no provision made for him, whereas his brother Charles was already in possession of the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, Naples and Sicily; but this arrangement, which was certainly the most equitable, he was soon induced to change, from considerations of policy, and to center in Charles such a combination of power, as should enable him to resist the attempts of all rival potentates, and to support with vigour and effect the dignity of his station. For this purpose he exerted his influence with the electors; but a difficulty occurred which he had not foreseen: from the circumstance of his never having been crowned himself by the pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, he was considered only as emperor. *elect.* Though historians did not attend to that distinction, neither the Italian nor German chancery bestowed any other title upon him than that of king of the Romans; and no example occurring in history of the election of any person as successor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, and unwilling to confer upon Charles an office for which their constitution knew no name, obstinately refused to gratify Maximilian in that point<sup>12</sup>.

On the death of Maximilian two candidates aspired to the vacant dignity, Francis and Charles; and the attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition, no less illustrious from the high rank of the candidates, than from the importance of the prize for which they contended. Each of them urged his pretensions with sanguine expectations, and no unpromising prospect of success. Charles considered the Imperial crown as belonging to him of right, from its long continuance in the Austrian line; he knew that no one of the German princes was sufficiently powerful to become his rival; he flattered himself that no consideration would induce the natives of Germany to exalt any foreign potentate to a dignity, which, during so many ages, had been deemed peculiar to their own nation; and least of all, that they would confer this honour upon Francis, the sovereign of a people whose genius, laws, and manners differed so widely from those

<sup>11</sup> The revolutions occasioned by the expedition of Charles the Eighth into Italy, had inspired the European princes with new ideas concerning the importance of the Imperial dignity. The claims of the empire upon some of the Italian states were numerous; its jurisdiction over others was extensive; and though the former had been almost abandoned, and the latter seldom exercised, under princes of slender abilities and of little influence, it was obvious, that, in the hands of an emperor possessed of power or genius, they would be employed as engines for stretching his dominion over the greater part of that country. Even Maximilian, feeble and unsteady as he was, had availed himself of the infinite pretensions of the empire, and had reaped advantage from every war and every negotiation in Italy during his reign. These considerations, added to the dignity of the station, confessedly the first among Christian princes, and to the rights inherent in the office, which, if exerted with vigour, were far from being inconsiderable, rendered the Imperial crown more than ever an object of ambition. — *Robertson*.

<sup>12</sup> Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xiii. p. 258. — *Histoire Generale d'Allemagne*, par P. Barre, tom. viii. part. i. p. 1087. Pontius Heuterus, *Rerum Austriacarum*, lib. vii. c. xvii. p. 179. — lib. viii. c. ii. p. 183.



of the Germans, that it was hardly possible to establish any cordial union between them. He trusted not a little to the effect of Maximilian's negotiations, which, though they did not attain their ends, had prepared the minds of the Germans for his elevation to the Imperial throne; but what he relied on as a chief recommendation, was the fortunate situation of his hereditary dominions in Germany, which served as a natural barrier to the empire against the encroachments of the Turkish power. The conquests, the abilities, and the ambition of the sultan Selim the Second had spread over Europe, at that time, a general and well-founded alarm. By his victories over the Mamalukes, and the extirpation of that gallant body of men, he had not only added Egypt and Syria to his empire, but had secured to it such a degree of internal tranquillity, that he was ready to turn against Christendom the whole force of his arms, which nothing hitherto had been able to resist. The most effectual expedient for stopping the rapid progress of this destructive torrent, seemed to be the election of an emperor, possessed of extensive territories in that country where its first impression would be felt, and who, besides, could combat this formidable enemy with all the forces of a powerful monarchy, and with all the wealth furnished by the mines of the new world, or the commerce of the Low Countries. These were the arguments by which Charles publicly supported his claim; and to men of integrity and reflection they appeared to be not only plausible but convincing. He did not, however, trust the success of his cause to these alone. Great sums of money were remitted from Spain; all the refinements and artifice of negotiation were employed; and a considerable body of troops kept on foot by the states of the circle of Suabia was secretly taken into his pay. The venal were gained by presents; the objections of the more scrupulous were answered or eluded; and some feeble princes were threatened or overawed<sup>13</sup>.

Francis, on the other hand, supported his claim with equal eagerness, and no less confidence of its being founded in justice. It was contended by his emissaries, that it was now high time to convince the princes of the house of Austria that the Imperial crown was elective, and not hereditary; that other persons might aspire to an honour which their arrogance had, at length, led them to regard as the property of their family; that it required a sovereign of mature judgment and approved abilities, to hold the reins of government in a country where such unknown opinions concerning religion had been published (alluding to the doctrines of the reformers, then recently propagated) as had thrown the minds of men into an uncommon agitation, which threatened to be productive of the most violent effects; that a young prince, without experience, and who had hitherto given no specimens of his genius for command, was no equal match for Selim, a monarch grown old in the art of war, and in the course of victory; whereas a king who, in his early youth, had triumphed over the valour and discipline of the Swiss, till

<sup>13</sup> Guicc. tom. iii. lib. xiii. p. 263.—Sleidan, Hist. of the Reformation.—Struvii Corp. Hist. German.—Robertson.

then reckoned invincible, would be an antagonist not unworthy the conqueror of the East; that the fire and impetuosity of the French cavalry, added to the discipline and stability of the German infantry, would form an army so irresistible, that, instead of waiting the approach of the Ottoman forces, it might carry hostilities into the heart of their dominions. That the election of Charles would be inconsistent with a fundamental constitution, by which the person who holds the crown of Naples is excluded from aspiring to the Imperial dignity; that his elevation to that honour would soon kindle a war in Italy, on account of his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, the effects of which could not fail of reaching the empire, and might prove fatal to it<sup>14</sup>. But while his ambassadors, Bonnivet, Fleuranges, and d'Orval, enlarged upon these and other topics of the same kind, in all the courts of Germany, Francis, sensible of the prejudices entertained against him as a foreigner, unacquainted with the German language or manners, endeavoured to overcome them, and to gain the favour of the princes by immense gifts, and splendid promises. As the expeditious method of transmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe by bills of exchange, was then little known, the French ambassadors travelled with a train of horses loaded with treasure, an equipage not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for those to whom they were sent<sup>15</sup>.

Henry the Eighth also sent Pace as his ambassador to Germany, and declared himself a candidate for the Imperial throne. But Pace, though loaded with caresses by the German princes and the pope's nuncio, informed his master that he could hope for no success in a claim which he had been so late in preferring. Henry, imputing his disappointment to that circumstance alone, and soothed with this ostentatious display of his own importance, seems to have taken no farther part in the matter<sup>16</sup>.

The Swiss cantons, though allied to Francis, exerted their influence in favour of his competitor; the Venetians, on the contrary, justly jealous of the house of Austria, espoused, with warmth, the claims of the French monarch; while the pope, with prudent policy, opposed the pretensions of either claimant.

Such was the situation of affairs when the diet was opened at Frankfort, on the seventeenth of June. The right of choosing an emperor had long been vested in seven great princes, distinguished by the name of Electors: these were, at that time, Albret of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mentz; Herman, count de Wied, archbishop of Cologne; Richard de Greiffenklaue, archbishop of Treves; Lewis, king of Bohemia; Lewis, count palatine of the Rhine; Frederick, duke of Saxony; and, Joachim the First, marquis of

<sup>14</sup> Guicciardini.—La Salinas.—Robertson.

<sup>15</sup> Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges, p. 296.

<sup>16</sup> Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII.



Brandenburgh. Notwithstanding the specious arguments produced by the ambassadors of Charles and Francis, in favour of their respective masters, and in spite of all their solicitations, intrigues, and presents, the electors did not forget that maxim on which the liberty of the German constitution was thought to be founded. Among the members of the Germanic body, which is a great republic, composed of states almost independent, the first principle of patriotism is to depress and limit the power of the emperor; and of this idea, so natural, under such a form of government, a German politician seldom loses sight. No prince of considerable power or extensive dominions, had, for some ages, been raised to the Imperial throne. To this prudent precaution many of the great families in Germany owed the splendour and independence which they had acquired during that period. To elect either of the contending monarchs would have been a gross violation of that salutary maxim; would have given to the empire a master instead of a head; and would have reduced themselves from the rank of equals to the condition of subjects<sup>17</sup>.

Impressed with these ideas, all the electors directed their eyes to Frederick, duke of Saxony, a prince, who from the dignity of his virtues, and the splendour of his talents, had acquired the honourable appellation of *The Sage*, and they unanimously offered him the Imperial crown. Unseduced by an object so alluring, Frederic required a short time for deliberation, and magnanimously rejected the proffered diadem. His rejection of a gift which the proudest monarchs had courted with avidity, was accompanied by an observation on the impolicy of invariably adhering to a maxim, which, though just in many cases, could not be applicable to all. “In times of tranquillity”—said Frederic—“we wish for an emperor who has not power to invade our liberties; times of danger require one who has the ability to provide for our safety. The Turkish armies are now assembling under the conduct of a prince distinguished for his gallantry, and flushed with conquest. They are preparing to rush like a torrent upon Germany, with a violence unprecedented in former times. New conjunctures call for new expedients. Some hand more potent than mine, or that of any other German prince, must, at this period, be entrusted with the Imperial sceptre; for we possess neither dominions, revenues, nor authority, which can enable us to face such a formidable foe. Recourse, therefore, must be had to one of the rival monarchs, each of whom can bring into the field forces sufficient for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German extraction; as he is a member and prince of the empire, by the territories he inherits from his grandfather; as his dominions lie contiguous to the frontier which is most exposed to attack; his claim is, in my opinion, preferable to that of a stranger to our language, to our blood, and to our country; and, therefore, I give my vote to raise him to the Imperial throne.”

<sup>17</sup> Robertson.

This opinion, dictated by such uncommon generosity, and supported by arguments so plausible, made a deep impression on the electors; and the cause of Charles was farther promoted by the abilities of the cardinal de Gurk, and the zeal of Erard de la Mark, bishop of Liege, two of his ambassadors, who had conducted their negotiations with more prudence and address than Bonnivet and his coadjutors. The former, who had long been the minister and favourite of Maximilian, was well acquainted with the art of managing the Germans; and the latter, having been disappointed of a cardinal's hat by Francis, exerted all the malignant ingenuity of revenge in thwarting the measures of that monarch. The Spanish party among the electors daily gained ground; and even the pope's nuncio, convinced of the inutility of farther opposition, endeavoured to acquire some merit with the future emperor, by offering voluntarily, in the name of his master, a dispensation to hold the Imperial crown in conjunction with that of Naples<sup>18</sup>.

On the twenty-eighth of June, five months and ten days after the death of Maximilian, this important contest, which had holden all Europe in suspense, was decided. Six of the electors had already declared for the king of Spain; and the archbishop of Treves, the only firm adherent to the French interest, having, at last, joined his brethren, Charles was, by the unanimous voice of the electoral college, raised to the Imperial throne, under the title of Charles the Fifth. But though the electors had, from various motives, been induced to promote Charles to that high station, yet they discovered an extreme jealousy of his extensive power; and in order to prevent any encroachment on the privileges of the Germanic body, a *Capitulation*, or claim of right, was formed, in which the privileges and immunities of the electors, of the princes of the empire, of the cities, and of every other member of that body, are enumerated. This capitulation was immediately signed by Charles's ambassadors, in the name of their master, and he himself, at his coronation, confirmed it in the most solemn manner.

The French ambassador, Bonnivet, who had entertained the most sanguine expectations of success, was so mortified at the disappointment he experienced on this occasion, that it was some time before he could prevail upon himself to make his appearance at court. Francis himself, although he had been frequently heard to say to the Spanish ambassadors—“*Your master and I are both suitors to the same mistress; the more fortunate will carry her; but the other must remain contented*”—was equally mortified with his ambassador, though he took care to disguise his feelings. From this moment, Charles, more fortunate, or more politic, appears to have acquired an ascendancy over Francis, which he always preserved.

While the electors were employed in chusing an emperor, the French and Spanish ple-

<sup>18</sup> Freheri Rer. Germ. Scriptones, vol. iii. p. 172.—Gianone, Istoria di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 498.



ambassadors had met at Montpellier, to terminate the differences between their masters; but the death of Boiss, ambassador from Francis, put an end to the conferences, and proved an irreparable loss to his country: his brother, Bonnivet, on his return to court, monopolized the confidence of his master, and of the duchess of Angoulême, the king's mother.

A. D. 1520.] Francis, alarmed at the augmented splendour and power of Charles, and mortified at the preference given to that prince in the sight of all Europe, endeavoured, by a strict alliance with Henry, to balance the acquisition of his rival. He had before solicited an interview with the English monarch, which Charles had in vain endeavoured to prevent, by making a voyage to England, where he flattered the king, and detached his favourite Wolsey from the interest of France. On the seventh of June, this interview took place, in an open plain, between Guisnes and Ardres, where the two kings, and their attendants, displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expence, as procured it the name of *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. Messengers had been previously sent to different courts, inviting all comers who were gentlemen, to enter the lists at tilt and tournament, against the two monarchs and their knights. In consequence of this invitation great numbers attended; feats of chivalry, parties of gallantry, together with such exercises as were in that age accounted manly or elegant, rather than serious business, occupied both courts during eighteen days that they continued together. Whatever impression the engaging manners of Francis, or the liberal and unsuspicious confidence with which he treated Henry, made on the mind of that monarch, was soon effaced by Wolsey's artifices, or by an interview he had with the emperor at Gravelines, on the tenth of July; which was conducted by Charles with less pomp than that near Guisnes, but with greater attention to his political interest.

A. D. 1521.] While the rival monarchs were employed in preparing the means of mutual attack, Francis had nearly lost his life by a singular accident; as he was engaged in celebrating the festival of the Epiphany, at Romorentin, in the province of Berry, with a party of young noblemen, he received a blow on the head from a log of lighted wood, thrown in a frolic, which felled him to the ground, and inflicted a dangerous wound. The report of his death was immediately propagated throughout the kingdom, and even extended into foreign countries; and Francis was obliged to shew himself to the different ambassadors before he could dispel the error. The wound he had received rendered it necessary to have his head shaved; the courtiers, ever eager to imitate their sovereign, followed the example; and to make themselves amends for the loss of their hair, they suffered their beards to grow: hence originated the fashion of short hair and long beards, which continued to prevail, till the accession of Lewis the Thirteenth.

By the treaty of Noyon, Charles had agreed to do justice to John d'Albret, the excluded monarch of Navarre, whom Francis was bound in honour, and prompted by interest,

terest, to restore to his throne ; but though frequent applications had been made to Charles for the purpose, he continually eluded them upon very frivolous pretexts; and Francis, therefore, thought himself authorized by that treaty to assist the exiled family. Henry d'Albret had succeeded to the claims of his father John, and an army, levied in his name, was destined, under the conduct of Andrew de Foix, lord of Lesparre, and brother to Lautrec, to restore him to the throne of his ancestors. The juncture appeared peculiarly favourable for such an enterprize; Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions; the troops usually stationed there had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain; the Spanish malecontents warmly solicited Francis to invade Navarre<sup>19</sup>, in which a considerable faction was ready to declare for the descendants of their ancient monarchs. Lesparre had neither talents nor experience for the discharge of that important trust to which, through the powerful influence of his connections, he had been recommended; but as there was no army in the field to oppose him, he reduced in a few days the whole kingdom, without meeting with any obstruction but from the citadel of Pampeluna; nor would the slight resistance made by that fortress have deserved notice, if Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of Biscay, had not been dangerously wounded in its defence. During the slow progress of a lingering cure, Loyola happened to have no other amusement than what he could find in the perusal of the lives of the saints. The effect of such reading on his mind, naturally enthusiastic, but ambitious and daring, was to inspire him with such a desire of emulating the glory of these "fabulous worthies of the Romish church," as led him into the wildest and most extravagant adventures, which terminated in the institution of the society of Jesuits, the most political and best-regulated of all the monastic orders, and from which mankind have derived more advantage, and received greater detriment, than from any other of these religious fraternities<sup>20</sup>.

Had Lesparre, on the reduction of Pampeluna, been content with taking proper precautions for securing his conquest, the kingdom of Navarre might still have remained annexed to the crown of France in reality, as well as in title. But stimulated by the ardour of youth, and encouraged by Francis, who was too apt to be dazzled with success, he imprudently entered the dominions of Spain, and laid siege to Logrogno, a small town in Castile. This roused the Castilians from the lethargy in which they had hitherto appeared to be involved, and having nearly composed their own private dissensions, both parties exerted themselves with emulation in defence of their country. The sudden advance of their troops, together with the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Logrogno, obliged the French general to abandon his rash enterprize. The Spanish army, which daily increased, harassing him during his retreat, he, instead of taking shelter un-

<sup>19</sup> Petri Martyris Anglerii Epistolæ, 721.<sup>20</sup> Robertson.



der the cannon of Pampeluna, or waiting the arrival of six thousand Navarese, who were marching to his assistance, attacked the Spaniards, in the plains of Squires, though far superior to him in number, with great impetuosity, but with so little conduct, that his forces were totally routed; Lesparre himself was wounded and taken prisoner; and Spain recovered possession of Navarre in still less time than the French had spent in the conquest of it <sup>21</sup>.

While Francis endeavoured to justify his invasion of Navarre, by carrying it on in the name of Henry d'Albret, the lawful sovereign of that country, another subject for dispute occurred between the rival monarchs:—Robert de la Mark, prince of Sedan, having abandoned the service of Charles, on account of an encroachment which the Aulick council had made on his jurisdiction, and having applied for protection to the king of France, sent a herald, in the heat of resentment, to Worms, to declare war against the emperor in form. He then entered Luxembourg, with troops levied in France, and after ravaging the open country, laid siege to Vireton. Of this Charles complained loudly, as a direct violation of the peace which subsisted between the two crowns, while Francis disavowed the transaction, and consented to submit the decision of their differences to the arbitration of Henry of England, who accordingly sent Wolsey to Calais, where the conferences were opened, and commanded de la Mark to disband his troops.

Charles, meanwhile, had assembled an army of twenty thousand men, which, under the count of Nassau, invaded the territories of Robert, and in a few days, reduced all the towns they contained, except Sedan. Having thus punished the prince who had presumed to defy him by a declaration of war, Charles would naturally have withdrawn his forces, had he been disposed to the adoption of pacific measures; but before he had received any cause for complaint against Francis, he had formed a resolution of humbling the power of a monarch who was as much his superior in all the amiable and manly qualities of the human mind, as he fell short of him in cunning, artifice, and fraud. For the promotion of his hostile and ambitious views, he had found means to engage in his interest the sovereign pontiff, who preferred the labyrinth of politics to the plain path of religion. An ambitious priest is, at all times, a detestable character; but a minister of a God of Peace, who, actuated by an insatiate thirst of power, seeks to extend his authority by the effusion of human blood, merits the execration of mankind. Leo, though possessed of many excellent endowments, fell into the same error, or rather adopted the same vices, by which too many of his predecessors had been distinguished; pursuing the wretched system of policy that prevailed among the Italian princes, and of which

<sup>21</sup> Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 21.

treachery and fraud formed the leading characteristics, he resolved to sacrifice his honour to his interest. He first concluded a treaty of alliance with Francis, by which he engaged to assist that monarch in recovering the kingdom of Naples, a part whereof was to be ceded to the pope's nephew, and the remainder to be governed by a papal legate, during the minority of young Henry, second son to the king of France, who was to be invested, by Leo, with the dignity of king of Naples<sup>22</sup>. But, allured by the prospect of reaping greater advantages from an alliance with the emperor, the perfidious pontiff soon deserted Francis, and made overtures of friendship, though with great secrecy, to Charles. A treaty was soon concluded, by which it was stipulated, that the pope and emperor should join their forces for the expulsion of the French from the duchy of Milan, the possession of which should be given to Francesco Sforza, (a son of Ludovico the Moor) who had resided at Trent, since the time his brother Maximilian had been dispossessed of his dominions by the French king; that Parma and Placentia should be restored to the church; that the emperor should assist the pope in conquering Ferrara; that the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the holy see should be increased; that the emperor should take the family of Medici under his protection; that he should grant to the cardinal de Medicis a pension of ten thousand ducats upon the archbishopric of Toledo; and settle lands in the kingdom of Naples to the same value upon Alexander, the natural son of Lorenzo de Medicis.

Charles having thus secured the alliance of the pope, and the friendship of Wolfey, for whom he had promised to obtain the papal dignity, on the death of Leo, resolved to embrace the first opportunity of coming to an open rupture with France. In consequence of this determination, the count of Nassau had no sooner dispossessed the prince of Sedan, than he received orders to advance towards the frontiers of France, where he, soon after, laid siege to Mousson. The cowardice of the garrison having obliged Montmort, the governor, to surrender almost without resistance, Nassau invested Mezieres, a place the possession of which would have enabled the Imperial army to penetrate into the heart of Champagne, where there was scarcely any other town capable of obstructing its progress. Happily for France, the king, sensible of the importance of this fortress, committed the defence of it to the chevalier Bayard, who had already signalized his zeal and courage in Italy, and who, by his valour and integrity, had merited and obtained the honourable appellation of—" *The Knight without Fear, and without Reproach*"<sup>23</sup>!—In the defence of Mezieres Bayard displayed all the talents of a great general, and, by repeated exertions of valour and conduct, he contrived to protract the siege to a considerable length, and in the end obliged the Imperialists to retire, with infamy and loss<sup>24</sup>. The services of Bayard, on this occasion, were rewarded with the collar of Saint-Michael, and a company of one hundred lances.

<sup>22</sup> Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 277.<sup>23</sup> Œuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 114.<sup>24</sup> Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 25, &c.



Mousson was soon retaken by the duke of Alençon, while the duke of Vendôme reduced the towns of Bapaume and Landrici. The Imperialists, flying before the superior forces of France, retired to Valenciennes, where they were reinforced by a considerable body of troops, commanded by the emperor himself. The king, meanwhile, having entered Artois, threw a bridge over the Scheld, between Bouchain and Valenciennes. Nassau had been detached by Charles to prevent the troops from passing the river, but he arrived too late; all the infantry had already passed, and were drawn up on the opposite side in order of battle; and while he was deliberating whether he should attack them or not, the cavalry joined them, when Nassau thought it prudent to retire. The retreat of the Imperialists was favoured by a fog; the French, however, were apprized of the circumstance soon enough to have followed them and cut off the whole army<sup>25</sup>; and the constable, la Trémouille and Chabannes, were eager to embrace the opportunity, but this was opposed by the duke of Alençon and Chatillon, and unfortunately their advice was suffered to prevail. A party, indeed, was already formed against the constable, and it was determined to reject whatever he should propose; the king had just affronted that nobleman in the most sensible manner, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon, though this post of honour belonged to Bourbon, as a prerogative of his office. Accordingly when, after that prince had revolted, he was called upon to resign the constable's sword, he replied, "*The king took it from me, at the passage of the Scheld.*" The king retook Bouchain; but he endeavoured in vain to relieve Tournay, which, after a six months siege, surrendered to the Imperialists. The reduction of Hesdin by the French concluded the campaign.

The French arms had been equally successful in Navarre; d'Estillac having assembled the scattered remains of Lescarres army, fortified the towns of Bayonne and Saint John-de-Luze, while the young king of Navarre reduced several other places. Bonnivet, who had become a favourite with the king, but still more with the duchess of Angoulême, and had recently been promoted to the rank of general, was sent to their assistance with an army of six thousand Landsquenets, under the count of Guise, and four hundred men at arms. After taking several fortresses in Navarre, they passed the river at Andaye, where they put a body of Spaniards to flight, and made a sudden and unexpected attack on Fontarabia, which capitulated after the first assault. Bonnivet, proud of his success, hastened to court to reap the laurels which he flattered himself he had deserved.

During these operations in the field, the conferences had been carried on at Calais; but when the conditions on which hostilities might be terminated came to be considered, the emperor's proposals were such as discovered either that he was utterly averse from peace, or that he knew Wolfey would sanction with his approbation whatever terms he

<sup>25</sup> P. Mart. Ep. 747.—Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 35.

might offer. He demanded the restitution of the duchy of Burgundy, a province, the possession of which would have given him access into the heart of the kingdom; and required a discharge of the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Flanders and Artois, which had been paid by his ancestors, and which he himself had, on the accession of Francis, renewed. These terms, to which an high-spirited prince would scarcely have listened, after the disasters of the most unfortunate war, Francis rejected with great disdain; and Charles shewing no inclination to comply with the more equal and moderate propositions of the French monarch, that he should restore Navarre to its lawful prince, and withdraw his troops from the siege of Tournay, the congress broke up, without coming to any decision.

Meanwhile the league between the pope and the emperor produced great effects in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the theatre of war. The pride, rapacity, and imperious conduct of Lautrec, governor of the Milanese, and of his brother Lescun, known by the name of mareschal de Foix, had totally alienated the affections of the people from France, driven many of the principal citizens into banishment, and forced others to retire for their own safety. Among the last was Jerome Moroné, vice-chancellor of Milan, a man distinguished for his intriguing spirit and subtle genius. He repaired to Francesco Sforza, whose brother he had betrayed, and suspecting the pope's intentions of attacking the Milanese, although his treaty with the emperor had not yet been made publick, he proposed to Leo, in the name of Sforza, a scheme for surprizing several places in that duchy by means of the exiles, who, from hatred to the French, and from attachment to their former masters, were ready for any desperate enterprize. Leo not only encouraged the attempt, but advanced a considerable sum towards the execution of it; and when, through unforeseen accidents, it failed of success in every part, he allowed the exiles, who had assembled in a body, to retire to Reggio, which belonged, at that time, to the church. The mareschal de Foix, who commanded at Milan, in the absence of his brother Lautrec, informed of their resort, marched into the ecclesiastical territories, and invested Reggio; but the vigilance and good conduct of Guicciardini, the historian, governor of that place, obliged the French general to abandon the enterprize with disgrace<sup>26</sup>. Leo eagerly seized this pretext for an open rupture with France; and now pretended to conclude a treaty with Don John Manual, the Imperial ambassador at Rome, although it had really been signed some months before; and publickly excommunicated de Foix as an impious invader of Saint-Peter's patrimony.

Francis, apprized of the danger to which his Italian dominions were exposed, immediately commanded Lautrec to repair to his government. That general, who was well-

<sup>26</sup> Guicciardi, tom. iii. lib. 14.—Mem. de Du Bellay.



acquainted with the great neglect of economy in the administration of the king's finances, and who knew how much the troops in the Milanese had already suffered for want of their pay, refused to set out, unless immediately supplied with the sum of three hundred thousand crowns. But the king, the dukes of Angoulême, and Semblancy, superintendant of finances, having pledged their words, in the most solemn manner, that, on his arrival at Milan, he should find remittances to the amount he demanded, he ventured to depart. But these promises, however, were violated, and the dukes of Angoulême, partly from avarice, and partly from an inveterate dislike she had conceived to Lautrec, who had been rather too free in his remarks on the numerous adventures to which her amorous disposition had given rise, seized the three hundred thousand crowns, and appropriated them to her own use.

Lautrec, however, still continued to levy a powerful army, though far inferior in number to that of the confederates; acting chiefly on the defensive, he perpetually harassed the troops he could not venture to attack, and by his superior skill kept the enemy in awe, and effectually impeded the progress of their arms. But all his measures were disconcerted by an accident, which no penetration could foresee, nor prudence prevent. A body of twelve thousand Swiss served in his army under the banners of the republic, with which France was in alliance. By a law, established among the cantons, their troops were not hired out by public authority to both the contending parties in any war. This law, indeed, had been sometimes eluded, and private persons had been allowed to enlist in what service they pleased, though not under the public banners, but under those of their officers. The cardinal of Sion, (a Swiss by birth) who still preserved his influence over his countrymen and his enmity against France, having prevailed on them to permit a levy of this kind, twelve thousand Swiss joined the army of the confederates. The cantons, seeing such numbers of their countrymen marching under hostile standards, and intent on mutual destruction, became so sensible of the infamy to which they would be exposed, as well as the loss they might sustain, that they dispatched couriers, commanding their people to leave both armies, and to return forthwith into their own country. The cardinal of Sion, however, by corrupting the messengers appointed to carry this order, prevented it from being delivered to the Swiss in the service of the confederates; but being intimated, in due form, to those in the French army, they, fatigued with the length of the campaign, and murmuring for want of pay, instantly yielded obedience, in spite of Lautrec's remonstrances. This defection of the Swiss was followed by the reduction of Milan, which was betrayed to Colonna, the general of Leo; the other cities of the duchy soon imitated the example of the capital; Parma and Placentia were united to the domains of the church; and the town of Cremona, with the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable forts, only remained in the hands of the French. Lautrec, with the remains of his shattered army, retired precipitately towards the territories of the Venetians, who had peremptorily rejected the solicitations of the pope, and faithfully adhered to their alliance with France.

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The news of this rapid success had such an effect upon Leo, that he was immediately seized with a fever, (if the French historians may be credited) which put an end to his existence, on the second of December, 1521. By this unexpected accident the spirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations suspended; the Swiss were recalled by the cantons; some other mercenaries disbanded for want of pay; and only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the Imperial service, remained to defend the Milanese: but Lautrec, destitute both of men and money, was wholly unable to improve the favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1522.] In the conclave as in the cabinet, the policy of Charles prevailed over that of Francis, and the sacred college, after much contention, raised cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who governed Spain in the emperor's name, (and was consequently devoted to his interest) to the papal dignity. The war in the Milanese was resumed with fresh vigour; the Swiss, enraged at the deception passed on them by the cardinal of Sion, cemented their alliance with the king of France, and sent him a supply of sixteen thousand men; the Venetians, too, evinced the greatest zeal for his service. But all these appearances proved deceitful: Guicciardini, not less skilful as a general, than eminent as an historian, repulsed, by his valour and address, a bold and vigorous attack which Lautrec made on the city of Parma, of which he was governor. The Venetians, by their negligence, suffered six thousand Landsknechts, under the conduct of Jerome Adorno, to effect a junction with the confederates; and another body, led by Francesco Sforza, to advance as far as Pavia, where they halted; while the French army lay encamped at Cassano, between that city and Milan. Here he was joined by a considerable reinforcement from France, under the conduct of his brother, the marshal de Foix, accompanied by Bayard and Navarre, who, on their road, had reduced the towns of Novara and Vigevano. Sforza, however, had contrived to elude the vigilance of Lautrec, and had marched to Milan, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people. The French were repulsed in an attack upon Pavia, and as a scarcity of provision began to be felt in their camp, they took the road to Monza, and endeavoured to advance to Arona, whither the money destined for the pay of the troops had arrived from France; but the Imperialists, aware of their object, stationed their army in such a position as to prevent its accomplishment. The Swiss, who had before been clamorous for their pay, now lost all patience, and crowding around Lautrec, threatened instantly to retire, if he did not either advance the pay that was due, or promise to lead them next morning to battle. In vain did Lautrec expatiate on the impossibility of the former, and the temerity of the latter, which must be attended with certain destruction, as the enemy occupied a camp (at Bicocca) strong by nature, and rendered almost inaccessible by art. Deaf to reason, and confident of success, the Swiss renewed their demand with increased ferocity, and offered themselves to lead the attack. Lautrec was thus compelled to act in opposition to his own judgment, and when the morn approached, the Swiss appeared in arms, and with intrepidity equal to their obstinacy marched against the enemy, deeply entrenched on every



every side, surrounded with artillery, and prepared to receive them. As they advanced, they sustained a furious cannonade with great firmness, and without waiting for their own artillery rushed impetuously upon the intrenchments. After incredible exertions of valour, which were bravely seconded by the French, they were compelled to give up the vain attempt, and to retire with the loss of three thousand men. To that courage which had despised all danger, succeeded a pusillanimity which rejected all resource. They retired to a valley, and peremptorily refused to renew the attack in a quarter where they would have met with much less resistance. The Venetians, too, remained in a state of inactivity, and refused to make a diversion unattended with danger, and the only object of which was to prevent the enemy from directing their whole force against the marshal de Foix, who, by a desperate effort of valour, had forced his way, over a stone bridge, into the camp. Not being seconded, he was compelled to retreat by the same bridge, a task of extreme difficulty, but which, by a display of prudence equal to his courage, he did in good order. Lautrec was present every where; never had he displayed greater skill; and notwithstanding the innumerable difficulties he had to encounter, he would inevitably have gained the victory had his orders been obeyed. He proposed to renew the attack the next morning, but the Swiss, discouraged by the loss they had already sustained, not only refused to fight, but left the camp, and set out for their own country. Lautrec despairing, after this diminution of his forces, to make any farther resistance, retired into France, after throwing garrisons into Cremona and some other places, all of which, except the citadel of Cremona, soon surrendered to the confederates.

These disasters were speedily succeeded by the loss of Genoa and the defection of the Venetians, who were, at length, induced to conclude a peace with the emperor; and Francis had now to oppose a confederacy of all the Italian princes, excepting only the duke of Savoy.

On the return of Lautrec to France, he found the king so enraged at the loss of the Milanese, that he refused to see him; but, at the intercession of the constable, he, at length, was prevailed on to grant the marshal an audience, who justified himself, by imputing the disasters of the campaign to the want of the three hundred thousand crowns which had been promised him for the pay of the troops. Francis, who was ignorant of this circumstance, flew into a violent passion with Semblancy, superintendant of the finances, and peremptorily insisted on knowing what had become of the money, which he had ordered to be sent to Italy. The minister, a man of integrity and virtue, who had grown grey in the service of his country, finding an imputation thus cast upon his character, confessed that he had been compelled to pay the money to the duchess of Angoulême, who had taken the consequences upon herself. But that infamous woman, sacrificing every principle of honour to avarice and revenge, had the presumption to deny the fact; and though Semblancy, in his own defence, produced her receipt, she still persisted  
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in the denial, and maintained that the receipt was given for another sum of the same amount. Francis, however, prejudiced as he was in favour of his mother, could not refuse belief to the testimony of his senses: Semblancy continued to enjoy his place for two or three years after this period; but that vindictive princess, intent on revenge, at length suborned one of his clerks to accuse him of peculation; he was, accordingly, committed to the Bastile, where he was tried by partial judges, in consequence of whose sentence he expired on a gibbet, on the ninth of August, 1527<sup>27</sup>.

Nor was Semblancy the only victim of Louisa's revenge; she had long conceived a passion for the duke of Bourbon, whose gratitude she had endeavoured to secure by procuring his elevation to the important dignity of constable; but finding her love rejected by a prince whose affections were fixed on his wife, she had found means to prejudice the king against him, and had occasioned those affronts which Bourbon had experienced in Artois. Farther enraged with the constable for procuring for Lautrec the means of justifying his conduct from the aspersions which she had thrown on it, her love was converted into hatred. But the death of the duchess of Bourbon, daughter to the famous lady of Beaujeu, tended to revive her former tenderness; and sacrificing her resentment to her passion, she offered her hand to the disconsolate duke. That offer being rejected with contempt, the insult was deemed irreparable. The resentment of slighted love and wounded vanity, raged with increased violence, and Bourbon was, by this implacable princess, doomed to destruction. Duprat, the most corrupt minister that ever held the seals, instigated by some private offence he had received from the duke, aided her plans of revenge, and forwarded the scheme of persecution. A law-suit was commenced against him for the recovery of the Bourbonnois, Auvergne, la Marche, le Forés, le Beaujolois, the principality of Dombes, and several other possessions, part of which he held in right of his deceased wife, while the rest he inherited as the patrimony of his family. The judges, overawed by the authority of the duchess of Angoulême, promised a *provisional* sentence, destitute even of the appearance of equity, by which the constable's estates were sequestered.

While the kingdom was harassed by these internal dissensions, it was threatened with a foreign invasion on every side. England had declared against France, and the forces of Henry, under the command of the earl of Surrey, made an incursion into Picardy; but the prudent conduct of the duke of Vendôme had prevented them from undertaking any enterprize of importance; and they had returned to England, after a fruitless campaign, in which they had reaped neither honour nor advantage.

A. D. 1523.] The Spaniards, meanwhile, had attacked Fontarabia, which was gal-

<sup>27</sup> Gaillard, Histoire de François I. tom. viii.



lantly defended by Du Lude, during a vigorous siege of thirteen months, when the approach of Chabannes, with a powerful reinforcement, compelled the enemy to retire; but on the return of Du Lude to France, the command of that important fortress devolved on Frauget, who, on a renewal of the siege, immediately surrendered it to the Spaniards; an act of cowardice which was punished by degrading him from the rank of a nobleman.

Meanwhile, the duke of Bourbon, inflamed by a repetition of injuries, had recourse to measures which despair alone could have dictated. He entered into intrigues with the Imperial court, and offered to transfer his allegiance from his natural sovereign to the emperor, and to assist him in the conquest of France. Charles, as well as the king of England, to whom the secret was communicated<sup>29</sup>, expecting to derive great advantage from his revolt, were ready to receive him with open arms, and spared neither promises nor allurements which might tend to confirm him in his resolution. He was included as a principal in the treaty between Charles and Henry; and the counties of Provence and Dauphiné were to be settled on him, with the title of king. The emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees; and Henry, supported by the Flemings, was to invade Picardy; while twelve thousand Germans, levied at their common charge, were to penetrate into Burgundy, and to act in concert with Bourbon, who undertook to raise six thousand men among his friends and vassals in the heart of the kingdom. The execution of this dangerous plot was suspended till the king should cross the Alps with the only army capable of defending his dominions; and as he had already advanced as far as Lyons, France stood on the brink of destruction.

The rumour of Bourbon's intrigues had reached the ear of Francis, who, far from giving credit to the report, had an interview with the duke at Moulin, where he informed him of what he had heard, at the same time assuring him of his friendship, and requesting he would accompany him to Italy. The constable acknowledged that he had received some proposals from the emperor, but declared that he had rejected them with disdain, and only wished for an opportunity of signalizing his zeal and fidelity to his sovereign. Francis paid implicit belief to what he said, and proceeded on his journey; the constable set out soon after, apparently with an intention of following him, but turning suddenly to the left, he crossed the Rhone, escaped all the parties which the king, sensible too late of his credulity, sent out to intercept him, and joined the emperor's army in Italy.

The king took every possible precaution to avert the ill effects of the irreparable error which he had committed. He secured all the towns in the constable's territories; he

<sup>29</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. xiii. p. 794.

seized all the gentlemen whom he could suspect of being his associates; and as he had not yet discovered the whole extent of the conspiracy, he relinquished his intention of leading his army in person into Italy, and entrusted the command of that expedition to admiral Bonnivet, who passed the Alps with thirty thousand men.

Colonna, who was entrusted with the defence of the Milanese, was, by no means, prepared to resist such a formidable force; destitute of resources, he could only attempt to guard the passage of the river Tefino against the French; but in this he was foiled; Bonnivet crossed the river without loss, at a ford which had been neglected, and, at his approach, the Imperialist's retired to Milan, preparing to abandon the town as soon as the French should appear before it. By an unaccountable negligence, which Guicciardini ascribes to infatuation<sup>29</sup>, Bonnivet delayed his march for three or four days, and thereby lost the opportunity with which his good fortune had presented him. The citizens recovered from their consternation; Colonna, still active at the age of fourscore, and Moroné, whose enmity to France rendered him indefatigable, made every preparation for a vigorous defence; and when Bonnivet arrived, after a fruitless attack on the town, he was obliged, by the inclemency of the weather, to retire into winter quarters.

During these transactions, pope Adrian died, to the great joy of the Roman people, who publicly hailed his physician, as *THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY*. He was succeeded in the chair of Saint Peter by the cardinal de Medicis, who assumed the appellation of Clement the Seventh.

The count of Guise, to whom Francis had entrusted the command of a small army, destined for the defence of Burgundy, successfully repelled the attacks of count Furstenberg, the Imperial general, who made an incursion into that province. After reducing some inconsiderable places, the Imperialists, baffled by the superior conduct of Guise, were compelled to retreat with loss and disgrace.

La Trémouille had a more formidable enemy to encounter in Picardy, invaded by the united armies of England and Flanders, amounting to four-and-twenty thousand men. The duke of Suffolk, who commanded them, penetrated as far as the banks of the Oyse, within eleven leagues of Paris, filling that capital with consternation. But the arrival of the duke of Vendôme, with a body of troops detached by the king, who was still at Lyons; the active gallantry of the French officers, who perpetually harassed the enemy; the rigour of a season more than usually inclement, together with a scarcity of provisions, compelled the English to retire; and la Trémouille had the glory of having,

<sup>29</sup> Guic. tom. iii. l. 15.



with a handful of men, checked the progress of a formidable army, and of expelling them with ignominy from the territories of France.

A. D. 1524.] The power and resources of Francis had appeared to great advantage during the last campaign, in which he had rendered abortive all the machinations of his enemies, both foreign and domestic. But the present was destined to exhibit a very different scene. In Italy the allies had, by the beginning of March, assembled a powerful army, under the command of Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, (Colonna having died during the winter) though the chief direction of military operations was committed to Bourbon and the marquis de Pescara. Bonnivet had not troops sufficient to oppose this army, and was wholly destitute of those talents which could render him an equal match for its leaders; courage, indeed, was all he possessed. After various movements and skirmishes, a detail of which would be neither interesting nor instructive, he was compelled to abandon the strong camp in which he had intrenched himself at Biagrasa. Soon after, partly by his own misconduct, partly by the active vigilance of the enemy, and partly by the caprice of six thousand Swiss, who refused to join his army, though within a day's march of it, he was reduced to the necessity of attempting a retreat into France, by the valley of Aost. Just as he arrived on the banks of the Sesia, and began to pass that river, Bourbon and Pescara appeared with the vanguard of the allies, and attacked his rear with great fury. At the beginning of the charge, Bonnivet, while exerting himself with great valour, received a dangerous wound in the arm, which obliged him to quit the field, and to resign his command to Bayard, the count of Saint Pol, and the lord of Vandenesse. Bayard and Vandenesse swore they would save the army, or perish in the attempt. Unhappily for France, the latter was their fate. Bayard, who always courted the post of danger, was entrusted with the conduct of the rear; he placed himself at the head of his men at arms, and animating them by his exhortations and example to sustain the whole flock of the enemy's troops, he gained time for the rest of his countrymen to make good their retreat: but in this service the gallant knight received a wound in the loins from a musquet-ball, which he immediately perceived to be mortal, and being unable to continue any longer on horseback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face towards the enemy; then fixing his eyes on the guard of his sword, which he held up instead of a cross, he addressed his prayers to God, and, in this posture, which became his character both as a soldier and as a christian, he calmly waited the approach of death. Bourbon, who led the van of the allies, found him in this situation, and expressed regret and pity at the sight. "*Pity not me,*" cried the brave and loyal chevalier, "*I die as a man of honour ought, in serving my king: you, indeed, are an object of pity, who fight against your prince, your country, and your oath.*" The marquis de Pescara, passing soon after, manifested his admiration of Bayard's virtues, as well as his sorrow for his fate, with the generosity of a gallant enemy; and finding that he could not be removed with safety from that spot, ordered a tent to be pitched there, and appointed proper persons to attend him. He died, notwithstanding their care, as his ancestors for several generations had done, in the field of battle.

battle. Pescara ordered his body to be embalmed, and sent to his relations; and such was the respect paid to military merit in that age, that the duke of Savoy commanded royal honours to be paid it in all the cities of his dominions; it was conveyed to Dauphiné, (where people of all ranks came out in a solemn procession to meet it) and interred in the convent of Minims, about a league from Grenoble<sup>30</sup>. The king never ceased to regret the loss of his favourite knight; and after he had lost his liberty at the battle of Pavia, he was heard to exclaim—" *Ah, Bayard, if thou hadst been alive, I should not be where I am!*"

Bonnivet led back the remains of his army into France; and in one short campaign Francis was stripped of all his Italian conquests, and left without a single ally in that country. After this expulsion of the French from Italy, the Italian princes having obtained the object of the confederacy, expressed their intention of dissolving it; while the pope was extremely strenuous in his admonitions to the emperor not to persecute the rival he had humbled. But Charles, intoxicated with success, stimulated by his own ambition, and urged on by Bourbon's desire of revenge, resolved on an immediate invasion of France. An army of eighteen thousand men accordingly passed the Alps, under the conduct of the marquis de Pescara, aided by Bourbon; and entering Provence, laid siege to Marseilles. Bourbon would fain have directed their first attacks against Lyons, where his partisans were supposed to be numerous; but the emperor was so desirous of securing a port which might, at all times, give him a free access into the dominions of his rival, that he overruled the constable's opinion.

Francis made the most extraordinary efforts in order to defeat the designs of his enemies: he had already sent Brion and Ceré, with two hundred men at arms, and three thousand infantry, to the relief of Marseilles; and he now collected the scattered remains of Bonnivet's army, which he augmented with fourteen thousand Swiss, six thousand Lansquenets, and fifteen hundred men at arms. La Palisse—who was now distinguished by the appellation of mareschal de Chabannes—took possession of Avignon, while the king himself advanced as far as Salon; but he no sooner began to advance towards Marseilles, than the Imperial troops, exhausted by the fatigues of a siege which had lasted forty days, weakened by diseases, and almost destitute of provisions—from the care which had been taken to lay waste the adjacent country—evacuated the kingdom, (on the nineteenth of September) and retired with precipitation into Italy.

Francis having repelled this formidable invasion, ought certainly to have contented himself with providing for the future defence of his kingdom against similar attacks; but having a numerous and well-appointed army at his command, he could not withstand the temp-

<sup>30</sup> Belleforet, Epit. p. 73.—Mem. de Du Bellay, 75.—Œuvres de Brantôme, tom. vi. p. 108.—Pacquier, Recherches, p. 526.—Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 324.



tation which now presented itself to his view, for the recovery of the Milanese. In vain did his wisest ministers and generals attempt to dissuade him from this imprudent enterprise, by representing the danger of taking the field at such an advanced season of the year, with an army composed chiefly of Swiss and Germans, to whose caprices he must be subject in all his operations, and on whose fidelity his safety must absolutely depend. In vain did his mother assure him that she had something of the utmost consequence to communicate to him, and advance by hasty journies towards Provence, in order to second the remonstrances of his ministers; Francis was deaf to her solicitations, and began his march before her arrival, appointing her, however, by way of atonement for his neglect, to be regent of the kingdom during his absence.

The French crossed the Alps at mount Cenis, and advanced directly to Milan, where their unexpected arrival occasioned such consternation, that although Pescara entered the city with some of his best troops, he found it impossible to defend it; and having thrown a garrison into the citadel, he retired through one gate while the French entered at another. Francis was guilty of a fatal error, in not immediately pursuing the Imperialists, who repaired to Loda on the Adda, an untenable post, which they had resolved to abandon on his approach. Instead of doing this, to which he was advised by his most experienced generals, he unfortunately espoused the opinion of Bonnivet; and, on the eighteenth of October, laid siege to Pavia on the Tefino. The possession of Pavia would, indeed, have been an object of importance, since it would have opened to the French a free passage into a country, fertile and extensive; but the season was too far advanced for forming the siege of a place so strongly fortified, and garrisoned by six thousand veterans, under the command of a brave and experienced general.

The king prosecuted the siege with vigour, and during three months every exertion of art and valour was employed for reducing the town, but the vigilant activity and enterprising spirit of the governor, Antonio de Leyva, rendered them all fruitless. He interrupted the approaches of the French by frequent sallies; behind the breaches made by their artillery, he erected new works, scarcely inferior in strength to the original fortifications; he repulsed them in all their assaults; and by his exhortations and example induced not only the garrison, but the inhabitants, to brave every species of danger and fatigue. The progress of the French was not less retarded by the rigour of the season, than by the exertions of the enemy: they attempted, at the suggestion of Silly, bailiff of Caen, to reduce the town, by diverting the course of the Tefino, which bathed its walls; and constituted its chief defence on one side; but a sudden inundation of the river destroyed in one day the labour of many weeks, and swept away all the mounds which his army had raised with infinite toil, as well as a very great expence<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 447.

While Francis lay before the town, Clement the Seventh, jealous of the emperor's power, endeavoured to bring about a peace, which would leave the king in possession of the Milanese; and when Charles rejected his proposals with disdain, he immediately concluded a treaty of neutrality with the king of France, in which the republic of Florence was included<sup>32</sup>. Francis having thus deprived the emperor of his two most powerful allies, and secured a passage for his own troops through their territories, was so imprudent as to detach six thousand men, under the command of John Stuart, duke of Albany, to invade the kingdom of Naples, in the vain hope that Lannoy would be induced to recall a part of the Imperial army from the Milanese. But Pescara persuaded the viceroy to disregard the motions of Albany, and confine his attention to Francis, who thus weakened his army very unseasonably, without the prospect of reaping the smallest advantage from such a measure.

A.D. 1525.] The garrison of Pavia was, by this time, reduced to the greatest extremity; and the Germans, having received no pay for seven months, threatened to deliver the town to the French, a disaster which the Imperial generals resolved to avoid by immediately marching to their relief. This they were compelled to do, by the arrival of twelve thousand Germans, whom Bourbon had just brought to their assistance, which gave them a superiority over the French, who were considerably weakened, as well by the detachment sent to Naples, as by another, under the command of the marquis of Saluzzo, which had reduced Savona, defeated four thousand Spaniards, and insulted the city of Genoa: and, lastly, by the defection of the Grisons, who were recalled to the defence of their own territories.

On the first intelligence of the enemy's approach, Francis called a council of war; at which opinions were divided, but the majority were decidedly of opinion that a retreat should be attempted, and that no consideration should induce them to hazard the safety of the king and kingdom on the precarious event of a battle; these were the sentiments of all those illustrious warriors who had acquired so much glory in the preceding reigns: Lewis d'Ars, San Severino, Galiot de Genouillac, Chabannes, Foix, la Trémouille, all insisted on the propriety of raising the siege, and retiring to Benafco; observing, at the same time, that the Imperial army would soon be obliged to disband for want of pay, and that then Pavia would become an easy conquest. Their opinion was supported by the bishop of Carpi, who informed the king, in the pope's name, that Clement earnestly conjured him not to risk an action. But these prudent councils were strenuously rejected by Bonnivet, who even presumed to reproach Chabannes with attending rather to the suggestions of age, than to the dictates of his heart: all the young courtiers, anxious to signalize their courage, seconded Bonnivet, and insisted on the necessity of fighting the Im-

<sup>32</sup> Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 448.



perialists, sooner than relinquish an enterprize, on the success of which the future fame of Francis depended. Unfortunately, the king's notions of honour were so delicate, that he could not prevail on himself to raise the siege of a town which he had sworn to reduce; and he, therefore, determined to wait for the Imperialists before the walls of Pavia.

The situation of the French camp nearly resembled that of the Imperialists at Bicocca; it was situated in an extensive park, surrounded by a wall, in the center of which stood the castle of Mirabello; it was defended by strong entrenchments, and the approach to it on every side was rendered as difficult as art could make it. Here Francis drew up his troops in order of battle; the vanguard was entrusted to the mareschal de Chabannes, the centre was commanded by the king in person, and the duke of Alençon had the conduct of the rear. Two false attacks were made by the enemy on the French camp, in the night of the twenty-third of February; while they were employed in destroying the wall by sapping; this they did so effectually, that at break of day on the twenty-fourth, a breach sixty toises in length was effected, by which the Imperialists entered the camp. They rushed on with such impetuosity, that the castle of Mirabello was reduced in an instant, and the garrison taken prisoners; but a detachment of the Imperialists, who were advancing towards the town, were attacked and defeated by Chabot Brion, while the artillery was so well-pointed and successfully played by Galiot de Genouillac, that if that officer had been suffered to pursue his own plan, it would have sufficed, of itself, to destroy the enemy's army. The Imperialists retired with the utmost precipitation, and in the greatest confusion, into a neighbouring plain, where the king was so imprudent as to follow them with his Gendarmes, and by placing himself between his own batteries and the enemy's troops, gave up all the advantage he might have derived from his artillery: the rest of the army was, of course, obliged to follow their sovereign. The division commanded by the mareschal de Chabannes now formed the right wing, and that under the duke of Alençon the left; while the black-bands, reduced to five thousand men, took their station between the centre where the king fought in person, and the right wing; and the Swiss were placed to the left of the king's division. All the efforts of the Imperialists were directed against the centre; but Bourbon, with his Germans, attacked the black bands, who, after they had displayed the most intrepid valour, were all cut to pieces. The right wing twice repulsed a body of Neapolitan cavalry, but was, at length, overpowered by superior numbers; Chabannes himself was thrown from his horse, taken prisoner, and massacred in cool blood, by the brutal ferocity of a Spanish officer, who, enraged at not being entitled to any part of his ransom, was resolved that no other should profit by it<sup>33</sup>. After the death of Chabannes the right wing was totally routed, and the few troops that remained hastened to join the centre, where the king had obtained some little advantage, dearly bought with the lives of many of his bravest officers. Hitherto the Swiss had discharged their duty;

<sup>33</sup> Garnier.

but the duke of Alençon, alarmed at the defeat of the right wing, suddenly fled, with his whole division, and basely deserting his sovereign, hastened to Lyons, where he died soon after, with shame and remorse; the Swiss, finding themselves thus forsaken, began to suspect some treacherous design, and, notwithstanding the solicitations of Fleuranges, retired from the field: Diespach, their leader, resolved not to survive the disgrace of his countrymen, rushed into the midst of the enemy's squadrons, and fell covered with honourable wounds. All who detested the pusillanimous conduct of Alençon, and who had endeavoured to recall him to a just sense of his duty, now crowded around the king. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself on foot with heroic courage. Many of his gallant nobles threw themselves between their sovereign and the enemy, and endeavouring to save his life at the expence of their own, fell at his feet. Bonnivet, the unhappy author of this dreadful calamity, performed prodigies of valour, and while he dealt destruction to all around him, met the death he courted. The king continued fighting, till exhausted with fatigue, and scarcely capable of farther resistance, he was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment, came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had accompanied Bourbon in his flight, and placing himself by the side of the monarch, against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers, at the same time conjuring him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant; but the name of Bourbon roused the indignation of Francis, who called for Lannoy, and gave up his sword to him, which he, kneeling to kiss the king's hand, received with profound respect; and taking his own sword from his side, presented it to him, saying, That it did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the emperor's subjects. Francis was immediately conducted to the Imperial camp, where his wounds were dressed, and whence he dispatched this laconic but expressive note to his mother—" *Madame, all is lost, except our honour* <sup>34</sup>."

Ten thousand men fell in this fatal action, and the field of Pavia was stained with the best blood of France. Lewis d'Ars, la Trémouille, Chabannes, Bonnivet, and San Severino, were among the slain. The king of Navarre, the prince of Bozzolo, the count of Saint-Pol, Montmorenci, Saint-Marceau, Brion, Monchenu, Fleuranges, de Lorges, du Bellai-Langeac, la Roche-du-Maine, and many other illustrious warriors, shared the fate of Francis.

Lannoy treated his royal captive with every mark of respect; but solicitous to prevent a possibility of escape, he conducted him the day after the action to the strong castle of Pizzighitone, near Cremona, where he was committed to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spanish infantry, a man of strict honour, and incorruptible in-

<sup>34</sup> Guicciardini, tom. iii. lib. xv. p. 472.—Œuvres de Brantome, tom. vi. p. 355.—Mem. de Du Bellay, p. 90.



tegrity. The feeble garrison of Milan, on the first news of the defeat, retired without being pursued; and in two weeks after the battle not a Frenchman remained in Italy.

The kingdom was now reduced to a situation pregnant with dangers the most alarming: the duchess of Angoulême had to encounter not only those inconveniencies which naturally sprang from the king's captivity, and the loss of a flourishing army, but others of a more serious cast, arising from the discontent which prevailed in every part of France, and which seemed to threaten a general insurrection. The people murmured; the parliament complained, insisted on a reform, and required the immediate dismissal of the chancellor du Prat; but in this trying emergency, the magnanimity of Louisa was eminently displayed, and that kingdom which her passions had endangered, her abilities were exerted to save. She assembled, at Lyons, the princes of the blood, the governors of the provinces, and the notables of the realm, who came to the generous resolution of immediately paying the ransom of all the officers and soldiers who had been taken at the battle of Pavia. The army was thus enabled again to take the field, while the garrison of Hesdin, in Picardy, encouraged by the prospect of relief, repelled an attack of the Imperialists on that town. Louisa, at the same time, endeavoured to conciliate the favour, and to obtain the protection of the king of England.

Henry the Eighth had been startled at the fatal event of the battle of Pavia, and had become sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles the Fifth; while his minister, Wolsey, was enraged at the recollection of the emperor's treachery, in having deluded him with vain promises of the papal crown. The English monarch, however, though resolved on a change of measures, deemed it prudent to save appearances, and he caused public rejoicings to be made throughout his dominions, on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis; he also dismissed the French envoy, whom he had hitherto allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London<sup>35</sup>. But upon the submissive applications of the duchess of Angoulême, he renewed his correspondence with her, and besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she should never consent to the dismembering any province of the monarchy for her son's ransom. To the emperor, however, he held a different language; he reminded him that the hour was now come for extinguishing the monarchy of France: he required that Charles should immediately invade Guienne with a powerful army, in order to put him in immediate possession of that province; and he demanded that Francis should be delivered to him, in consequence of his claim to the crown of France, and an article of the treaty of Bruges, by which each party was bound to surrender all usurpers to him whose rights they had invaded. These proposals were received

<sup>35</sup> Du Bellay, l. viii.—Stowe, p. 221.—Baker, p. 273.

by the emperor with the disdain that was expected, and his rejection of them afforded Henry a decent pretence for withdrawing from his alliance.

Meanwhile the Imperial generals in Italy were obliged to disband the greater part of their troops, for want of money to pay them; and Charles himself, instead of profiting by the present calamitous situation of France, and making one great effort to penetrate into that kingdom, descended to the arts of intrigue and negotiation. He ordered Beaurain to pay his royal captive a visit at Pizzighitone, and to offer him peace on the following conditions: that he should renounce all pretensions to the duchy of Milan; that he should restore to Charles the duchy of Burgundy, which he claimed in right of his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy; and that Provence, Dauphiné and the Lionnois should be ceded to the duke of Bourbon, and, in conjunction with his own hereditary estates, should be formed into an independent kingdom. The king rejected with indignation these humiliating proposals, and, drawing his dagger, exclaimed—" 'Twere better " that a king should die thus!"—Alarçon, alarmed at his vehemence, laid hold on his hand; but though Francis soon recovered greater composure, he still declared, in the most solemn manner, that he would rather remain a prisoner through life, than purchase liberty by such ignominious concessions. He offered, however, to espouse Eleanora, widow to the king of Portugal, and sister to the emperor, to hold Burgundy as the dower of that princess, and to entail it on her children; to pay the same ransom which king John had paid; to supply Charles with a fleet and army, whenever he might choose to repair to Rome for the purpose of receiving the Imperial crown; and, lastly, to restore all the possessions belonging to the duke of Bourbon, and to give him his sister, the princess Margaret, (to whom he was known to be attached) in marriage. These offers were rejected by Charles.

But Lannoy, anxious to convey his prisoner safe into Spain, flattered Francis with the hope that a personal interview with the emperor would accelerate his release from captivity on more equitable terms; and the French monarch, anxious to grasp at any thing which could afford him the smallest prospect of procuring his liberty, furnished the galleys necessary for the voyage, and commanded his admiral, Doria, to suffer them to pass without molestation. Bourbon and Pescara were deceived by the pretence that Lannoy meant to transport his prisoner to the castle of Naples; and the latter officer embarking with the king at Portofiero, landed, on the seventeenth of June, 1525, at Palamos, in Catalonia. Francis was then conveyed to Madrid, and lodged in the Alcazar, under the care of the vigilant Alarçon.

The regent, during these transactions, was employed in cementing her alliance with the king of England, who concluded a treaty with her on the thirtieth of August, by



which he engaged to procure her son his liberty, on reasonable conditions<sup>36</sup>. The regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom to be Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns; after which Henry was to receive, during his life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns. A present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to cardinal Wolfey, for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay<sup>37</sup>.

Francis, meanwhile, instead of the interview with which he had been flattered by Lannoy, found himself in a solitary prison, closely guarded, and allowed no other recreation than to take the air on a mule, surrounded by soldiers. The continuance of this harsh treatment for six months threw him into a fever; and the emperor, fearful of losing by his death all the fruits of his victory, condescended to make him a consolatory visit, and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him: "—You come, sir, to visit your prisoner."—"No," replied Charles, "I come to visit my brother, and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty." This friendly language, and the specious promises of the emperor, had so good an effect on the king, that he daily recovered; but the flattering expectations he had been led to entertain vanished with the return of health; and Francis, in despair, entrusted to his sister, the duchess of Alençon, a deed, by which he resigned his kingdom to the dauphin.

A. D. 1526.] Charles, being apprized of this circumstance, and farther induced by a confederacy of the Italian powers, who, alarmed at the rapidity of his progress, had entered into an alliance with the duchess of Angoulême, began seriously to think of treating with the king; while Francis, on his side, was persuaded by his friends to accede to any terms that might be proposed to him, under the idea that engagements contracted under such circumstances could never be deemed binding. Accordingly, on the fourteenth of January, 1526, a treaty was concluded between the rival princes, after Francis had secretly protested, in the presence of his friends, against the validity of a contract extorted, as it were, by force. By this treaty it was stipulated; that the king should espouse the princess Eleanor, who should have a marriage-portion of two hundred thousand crowns; that he should be conducted to Fontarabia, and restored to liberty on the tenth of March; that his two sons should be delivered as hostages, together with twelve of the most experienced officers in the French service, who were to remain in the emperor's power until all the articles of the treaty should be fulfilled; that Francis should renounce all his pretensions on Italy; that he should restore Burgundy and its dependencies; that he should relinquish the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; that he should abandon his allies in Italy; and supply the emperor with a fleet and army, to assist him in punishing his rebellious vassals. Francis likewise engaged to abandon the king of Navarre, the dukes of Gueldres and Wirtemberg, and Robert de la Marck,

<sup>36</sup> Du Tillet.—Rec. des Traités de Leonard, tom. ii.

<sup>37</sup> Hume.

and to re-establish the duke of Bourbon and the prince of Orange in all their possessions. If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of that article which provided for the cession of Burgundy, from the opposition of the states, either of France or of that province, the king stipulated, that, in six weeks time, he should return to prison, and there remain till the full performance of the treaty. From the whole tenour of this famous convention, it was evident that Charles intended to reduce Italy, as well as France, to subjection and dependance.

It was foretold by many of Charles's ministers, that, however solemn the oaths, promises, and protestations exacted of Francis, he would never execute a treaty so dishonourable to himself, and so disadvantageous to his country. By resigning Burgundy to the emperor, he gave his powerful enemy a free passage into the heart of the kingdom; by sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of all foreign assistance, and rendered his oppressor irresistible, by arming him with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country. To these great views of interest, were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and resentment. While Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the cruel terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his freedom. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalry, which had so long subsisted between these two monarchs, would make him feel the strongest reluctance at yielding the superiority to an antagonist, who, by the whole tenour of his conduct, he would incline to think, had shewn himself so little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His ministers, friends, subjects, and allies, would, they averred, be unanimous in persuading him that the first object of a prince was the preservation of his people, and that every principle ought to be rendered subordinate to the great duty of ensuring the safety of his country. Nor could it be imagined, they said, that Francis could be so *romantic* in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry, so plausible in itself, and so flattering to all the passions, by which, either as a prince or a man, he was strongly actuated.

Such was the reasoning of several of the Imperial ministers, particularly of Gattinara, the chancellor<sup>38</sup>, who advised his master to treat Francis with more generosity, and to give him his liberty on such terms, as would engage him, not on the feeble bond of treaties, but, by the more forcible tie of honour, to a strict and faithful performance. But the emperor's avidity prevented him from following this wiser and more honourable council; at the same time that the prospect of a general combination of the European powers, prevented him from detaining Francis in captivity, and taking advantage of the confusions which his absence must necessarily occasion in his kingdom. Still suspicious, however, of the sincerity of his prisoner, he took an opportunity, before they parted, of

<sup>38</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xvi.



asking him privately, and as a friend, whether he seriously intended to execute the treaty of Madrid; protesting, that, at all events, he himself was firmly determined to restore him to liberty, and that the prospect of obtaining this advantage, needed no longer engage him to dissemble. Francis was too well-acquainted with Charles's character to trust to the sincerity of this protestation; and, therefore, renewed his assurances of fidelity, and a strict observance of his word. The emperor replied, that Francis was now his best friend and ally; but, if he should afterwards break his engagements, which he could not suspect, he should think himself entitled to reproach him with a conduct so base and unworthy: and on these terms the two monarchs parted.

Francis was conducted to Fontarabia on the eighteenth of March, 1526, and hastened to the banks of the Bidassoa, accompanied by Lannoy, Alarçon, and an escort of fifty horse, while his two sons appeared on the opposite shore, under the care of the marshal de Lautrec. The exchange being made, the king crossed the river, and instantly mounting a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and exclaiming, "*I am yet a king!*" galloped full speed to Saint-John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the dukes of Angoulême and the whole court. He was soon followed by a Spanish envoy, who came to demand his ratification of the treaty of Madrid; but Francis waved the proposal, under pretence that he must previously assemble the states of Burgundy, and obtain their consent to the cession of that province. As soon as he had dismissed the envoy with this unsatisfactory answer, he wrote to the king of England, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he was indebted for his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his councils in all transactions with the emperor<sup>39</sup>. He then proceeded to fill up all the vacant posts in the ministry: the marshal de Montmorency was appointed to the government of Languedoc; Chabot-Brion was created admiral of France, and governor of Burgundy; the government of Dauphiné was assigned to the count of Saint-Pol; and Triulzi and Fleuranges were made marshals of France, in the room of Chabannes and de Foix, who had been killed at the battle of Pavia.

After the king had made these regulations he repaired to Cognac, to receive the ambassadors from the Italian princes, with whom he was about to form a league for frustrating the ambitious schemes, and repressing the usurpations of the emperor. At the same time Lannoy, who had remained at Vittoria, with the hostages and queen Eleanor, ready to conduct them to France as soon as the treaty should have been executed, went to Cognac, accompanied by Alarçon, to summon Francis to fulfil his engagements. The king made the same reply as before, and Lannoy stayed to hear the determination of the states of Burgundy, who declared against the clause which contained an engagement for

<sup>39</sup> Hume.

alienating their province, and expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The Imperial minister then required, that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should return to his prison; but the king, instead of complying with his request, made public, on the twenty-eighth of June, the treaty which he had concluded with the Italian powers<sup>40</sup>.

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, had been holden in the most anxious suspense, with regard to the resolutions which Francis should take, after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, who suspected that this monarch would never execute a treaty so prejudicial to his interests, and even destructive of his independence, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis did not hesitate, but immediately entered into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that prince, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France, on receiving a reasonable sum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without farther additions or incumbrances, Francis renouncing all his pretensions in Italy, reserving only for himself Genoa, and the county of Aste. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but also as protector of the *Holy League*, as this confederacy was called: and if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, it was agreed by the confederates, that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom, of the yearly revenue of thirty thousand ducats; and that cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services which he had rendered to Christendom<sup>41</sup>, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a yearly revenue of ten thousand ducats.

A. D. 1527.] Francis hoped that the appearance of this powerful confederacy would engage the emperor to relax somewhat of the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid, and, at least, to accept the two millions of crowns which he had offered to him in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy; and led away by these hopes he neglected to send, in due time, reinforcements to his allies in Italy, and, indeed, forgot the whole world in the arms of his favourite mistress, Anne de Pisseleu, afterwards dutchess of Etampes. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates, and not the less so, because Charles, destitute of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The duke was extremely beloved by his troops, and, in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection for him had, alone, hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that

<sup>40</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xvii.

<sup>41</sup> Hume.



opulent city. On the sixth of May, 1527, the assault was given: Bourbon was killed by a random shot as he was planting a ladder to scale the walls; yet the army, the command of which devolved on Philibert, prince of Orange, rather enraged than discouraged by the death of their leader, entered the city sword in hand, and exercised all those brutalities which may be expected by ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence inflated by success, which seldom fails to take place when that resistance ceases. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured, in any age, even from the barbarians by whom she was so often subdued, such indignities as she was now constrained to suffer. The universal massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the smallest evils to which the wretched Romans were exposed<sup>42</sup>. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon those very altars, to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced each moment with the most cruel death, in order to engage them to reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken prisoner; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the Germans, who, from their attachment to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

When the emperor was informed of this event, deeply versed in the arts of hypocrisy, he expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms. He put himself and all his court into mourning: he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip; and, knowing that every artifice however gross, can, when seconded by authority, impose on the people, he ordered prayers, during several months, to be offered up for the pope's liberty, which a letter under his hand would, it was well known, have sufficed to procure.

The concern expressed by Francis and the king of England for the misfortune which had befallen their ally, was much more sincere. These two monarchs had, on the thirtieth of April, concluded a treaty, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the dauphin Francis, and his brother, Henry duke of Orleans, and to repay the money borrowed of the English monarch; and, in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended with heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him. This war, it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand infan-

<sup>42</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xviii.

try, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by Henry. And in order to strengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated, that either Francis or his son, the duke of Orleans, as should afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they changed, by a new treaty, signed on the twenty-ninth of May, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther induced to proceed with vigour in the prosecution of their plan for restoring him to liberty. Cardinal Wolsey crossed the sea, and had an interview with Francis, on the eleventh of July, at which he displayed all the grandeur and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was attended with a train of a thousand horse: the cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor of France met him at Boulogne; and the king himself, besides granting the proud prelate the power of giving, in every place where he came, liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it, but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their own dominions, each by his own authority.

The more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was concluded at London, on the eighteenth of September; by which Henry agreed to renounce for ever all claims to the crown of France. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay, for ever, fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that a greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed, that the parliaments and principal nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The mareschal de Montmorenci, accompanied with many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to England to ratify the treaty, and was received at London with all the parade which suited the occasion.

The king, meanwhile, had holden a *Bed of Justice*, at which deputies from all the towns in the kingdom attended, who were unanimous in their opinions that he was not bound to observe the treaty of Madrid, which had been the result of force, and was contrary to the laws of the realm; and they agreed that he had a right to levy on his subjects whatever money might be necessary for the ransom of his son, and the other wants of the state<sup>43</sup>. In consequence of this determination, Francis resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and having assembled a powerful army, he appointed the mareschal Lautrec to command it. The Italian states received Lautrec with open arms, who instantly

<sup>43</sup> Gaillard.



seized Alexandria, and reduced all the country on that side of the Tefino. Pavia was taken by assault, and the whole Milanese must have been restored to the dominion of France, had not Lautrec been fearful of exciting the jealousy of the confederates. He therefore directed his march towards Rome; the terror of his approach induced Charles to restore Clement to liberty, and directed the subsequent operations of the war against the kingdom of Naples.

During these transactions, Francis and Henry sent ambassadors to the emperor, who, notwithstanding the powerful confederacy which had been formed against him, refused to submit to all the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed, indeed, from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes, but he required, previously to their liberation from captivity, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses which he held in Italy; and he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, on account of his pretended treason. The French and English heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation and decent firmness; but to the French, he reproached his master with breach of faith; reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation; and offered to prove, by single combat, that that monarch had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro between them; but though the courage of neither prince could be doubted, the duel never took place; yet the example of two such illustrious personages had a considerable influence on the manners of Europe, and sanctioned the practice of duels in private and personal quarrels.

A. D. 1528.] Meantime Lautrec pursued his conquests in Italy with vigour and effect. He speedily reduced the whole kingdom of Naples, except Gaieta and the capital; Andrew Doria, a citizen of Genoa, the ablest seaman of his age, and the admiral of Francis, had gained a victory over the superior fleet of the emperor, and every thing seemed to favour the progress of the French arms.

But the imprudence of Francis soon blasted this flattering prospect; he had neglected to make proper remittances for the support of the Italian army; and he was prevailed on, by the fatal councils of his ministers, to disgust his admiral Doria; who, though in the service of France, maintained the independent spirit of a republican, and often preferred his complaints with freedom and boldness. He was anxious to re-establish the republican form of government in Genoa; to have his countrymen regarded by the French not as subjects but allies; and he opposed, with threats, the design of Francis to restore the harbour of Savona, an adjacent town, which the Genoese had long regarded with jealousy. Francis, irritated by his contemptuous expressions, commanded him to be instantly

stantly arrested; but Doria, apprized of his danger, retired with his galleys to a place of safety; entered into a negotiation with the emperor, who granted him whatever terms he required, and sailed back to Naples, not to block up the harbour of that city, but to afford it protection and relief.

The communication with the sea being thus opened, plenty was restored to Naples; the French in their turn began to experience a scarcity of provisions, and they were incessantly harassed by the Imperialists, under the conduct of the prince of Orange. To the ravages of famine those of pestilence succeeded; and the unfortunate Lautrec, after long struggling with the difficulties of his situation, expired the victim of disease and disappointment. On his death, the command of the French army devolved on the marquis of Saluzzo, who retired with the remnant of his troops to Averfa, where he was soon compelled to capitulate by the prince of Orange; Naples was again evacuated by the French, and the emperor recovered his superiority in Italy.

These disasters were followed by the loss of Genoa, the garrison whereof was reduced by desertion to an inconsiderable number. Doria, impatient to deliver his country from a foreign yoke, sailed into the harbour, and was received by the acclamations of his fellow-citizens. The French retired into the citadel, but were soon obliged to surrender; while Doria, instead of usurping the sovereign power, established the government nearly the same as it subsists to this day, and has obtained from the gratitude of posterity the honourable appellations of **THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY.**

A. D. 1529.] In the duchy of Milan the French were totally defeated by the Imperialists, under Antonio de Leyva, and Francis, discouraged and exhausted by so many unsuccessful enterprizes, began to entertain serious thoughts of peace. The emperor, also, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Turkish arms, embarrassed by the propagation of the doctrines of Luther in Germany, and the seditious murmurs of his subjects in Spain, evinced an inclination to listen to his proposals. Margaret of Austria and the duchess of Angoulême, mother to Francis, met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification, whence the peace derived the appellation of "*The Ladies' Peace*," though more frequently called The Peace of Cambray. The king of England, the republic of Venice, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, sent ambassadors to assert or discuss their respective rights; but those rights were sacrificed; Charles was in a situation to dictate, and Francis was obliged to comply. By this treaty, concluded on the fifth of August, 1529, the king renounced all pretensions to the duchy of Milan, the county of Aste, and the kingdom of Naples; engaged to compel the Venetians to restore all the places of which he himself had put them in possession; and relinquished his rights to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and to the possession of Tournay and Arras. Charles agreed to accept of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, as the ransom of the



French princes, reserving, however, his pretensions to that duchy in full force; and Francis consented immediately to consummate his marriage with Eleanora, the emperor's sister. The king of England was so generous to his friend and ally, Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of six hundred thousand crowns, which that prince owed him.

The Italian princes were now abandoned entirely to the discretion of the emperor. Florence, after a resistance worthy of the cause for which she fought, was subdued by the Imperial arms, and finally subjected to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians experienced a better treatment, and were only compelled to relinquish their acquisitions on the Neapolitan coast. Even Francesco Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and a pardon for all his past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the pope at Bologna.

A. D. 1530, 1531.] It was with the utmost difficulty that the king could raise the sum stipulated for the ransom of his sons, who did not arrive in France till the first of June, 1530, when they were met by Francis at the abbey of Vegin, where he consummated his marriage with Eleanora, a princess whose personal charms were insufficient to fix the wavering affections of an amorous monarch. During this interval of tranquillity, Francis indulged in sorrowful reflections on his past misfortunes, which he vainly sought to remedy by the pitiful subterfuge of a secret protestation against the treaty of Cambray; but he derived much greater consolation from his intercourse with men of science, to whom he was a liberal friend and benefactor. Yet even here his satisfaction was incomplete; his mind being poisoned by the insinuations of the clergy, his dread of incurring the guilt of heresy made him fall into the *sin* of persecution. The French divines, in their discourses from the pulpit, and their disputations in the schools, displayed the most inveterate and intolerant bigotry; all the arguments and positions which they either could not understand or were unable to confute, they stigmatized as heretical. Even Erasmus, who combated with zeal and ability the principles of Luther, could not escape the censures of the university; and several persons accused of heresy were, by the orders of Francis, committed to the flames. The duchess of Alençon, sister to the king, an amiable princess, and a liberal patroness of the sciences, was accused of a deviation from the purity of the Catholic faith, and was obliged to stoop to a defence of her orthodoxy: a book which she had composed in verse, entitled *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*, made a great noise; but the doctors of the Sorbonne seized it at the bookseller's, and prevented its farther circulation.

Meantime the progress of Lutheranism in Germany was rapid and extensive; and the princes of the empire who professed those doctrines, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes passed by the Catholic princes in the Imperial diet at Spires, for the defence of the established faith, they thenceforth received the appellation  
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of *Protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience ; and, on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

A. D. 1532, 1533, 1534.] The death of the duchess of Angoulême, which happened on the twenty-second of September, 1531, had delivered Francis from a counsellor whose passions had frequently endangered the kingdom, which her wisdom and magnanimity had contributed to protect ; yet mindful of her councils, he completed her favourite project of annexing the duchy of Brittany to the crown : the states of that province were, after much difficulty, prevailed on to abandon their claim of a free and separate principality, and, in the month of August, 1533, the long wished-for annexation took place. The king appeared extremely anxious to preserve the friendship of Henry, and at a second interview between the two monarchs, at a place equi-distant from Calais and Boulogne, they displayed every mark of mutual confidence. Nor was Francis less eager to attach the pope to his interests, for which purpose he proposed a marriage between the celebrated Catherine of Medicis, the niece of Clement, and his second son, Henry duke of Orleans ; the pope accepted with joy the proffered alliance, and, accordingly, conducted the intended bride to Marseilles, in the month of October, 1533, when the nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence. But the king did not reap the advantages which he had expected to derive from this alliance, for Clement died within the year, and was succeeded in the papal throne by Alexander Farnese, who assumed the title of Paul the Third.

A. D. 1535, 1536.] Francis having by this time recruited his finances, and indignant at the humiliating conditions of the treaty of Cambray, seized the opportunity of his rival's absence, then engaged in breaking the chains of the Christian captives in Africa, to renew his intrigues in Italy. The execution of Merveille, his ambassador at Milan, whom Sforza caused to be privately put to death, afforded him a pretence for public hostilities ; and the duke of Savoy, by refusing permission to the French troops to pass through Piedmont, drew upon himself the first operations of war.

The king advanced as far as Lyons, and gave the command of his army to the admiral Chabot-Brion, who speedily reduced most of the towns in Savoy, and proceeded towards mount Cenis, when the death of Francesco Sforza led the king to hope that he might easily obtain from the emperor the investiture of the duchy of Milan for his second son, the duke of Orleans ; but Charles, who had just returned from a successful expedition against the famous Barbarossa, and who thought that his power was now irresistible, wished to keep the Milanese for himself. He concealed, however, his designs, and amused the king, during the winter of 1535, with delusive hopes that vanished at the approach of spring, when Charles appeared fully prepared to take the field. Yet Francis still cherished hopes that his resistance might be overcome, and though his troops completed



the reduction of the dominions of the duke of Savoy, he ordered them to respect the territories of the emperor. The negotiations still continued, though Charles complained of the conduct of his rival, in making war on his brother-in-law, at a time when he was about to bestow the investiture of the duchy of Milan on his son. Still he promised to come to a decision on the business, if Francis would send an ambassador to receive his answer at Rome, whither he was then going. The cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke of Guise, was accordingly sent to the capital of the Christian world, and he was attended by Velly, who had hitherto conducted the negotiation. Both Velly and the cardinal Du Bellay, the French ambassador at Rome, were of opinion, that Charles had only delayed his answer, in order that the pope might have the glory of appearing as a mediator between the rival monarchs; nor were they inclined to believe Paul, when he frankly assured them that they flattered themselves, with delusive hopes, and that he was certain the duke of Orleans would never be duke of Milan. At length, the fatal day arrived which was destined to encrease those sentiments of hatred which subsisted between these two potent princes. The emperor began to complain more loudly of the invasion of Piedmont, and talked of investing the duke of Angoulême with the duchy of Milan in preference to his brother. After an altercation with Velly, who pressed him to fulfil his promise, he repaired to the Vatican, where, in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors, and all the cardinals, he reviled the king of France and his subjects in the most indecent manner: he averred, that all the treaties which his moderation had dictated, had been openly violated; he traced back every instance of perfidy to the reign of Lewis the Twelfth; he justified Sforza in the assassination of Merveille; blamed the king for seeking to revenge the death of his ambassador; maintained that he had only made use of that circumstance as a pretence for violating the treaty of Cambray; and represented him as a prince destitute of honour, and restrained by no principle: he concluded by exhorting the pope, the sacred college, and all the Christian potentates to unite with him against a prince who was the ally of infidels, and a disturber of the public repose. The pope replied, with great moderation, to this vehement harangue, promising to observe a strict neutrality, and exhorting the emperor to peace. The sovereign pontiff in a private conversation with Charles, convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct, and persuaded him so to explain his speech of the preceding day, as to do away the most offensive parts; but the thin veil which he threw over his abuse was insufficient to conceal his rancour<sup>44</sup>.

Velly, at the last audience he had of the emperor, pressed that prince to tell him in what manner he should justify himself to his master for having given credit to his promises: "I beg your majesty"—said the ambassador—"to declare before his holiness, whether it be not true, that you promised me the Milanese for the duke of Orleans?"

<sup>44</sup> Gaillard.

The emperor, somewhat disconcerted by a question thus precise, remained silent for some time, but being pressed for an answer, he acknowledged that he had made such a promise, but under conditions which had not been fulfilled: Velly then offered to fulfil those conditions; Charles replied that it was impossible. “Why then did you propose them?” returned Velly. The emperor had recourse to fresh evasions; he observed that the time was past; that the king, by his invasion of Piedmont, had released him from his engagements, and that the Italian princes would oppose any attempt to fulfil them.—To such pitiful subterfuges was this powerful monarch reduced by his artifice, dissimulation, and treachery!

War was now unavoidable, and both monarchs prepared for the contest with a vigour and alacrity equal to their resentment: but Francis, warned by the fatal defeat of Pavia, resolved not to risk any decisive action, but to act chiefly on the defensive. He strengthened the fortifications of all those towns which were most open to attack; he recruited his armies, and replenished his coffers. The chief command of the troops, destined for the defence of Picardy, was conferred on the duke of Vendôme, who was assisted by the marshal de Montmorenci; the duke of Guise commanded in Champagne; Humieres was ordered to defend the province of Dauphiné, and to guard the passes of the Alps: Barbesieux was stationed at Marseilles; and the king himself, with a powerful army, undertook to defend the remaining part of Provence, against which he justly concluded the principal attack would be directed.

Charles, meanwhile, entered Piedmont with an army of forty thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry; and his progress was greatly facilitated by the treachery of the marquis of Saluzzo, who had succeeded admiral Brion in the command of the French forces in that quarter. That nobleman, by a superstitious faith in astrology, and a belief that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand, was induced to desert the cause of his sovereign and benefactor. But Montpezat, the governor of Fossano, by his courage and conduct, delayed the Imperial army above a month, before that inconsiderable place, and by that means gave Francis ample time to prepare for the reception of the enemy. A detachment of the Imperialists, at the same time, invested Turin, but were compelled to retire, after various skirmishes, in which the French were generally successful.

De Leyva, meanwhile, made a fruitless attempt to enter Dauphiné, but the emperor's real design was to get possession of Provence, which he claimed as well in his own right as in consequence of the cession which the duke of Bourbon had made him of that country. From the magicians and astrologers, whom he consulted on this occasion, he received the greatest hopes of success; and so thoroughly was he convinced that he should complete, with facility, the conquest of France, that he distributed a variety of governments and possessions, in that kingdom, to his favourites and friends. He harangued his  
troops



troops in the same authoritative tone, and with the same imperious confidence, as he had displayed to the French ambassadors at Rome; and the soldiers replied to his harangue with such loud acclamations of joy, as clearly evinced that their sentiments corresponded to those of their master. At length the Imperial army arrived at Saint-Laurent, the first town in the French dominions, on the twenty-fifth of July; and as that day was the festival of Saint-James, the patron of Spain, it was generally believed that the saint had accorded his particular protection to the emperor; to strengthen this belief, the soldiers were reminded that, on that same day, in the preceding year, Charles had effected a landing on the coast of Africa, where he obtained a signal victory over Barbarossa. These ideas, being strongly impressed on the minds of the troops, inspired them with fresh courage, which was farther increased by the tranquillity of the French: not a single body of troops was any where to be seen, and this apparent inactivity was considered as the effect of terror.

The king, meanwhile, had completed the fortifications of such towns as were capable of defence, demolished others, and laid waste the open country: in his camp at Valence he was prepared to send succours wherever they might be wanted, while Montmorenci was sent to command the camp at Avignon, with orders to conduct himself with the utmost caution and prudence, and particularly, not to hazard a decisive action. Montmorenci arrived at Avignon on the fourth of August, and, in a council of war, it was determined to confine his operations to the securing his camp from insult, and to the preventing the enemy from forming any establishment on the rivers Rhone and Durance. As the Imperialists approached they were alarmed at the face of desolation which the country presented, destitute alike of food and shelter: even Aix was dismantled, notwithstanding the offer of Montejan to take the command of it, and that of the inhabitants to defend it to the last extremity.

A victory obtained by the van of the Imperial army, over a detachment of the French, under the command of Montejan and Boisy, who had extorted from Montmorenci a reluctant permission to harass the enemy on their march, served both to inflate the Germans and to discourage the French, who began to tremble in their camp. The news of this check did not so much mortify the king as the intelligence which he received, at the same time, of the reduction of Guise in Picardy. The counts of Nassau and Rieux had entered that province, where the duke of Vendôme commanded; and several skirmishes had taken place with little advantage on either side. But Nassau, after an unsuccessful attempt on Saint-Riquier, at which the female inhabitants greatly contributed to his defeat, took by surprise the town of Guise. The neglect and cowardice of the garrison were severely punished, and all the nobility, who were in the place at the time, were degraded from their rank. But these disasters were trifling when compared to one which now reached the ears of the king. The dauphin, on the road to join the army, had stopped at Tournon, where, after heating himself at tennis, he was so imprudent

dent as to drink a glass of cold water, in consequence of which he expired in four days. The cardinal of Lorraine was appointed to convey the dreadful intelligence to the king, but his tears stopped his utterance, and the monarch, by one of those *presentimens* which, though often felt, cannot easily be accounted for, was apprized of that which no one dared to communicate. Francis felt as a father, and the whole kingdom joined in his lamentations for the loss of a son, who was an object of universal esteem.

The count of Montecuculli was afterward accused of having administered poison to the young prince; and as the vulgar are seldom inclined to ascribe the death of a great man, or distinguished character, to any natural cause, the accusation met with more credit than it deserved; the count was arrested, and being applied to the rack, confessed the crime; to the commission of which, he said, he had been instigated by the Imperial generals, Gonzaga and Leyva. Suspicions were even cast on the emperor himself; but the most unprejudiced historians have rejected the evidence extorted by torture, and there remains little doubt but that the fact is as we have stated it above. Montecuculli, however, in consequence of his own confession, and of a treatise on poisons, found in his possession, and written by himself, was declared guilty, and was, accordingly, executed at Lyons, on the seventh of October, 1536.

During these transactions, the emperor advanced as far as Marseilles, but all his attempts to reduce that city proved ineffectual, and he was finally compelled to relinquish the inglorious siege. Finding his army considerably reduced, and having lost many of his bravest officers, he, at length, was prevailed on to quit the territories of France, where he had neither gained honour nor advantage. He retreated in the greatest confusion, and the king might easily have destroyed his army, had he not been restrained by the pertinacious caution of Montmorenci, and by his desire of reinforcing the duke of Vendôme, and of quieting the apprehensions of the Parisians. In Picardy, the count of Nassau, after the reduction of Guise, had laid siege to Peronne, which was ably defended by the marshal de Fleuranges, who repulsed the enemy in four successive assaults, and compelled them to abandon the hopeless enterprize; so that Francis, by the prudence of his own measures, and the union and valour of his subjects, rendered abortive the formidable schemes of his rival.

A. D. 1537.] Francis, on his return to Lyons, at the end of the campaign, found James the Fifth, king of Scotland, who had, without solicitation, sailed to the assistance of his ancient ally, with an army of sixteen thousand men; though contrary winds had prevented him from landing, until the campaign was closed, and the emperor had retired. The king was so well pleased with the generous conduct of the Scottish monarch, that he gave him his daughter, the princess Magdalen, in marriage, and the nuptials were celebrated on the first of January, 1537. Magdalen dying within the year, James took, for his second wife, Mary, daughter to the duke of Guise, and widow to the duke of Longueville,



Longueville, who became mother to the celebrated Mary Stuart, not less famous for her beauty and accomplishments, than for the persecution she sustained during her life, and the calumnies which have been heaped, with illiberal profusion, on her memory.

On the nineteenth of January, a bed of justice was holden at Paris, at which Capel, the advocate-general, attempted to prove, in a long speech, that the domains of the crown being inalienable, the king had no right to cede the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois to Charles, who, as a vassal of the crown, had incurred the guilt of felony, and whose territories, therefore, were declared to be forfeited. This ridiculous ceremony could have no other effect than that of encreasing the animosity which subsisted between Francis and Charles. An alliance which the former contracted, at this period, with the emperor of the Turks, was attended with no greater advantage.

The campaign opened at an early period, in the Low Countries, where the king for a while commanded his troops in person; but his impatience to revisit the beautiful duchess of Etampes induced him to return to Piedmont, when the command of the forces devolved on the marshal de Montmorenci. The French reduced several towns and fortresses, but they were all speedily retaken by the superior forces of the Flemings, who, in their turn, invested Terouanne. The dauphin and Montmorenci hastened to the relief of the place, but when they had advanced within a few miles of the enemy, and a battle appeared inevitable, they were stopped by the intelligence that a suspension of arms had been agreed on. The queen-dowager of Hungary, governess of the Low-Countries, and her sister, Eleanora, wife to Francis, had met at the village of Bomy, two leagues from Terouanne, where they concluded, on the thirtieth of July, 1537, a truce of ten months, for the Low-Countries and the province of Artois. The war still continued in Piedmont, but nothing of importance occurred during the present campaign, which was terminated by a truce for three months, concluded on the twenty-eighth of November, and afterwards prolonged to the tenth of June, in the following year.

A. D. 1538.] The enmity of Francis and Charles appears to have exceeded their strength, and their coffers were exhausted by their frequent and bloody wars. The mediation of the pope was offered and accepted, and an interview at Nice appointed between the rival princes. The emperor accordingly repaired, on the third of March, to Villa-Franca; and the king arrived, about the same time, at Villa-Nuova; but still the two monarchs did not meet. Mezeray is of opinion, that the emperor was fearful of being pressed on the subject of the investiture of the Milanese, and of having a promise extorted from him in the presence of the pope. Both Charles and Francis visited his holiness, though at different times; and, after much altercation, a truce for nine years was at length concluded between them, on the eighteenth of June, 1538.

The interview which Charles had rejected at Nice he courted at Aigues-Mortes, and at that town the two monarchs met. From the tokens of respect and friendship which passed between them, it was conjectured by some, that a sincere reconciliation had taken place; they had several private conversations with each other, the subject of which never transpired, but they tended to alarm the duke of Savoy, the sultan Solymán, and the king of England. Notwithstanding this apparent concord and harmony, no peace was concluded, and the rival princes parted as they met.

Some months after this interview, the king fell dangerously ill at Compiègne, in consequence of an intrigue which he had with the wife of an advocate, whose husband, in order to revenge himself, had purposely contracted a disease which he communicated to his wife, who gave it to Francis. The lady herself died of it; the husband, by timely precautions, was soon cured; but the king laid the foundation of a disorder which insensibly preyed upon his vitals. The continual pains he experienced altered his temper, and he became suspicious and peevish. The disgust he conceived for a pleasure, which he was no longer capable of enjoying, proved advantageous to his subjects, as that time which he had hitherto bestowed on the prosecution of his amours, he now devoted solely to affairs of state.

A. D. 1539.] The emperor, meanwhile, found ample occupation in his own dominions: the citizens of Ghent, mindful of their former immunities, and tenacious of their ancient privileges, had refused to contribute to the support of the late war; and erecting the standard of rebellion, had offered, by their deputies, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of France; but that monarch still flattering himself with the vain hope of obtaining the investiture of Milan from the justice of the emperor, rejected the proposals of the Flemings, and communicated their schemes and intentions to his rival.—Charles, though free from any danger on the side of France, was alarmed at the revolt of a people, rich, turbulent, and obstinate. The exigency, he was aware, demanded his immediate presence, but his dignity would not allow him to pass through Germany without a train of attendants and troops that must necessarily have delayed him; and the voyage by sea was dangerous at that advanced season of the year. In this dilemma, contrary to the opinions of his most experienced counsellors, he resolved, as the shortest way, to demand a passage through the dominions of his rival. To Francis he, at the same time, made a promise to invest the duke of Orleans with the duchy of Milan<sup>45</sup>. The French council assembled on the occasion; they were unanimous in agreeing that the emperor's request should be complied with, but the majority were of opinion that the investiture of Milan should be first granted; this, however, was over-ruled by Montmorenci (who had recently received the constable's sword) as well as by Francis himself; who insisted

<sup>45</sup> Garnier.



on the propriety of placing a full reliance on the generosity and justice of Charles. The duke of Orleans, his brother, and the constable, advanced as far as Bayonne to meet the emperor, and offered themselves as hostages for his safety, but their offer was refused. The king, himself, though still indisposed, gave him the meeting at Châtelleraud, paid him all possible honour, and assigned him the glorious privilege of affording relief to the poor, and freedom to the captive.

A. D. 1540.] On the first of January, the emperor made his public entry into Paris, attended by all the nobility, magistrates, and municipal bodies; the dauphin and the duke of Orleans rode on either side of him, and the constable followed him. But this profusion of honours was insufficient to remove the apprehensions of Charles, who, conscious that he merited no kindness from his rival, began to blame his own imprudence in putting himself in his power: Impressed with these ideas, he was greatly alarmed at a joke passed on him by the duke of Orleans, who jumped up behind him, and throwing his arms around his waist, exclaimed—"Your Imperial Majesty is now my prisoner." Another time, the king, who was candour itself, told him, That the duchess of Etampes was of opinion he should not suffer him to leave Paris, until he had revoked the treaty of Madrid: "If the advice be good," replied the emperor, greatly disconcerted, "you ought to follow it;" at the same time he purposely let fall a superb diamond, which the duchess picked up, and which he begged her to accept; she complied with his request, and, in the sequel, repaid his attention by betraying the interests of her sovereign. The king's fool having placed the emperor's name on his list, for having put himself in the power of his rival, observed, that if the king suffered him to escape, he would efface the emperor's name, and insert his master's in the place.

Charles remained six days at Paris, but he had no sooner reached his own territories, than the French ambassadors demanded the restitution of the Milanese; for several months the king of France was deluded by the ambiguous answers and specious evasions of his rival. The revolted Flemings were at length completely humbled by their Imperial master, who put the leaders of the insurrection to death; exacted from the inhabitants of Ghent a fine of twelve hundred thousand crowns; deprived them of their privileges, and constructed a citadel to keep them in awe. Having accomplished his object, Charles relinquished the disguise which was no longer necessary to his interest; he peremptorily refused to grant the investiture of the Milanese, and denied that he had ever made any promise that could bind him to an action so weak and imprudent.

A. D. 1541.] Francis was greatly enraged when he found himself the dupe of his unprincipled rival; and his indignation was augmented in proportion as he perceived that the credulous simplicity with which he had trusted him, exposed him to the ridicule of Europe. He suspected the treachery of his own servants; and, though he had resolved on a renewal of the war, he dismissed his best general, Montmorenci. The cause of the  
constable's

constable's disgrace—who received orders to retire from court, whither he did not return until the following reign—has never been well ascertained. Some authors pretend that the king reproached him with the advice he had given to trust to the generosity of the emperor, and even go so far as to say that the constable maintained a criminal correspondence with Charles; others assert that Francis took umbrage at his too great intimacy with the dauphin, of whom the king was jealous; but the most probable opinion is, that the constable's conduct had afforded no just grounds for displeasure, and that his disgrace was entirely owing to some of those intrigues which so frequently prevail in courts. The court of France was, at this time, divided into two parties; at the head of one, were the dauphin and his mistress, Diana of Poitiers; and the other was presided by the duke of Orleans, who, by his attention to the duchess of Etampes, enjoyed the greatest portion of his father's favour. The duchess hated Diana with all that warmth of animosity which a rivalry in beauty and power naturally excites in the breast of a female; and Montmorenci, sensible of this, was studious to exercise his wit at the expence of the duchess, and to bestow the highest commendations on her rival.

The next object of the king's displeasure was the admiral Brion, whose pride was insupportable, but whose probity was undoubted: having expressed his intention of humiliating the admiral, the chancellor Poyet (who had been entrusted with the seals, on the death of du Prat, in 1535,) with the prompt zeal of a courtly sycophant, instituted a process against him for extortion and malversation, and, by a base prostitution of the laws, pronounced a sentence which condemned Brion to perpetual banishment, and to pay a fine of fifteen hundred thousand livres. The king, enraged at this unjust proceeding, revoked the sentence, and restored the admiral to the possession of his honours and estates; but Brion was so deeply affected by the attack which had been made on his honour, that he survived the revocation of his sentence only two years. Poyet himself was disgraced, and by a sentence of the parliament, pronounced on the twenty-fourth of April, 1545, was declared incapable of holding any office whatever, and condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thousand livres, and to be imprisoned for five years. The cardinal of Lorraine was the last minister who was disgraced, for receiving a pension of two thousand crowns from the emperor; this prelate's thirst for riches was insatiate; and whenever the *auri sacra fames* forms the leading feature in the disposition of a man, he seldom can be trusted, for there can be little doubt but that he will sacrifice every principle to the acquisition of wealth: the cardinal enjoyed no less than four archbishopricks, seven bishopricks, and four abbeys, at the same time. D'Annebaut, who was promoted to the office of admiral, and the cardinal de Tournon, were entrusted with the whole management of public affairs; they were both of them men of acknowledged probity, but their talents were by no means equal to their integrity.

Francis filled every court in Europe with his negotiations; but Henry of England had lately beheld with a suspicious eye his frequent interviews with the emperor, and his alli-



ance with the king of Scotland; the pope still maintained a strict neutrality; and sultan Solyman alone embraced his proffered alliance, and declared himself ready to avenge his wrongs. Two of the ambassadors of Francis, on their road to Venice, were assassinated near the mouth of the Tefino, at the instigation of the marquis del Guasto, governor of the Milanese. The French monarch loudly complained of this base violation of the laws of nations; and demanded the punishment of the atrocious contriver of the guilty deed; but his demands were eluded, and he gladly embraced the opportunity of extorting by arms that justice which he vainly sought to obtain by negotiation.

A. D. 1542.] Piedmont and the Netherlands had been destined by du Bellay to become the theatre of war, but the new council rejected his plan, and regulated, on a far different scale, the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was determined to direct the principal efforts of the troops against Perpignan, the capital of Roussillon, which was falsely asserted to be in a defenceless state, while another army was to be sent into Luxembourg, to assist the duke of Cleves, who claimed the king's protection, to enable him to recover the duchy of Gueldres, which had been wrested from him by the house of Austria. In pursuance of this plan, the dauphin was appointed to command the army destined for Roussillon; he had under him Annebaut and Montpezat, and his orders were to lay siege to Perpignan, to the relief of which place it was expected the emperor would march in person, and in that case the king intended to repair, himself, to the scene of action. The troops that were sent to Luxembourg were commanded by the duke of Orleans, who was accompanied by the duke of Guise and his son, the count of Aumale; and by the young count of Enguien. The duke laid siege to Damvilliers, and the soldiers having entered the place while the articles of capitulation were preparing, the town was resigned to pillage, and afterward levelled with the ground. Yvry was reduced by the duke of Guise, and Arlon by the count of Enguien; Luxembourg and Montmidy made but little resistance, and, in a very short time, Thionville was the only place in the duchy that remained in possession of the emperor. The duke of Cleves sent two thousand cavalry, under the marshal of Gueldres, and ten thousand Landsquenets, to ravage Brabant, where they advanced as far as Antwerp, and, after defeating the young prince of Orange, they effected a junction with the duke of Orleans at Yvry. Every thing seemed to promise a successful campaign in that quarter; when the duke of Orleans, on the report that a general action was expected to take place in Roussillon, suddenly quitted the army, in order to partake of those laurels which, as he imagined, his brother was about to reap. He entrusted the duke of Guise with the care of his conquests in Luxembourg, but afraid of leaving the provinces of Picardy and Champagne exposed to the attacks of the enemy, he sent the Landsquenets to guard the frontiers. Guise was thus reduced to act merely on the defensive; the Imperialists retook Luxembourg and Montmidy, but the last of these towns was recovered by the French general.

In Roussillon the French arms were far from successful; considerable delays had occurred in collecting the troops destined for that quarter, and supplying them with provisions; so that the emperor had sufficient time to put Perpignan in a proper state of defence, and to furnish it with every requisite for sustaining a long siege. Charles, however anxious he might be for the fate of that city, determined not to hazard a decisive engagement; but committed the defence of it to the persevering valour of the duke of Alva. The French, after a siege of three months, wasted by disease, and repulsed in various attacks, received orders from Francis to abandon the enterprize, and return to their own country: the duke of Alva made a vain attempt to harass them on their retreat; his efforts were frustrated by the vigilance of the dauphin; and the army reached France in safety.

But though the glory of Francis was tarnished by the failure of this expedition, it acquired additional splendour from his conduct to the revolted inhabitants of Rochelle, who, in consequence of a new duty of twenty-four livres on every bushel of salt, had taken up arms, and expelled all the officers of the revenue from the town. The king repaired thither in person, and at his approach, the inhabitants laid down their arms and sued for pardon. Francis lent a favourable ear to their solicitations, and, to shew his confidence in the citizens of Rochelle, he would suffer no other persons to wait on him at table, and to guard his person during his stay in the place. He extended a full pardon to all the insurgents, and only required, as an acknowledgment of their fault, the payment of two hundred thousand livres, which he gave to the chancellor Montholon; but that worthy magistrate, who was distinguished by the honourable appellation of *The Aristides of France*, returned the money to the inhabitants for the purpose of founding an hospital.

A. D. 1543.] In the ensuing campaign the plan of operations was changed, Roussillon was neglected, and the principal efforts of the French were directed against the Netherlands. Anthony, duke of Vendôme (afterwards king of Navarre, in right of his wife, Joan of Albret, and father to Henry the Fourth) who commanded in Picardy, reduced the town of Lillers, and several other places in the environs of Terouanne. The admiral Annebaut, who commanded the troops in Hainaut, received orders to join the king, who had advanced to Cateau-Cambresis. The inhabitants of Landrecy set fire to the town, and fled for refuge to the forest of Mormeaux. The duke of Vendôme, meanwhile, had taken Bapaume, and laid siege to the citadel, which was on the point of capitulating, when the duke was called to join the king at Cateau-Cambresis. The intention of Francis was to fortify Landrecy, for which purpose he fixed his camp at Marolles. A detachment of the army, commanded by the dauphin, reduced Aimeries, Maubeuge, and Barlemont-upon-Sombre; while the count of Aumale extended his incursions to the gates of Avesne.

As soon as the fortifications of Landrecy were completed, the king left his camp at Marolles, and laid siege to Luxembourg, which he speedily reduced, and which he expressed  
his



his determination of keeping as an amends for the loss of the Milanese. He then detached Annebaut, with ten thousand infantry, and four hundred men at arms, to the assistance of the duke of Cleves; but that prince had already made his peace with the emperor, and agreed to join Charles against Francis, his friend and ally. The Imperialists, meanwhile, under the counts of Roeux and Roquenldoff, had invested Landrecy, and the king now marched with his whole army to the relief of that town, where he first received intelligence of the alliance which had been formed between the emperor and the king of England.

On the fourteenth of September, 1542, James the Fifth, king of Scotland, had expired in the flower of his age, leaving only an infant-daughter, the celebrated Mary Stuart, by his consort Mary of Lorraine. The disputes with regard to the regency, during the minority of the young princess, filled Scotland with confusion. Henry formed the design of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward to the heiress of that kingdom; and he engaged Hamilton, earl of Arran, who claimed the regency, as next heir to the crown, after Mary, to second his plan. But his project was thwarted by cardinal Beaton, primate of Scotland, who also aspired to the regency, and who persuaded the majority of the Scottish nobles to oppose the projected alliance with England. As a war was fully expected to be the consequence of this opposition, the cardinal found it necessary to make an immediate application to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally, during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Mathew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was, at that time, in the French court; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother; and he promised that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should be soon dispatched after him. By this means the French party acquired a decided superiority over that of the English in Scotland.

Henry now resolved to break with France, and to unite his arms with those of the emperor, notwithstanding the ill-treatment he had formerly experienced from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the see of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied that his nephew, the late king of Scotland, should have been allowed to marry, first, Magdalen of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges, which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England<sup>46</sup>. He had received information of some raileries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives; he was disgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor; and in

<sup>46</sup> Père Daniel.

the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle, intriguing, and interested monarch; and he complained, that regular payments were never made of the sums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been promised. Impelled by these various motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who very earnestly courted his alliance. This league, besides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for the invasion of France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter that kingdom with an army each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require Francis to pay Henry all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne, Terouanne, and Ardres, as a security for the regular payment of his pension in future. In case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine and Guienne; for Charles, the duchy of Burgundy and some other territories<sup>47</sup>. That they might have a pretence for enforcing these claims, they sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with sultan Solymán, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Christendom had suffered from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was to be declared against him by the allies. The partizans of France objected to Charles's alliance with the heretical king of England, as no less odious than that which Francis had contracted with Solymán; and they observed, that this league was a breach of that solemn promise which he had given to Clement the Seventh, never to make peace nor alliance with England.

In consequence of this league, six thousand English troops were sent to join the Imperialists, then engaged in the siege of Landrecy, which the emperor covered with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior, as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to abandon the siege: but while these rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men stood in expectation of some great event, the French king found means to throw succours into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles sent Gonzaga to attack the rear of the French army; but that general was vigorously received and successfully repulsed by Brissac; and the emperor, finding the season far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprize, and found it necessary to raise the siege; in his retreat, however, he took Cambrai by surprize, and placed an Imperial garrison in that city.

During these transactions in the Netherlands, Europe was astonished at beholding a junction of the French and Turkish fleets: on the fifth of July, Barbarossa appeared off the coast of Provence with a hundred and ten gallies, where he was joined by two-and-twenty French gallies, under the count of Enguieu; and the two fleets, on the fifth of August, laid siege to Nice; but though the town surrendered after an obstinate contest, the garrison

<sup>47</sup> Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768.—Vol. xv. p. 2.—Hume.



retired to the citadel, where they braved all the efforts of the confederate forces. At the same time the war was carried on in Piedmont, but without vigour or effect.

A. D. 1544.] The next campaign opened with greater vigour, and was attended with greater success. The young count of Enguien, who was now entrusted with the command of the French forces in Piedmont, greatly resembled the unfortunate duke of Nemours, who was killed at the battle of Cerignoles; with the valour of the bravest soldier he combined the skill of the most experienced general, and he had the advantage of the duke, inasmuch as his military talents were not sullied by temerity. After reducing various fortresses, the count, on the first of February, laid siege to Carignano, and, in order to secure the reception of supplies, it was necessary to take possession of the town of Carmagnola. Of this the Imperial general, the marquis del Guasto, was aware, and being resolved, at all events, to compel the enemy to raise the siege, he endeavoured to seize Carmagnola himself; but the count was too quick in his motions, and having secured the place, he strengthened the fortifications, and put it in a proper state of defence. Del Guasto now perceived that he could not effect his object without risking a battle, an event of which d'Enguien was equally desirous, but he was prevented by the positive orders of Francis, from pursuing the dictates of his inclination. Montluc, however, was dispatched to court to entreat the king to withdraw his prohibition, and at the same time to send the count a supply of money for the payment of his troops. With the former part of d'Enguien's request Francis was with great difficulty prevailed on to comply; and this circumstance was no sooner made known, than all the young nobility in the kingdom, with that ardour which has ever distinguished the gallant nobles of France, and extorted the admiration of their enemies, hastened to join the army. Still money was wanting; the supply sent by the king being wholly inadequate to the purpose for which it was destined, and the Swiss troops in the service of France insisted on being immediately paid. In this emergency the young nobles stood forward, and raised among themselves the sum required<sup>48</sup>. Both armies now prepared for the expected conflict: among the French, ardent zeal and unanimity of sentiment obtained; with the Imperialists, bold confidence and blind presumption prevailed. In such contempt did the marquis Del Guasto hold his youthful adversary, that he told the citizens of Aste they were at liberty to shut their gates against him if he did not return victorious; and to the ladies of Milan he displayed, with pompous exultation, a heap of fetters and handcuffs, which he designed for the count of Enguien and his gallant volunteers. The count treated his threats and boastings with the disdain they deserved,

<sup>48</sup> It is with infinite satisfaction we record the gallant achievements and liberal conduct of the French nobility, who have, in so many instances, proved themselves not only the bravest defenders, but the best friends of their country. It has, of late, become fashionable to rail at and vilify this description of citizens; but it is the duty of the historian to stem the torrent of popular prejudice; facts speak for themselves, and constitute the best arguments that can possibly be opposed to the air-built systems of these modern *theorists*, who assume the peculiar privilege of ignorance and vanity to reprobate principles they cannot appreciate, and sneer at the merit they do not possess.

and adopted every precaution which could tend to ensure him success. On the fourteenth of April the two armies met near Cerizoles; victory for awhile remained doubtful; she then seemed to incline to the Imperialists, and the flight of a body of Italians, under the count de Gryeres, induced Enguien to believe the day was lost; but the spirited exertions of the French nobility and their gallant followers soon restored order to the army, and, pressing forward with impetuous valour, the enemy were routed and put to flight. Enguien wished to pursue them, but he was checked by the prudent advice of an old officer, who begged him to recollect the fate of the duke of Nemours. The victory was complete; ten thousand of the Imperialists perished on the field, four thousand were taken prisoners, and all their baggage, artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of the French. Del Guasto, who had received a wound in the knee, retreated to Aste, but the inhabitants refusing to admit him, he hastened to Milan. Enguien now reduced, with facility, the town of Carignano, and the greater part of the marquisate of Montferrat; intelligence of his success being dispatched to the king, it was speedily forwarded to all the foreign courts; the duchy of Milan was ready to submit to the French; all Italy was in motion; even the kingdom of Naples exhibited symptoms of discontent; but Enguien was, unfortunately, incapacitated from improving these advantages, by the formidable preparations of the king of England, which compelled Francis to recal twelve thousand of his best troops; so that the count could only act on the defensive, whence he was induced to accept the proposal of the Imperial general, and to sign a truce for three months.

Henry, on the fourteenth of July, landed at Calais with thirty thousand men, attended by the principal nobility and gentry of England. The English army was soon joined by the count of Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and the whole composed an army which nothing on the frontier could resist.

The emperor, with an army of nearly sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and that he might lose no time while he waited for the march of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which he took; he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which was surrendered to him: Ligny met the same fate: he next laid siege to Saint Dizier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance under the count de Sancerre, the governor; and the siege was protracted beyond expectation. The French army, commanded by the dauphin and the admiral Annebaut, was posted on the banks of the Marne, with express orders not to risk an action. Brissac, stationed at Vitry, made frequent and successful sallies on the Imperialists, who, enraged at the losses they daily sustained from his exertions, at length directed their efforts against the town he occupied, which was taken and reduced to ashes. The obstinate resistance of the garrison of Saint Dizier made the emperor despair of reducing the place, and, (as a scarcity of provisions began to prevail in his camp) had the



dauphin's army marched to its relief, it is most probable he would have raised the siege. But the dauphin was restrained from acting by the king's positive orders; and the treachery of the duchess of Etampes relieved Charles from the difficulties under which he laboured; she gave him secret intelligence of the proceedings of the French council; she informed him of the place where the dauphin had left, under a slender guard, an ample supply of provisions; and she even forged the signature of the duke of Guise, in a letter addressed to the count of Sancerre, requesting that nobleman to give up Saint Dizier, as it would be impossible to march to its relief<sup>49</sup>. This town was accordingly surrendered to Charles, after it had sustained a siege of six weeks.

The king of England, meantime, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontiers, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagements by forming sieges, (for it had been settled between them, that they should immediately march forward to Paris) or, perhaps, foreseeing, at last, the dangerous consequences of entirely destroying the French power<sup>50</sup>, instead of fulfilling his agreement, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: Henry himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed during the course of the siege, and the town was immediately surrendered to the English monarch by the cowardice of Vervin, who was afterwards beheaded for his dishonourable conduct.

The emperor, after the reduction of Saint Dizier, pursued his march along the banks of the Marne, and pitched his camp immediately opposite to that of the French, who were only divided from him by the river. As the dauphin was not permitted to hazard a battle, Charles proceeded to take possession of Epernay and Château-Thierry. The news of his progress filled the Parisians with alarm; they hastened to quit the capital, and the roads to Rouen and Orleans were covered with waggons loaded with their wives, children and effects. The king endeavoured, by his presence and exhortations, to inspire his subjects with confidence; while the dauphin, by a forced march, contrived to throw himself between the forces of Charles and the capital; and he sent a strong detachment of seven or eight thousand infantry, and four hundred men at arms, to the assistance of the Parisians, under the conduct of de Lorges, who fixed his camp at Lagny. The emperor, astonished at the dauphin's vigilance and activity, turned to the left, and marched to Soissons. Finding his schemes for subduing France were likely to prove abortive, he proposed terms of accommodation to the king, and conferences were accordingly opened at Crespy in the Laonnois. Annebaut, and Chemans, the keeper of the seals, attended on the part of the king, and Gonzaga and the Chancellor Granvelle on

<sup>49</sup> Garnier.<sup>50</sup> Hume.

that of the emperor. The treaty was concluded on the eighteenth of September, 1544. Francis agreed to relinquish his acquisitions in Piedmont and Savoy; and the emperor engaged, in the space of two years, to bestow on the duke of Orleans his daughter or his niece in marriage, with the Low Countries or the Milanese as a dower. This peace, though highly advantageous to the king, as it relieved him from the efforts of his most powerful enemy, was highly blamed by his subjects. The dauphin, on the twelfth of December, entered a public protest against it at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the duke of Vendôme, and the counts of Enguien and Aumale. The parliament of Thoulouse also protested against the treaty, as destructive of the rights of the crown. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, finding himself obliged, by the approach of the dauphin, to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned to England.

A. D. 1545.] The war between England and France was not distinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail, besides gallies, which he entrusted to the command of the admiral Annebaut; and having embarked some land forces on board, he sent them to make a descent in England<sup>51</sup>. They sailed to the isle of Wight, where they found the English fleet lying at anchor at Saint Helen's. It did not exceed one hundred sail; and the English admiral thought it most adviseable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French among the narrow passages and rocks which were unknown to them. The rival fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the sinking of the *Mary Rose*, one of the largest vessels in the English fleet, the damage on both sides was inconsiderable. The French landed troops in the isle of Wight, and committed depredations on the circumjacent country, but being repulsed by the provincial militia, they retired to their ships, and soon after set sail for France. They were, however, again driven by the wind on the coast of England, where they met with the English fleet, and a fresh cannonading ensued, which proved no more decisive than the foregoing. It was, indeed, scarcely possible, that a fleet could, at that time, without boarding, obtain any considerable advantage over the enemy. The cannon were commonly so ill-served, that Du Langey observes in his *Memoirs*, as a circumstance somewhat singular, that each of these numerous fleets, in an engagement which lasted two hours, fired full three hundred shot; when a single vessel could now, without difficulty, perform thrice as much.

Francis's chief intention in equipping so powerful a fleet was to prevent the English from throwing succours into Boulogne, which he intended to besiege; and, for that purpose, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he proposed to block up the harbour. After a considerable loss of money and time, the fort was found so ill-constructed, that he was

<sup>51</sup> *Memoires de Du Bellay.*



obliged to abandon it; and though he had collected, on that frontier, an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprize. He broke into the territory of Oye, an extent of country which lies near Calais, and which served commonly to supply the garrison with provisions; and he laid it entirely waste by fire and sword. Several skirmishes ensued between the French and English, in one of which the count of Aumale received a remarkable wound. A lance was run into his head between his eye and nose; and notwithstanding that the lance broke, and the head of it remained in the wound, he was not dismounted by so violent a shock, and the head of the lance being extracted by the skill of Ambrose Paré, an eminent surgeon, Aumale afterwards recovered, and became extremely famous under the name of duke of Guise. The king of England, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans, who having marched to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions; they received intelligence of a superior army on the side of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and pay soon bred a mutiny among them: and, having seized the English commissaries, as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country. Towards the end of this campaign the duke of Orleans died of a pestilential fever: his loss was deeply regretted by the king, but not by the nation, who already considered him as the head of a dangerous party. The emperor immediately declared, that by this accident he held himself acquitted from all his agreements relative to the Milanese.

A. D. 1546.] Early in the spring of this year, the king of England sent a body of nine thousand men, chiefly foreigners, to Calais. Some skirmishes of little moment ensued with the French, and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either side. Henry, whose animosity to Francis had subsided, became desirous of ending a quarrel, which, as he could not hope for much longer life, might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis, too, on his part, was inclined, from similar motives, to a peace with England. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a small place between Ardres and Guisnes, the articles were soon agreed on, and the treaty signed by them on the seventh of June, 1546. The chief conditions were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due from Francis should be discharged. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of five hundred thousand livres, which was to remain open to future discussion. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty.

A new war was now expected with the emperor, as the treaty of Crespy had been rendered void by the death of the duke of Orleans. Annebaut and the chancellor Olivier were dispatched to the Imperial court, to propose a fresh treaty to Charles; but that prince, who was then occupied with the troubles occasioned by the league of Smalcalde, deferred

deferred his answer, under various pretences, until he had obtained from the Flemings the succours he had demanded, and had succeeded in his efforts to disunite the league; he then replied—without explaining his intentions—that he should not engage in a war unless he were attacked. This was construed into a refusal of the king's demands; and Francis, accordingly, put all his frontier towns in a proper state of defence. The emperor stated some objections to the fortifying Villa-Franca, which, he pretended, was a fief of the empire; but du Bellay, by the production of ancient records, convinced him of his error. Charles gave up the point, but, in order to oppose one barrier to another, he restored the fortifications of Damvilliers, which had been dismantled by the duke of Orleans, in 1542.

A. D. 1547.] The death of the duke of Orleans was followed by that of the count of Enguien, who had acquired an immortal reputation by the victory of Cerizoles; and the loss of both these princes impressed Francis with a grief which nothing could mitigate. The remaining hours of his life were embittered by domestic contention, arising from the disputes which prevailed between the dukes of Etampes and Diana of Poitiers; he was sensibly affected by the death of Henry of England, to whom he was personally attached. A slow fever continually preyed upon him; he wandered from one palace to another, in a state of languor and depression, and, at length, expired at Rambouillet, on the thirty-first of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Francis employed his last moments in giving useful council to the dauphin; he advised him never to recal Montmorenci; not to promote the elevation of the Guises; to retain in his service the cardinal de Tournon, and the admiral Annebaut; and, finally, to spare, protect, and relieve his subjects: but, unhappily, no part of this advice was followed.

The magnificence by which Francis had been ever distinguished through life, did not forsake him in death; his funeral obsequies were performed with unusual pomp. In the proclamation which announced his death, he was represented as—"A prince mild in peace, and victorious in war; the father and restorer of learning and the liberal arts." But there is more of flattery than of truth in this delineation of his character. Too much addicted to pleasure, Francis frequently neglected the most important concerns, and the interests of the people suffered from the inattention of the monarch. While we admire his frankness, generosity and candour, we cannot but reprobate those shameful persecutions which he caused to be exercised on all whose religious opinions were different from his own. He had many captivating qualities, and many solid virtues; but his failings were numerous, and he was not wholly exempt from vice.

Francis.



Francis had, for his first wife, Claude of France, daughter to Lewis the Twelfth, and Anne of Brittany; this princess died in 1524. In 1530 he married Eleanora of Austria, sister to Charles the Fifth, and widow to the king of Portugal. By his second wife he had no children; by the first, he had the dauphin, Francis, who died in 1536; Henry, who succeeded him on the throne; Charles, duke of Orleans, who died in 1545; Louisa-Charlotta; Magdalen, who married James the Fifth, king of Scotland; and Margaret, who espoused Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy.

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The last years of the reign of Francis were disgraced by the cruel persecutions which were inflicted on the Vaudois; many of these sectaries had been converted by the gentle behaviour and persuasive eloquence of the cardinal d'Amboise; but the cardinal Tournon, an inveterate bigot, had recourse to a very different mode of conversion; and numbers of the wretched Vaudois were, by his orders, made to perish in the flames, or on the wheel. On a false accusation, of cherishing principles of rebellion, the parliament of Provence, in the month of November, 1540, pronounced a rigorous sentence against them, the execution of which was suspended so long as the president de Chassané lived; but his successor, the baron d'Oppede, a man of a disposition violent, cruel, and avaricious, procured a fresh sentence, and placing himself at the head of a body of troops, massacred, without distinction, all the unhappy victims of his avarice and rage: their towns and villages were pillaged and reduced to ashes; and the Vaudois were made to experience all the horrors which the human imagination can conceive. Those escaped the best who were reserved for the galleys. When the soldiers were tired with killing, d'Oppede caused a fire to be lighted, and, after putting the people to the most exquisite tortures, cast them into the flames.

- Francis, who was a great patron of the sciences, had formed a plan for the erection of a college for the study of the dead languages; but he never put it in execution: he established, however, salaries for professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, physic and surgery. A mathematical professor was also established during his reign; and the study of natural philosophy began to be cultivated with diligence and success.

From the year 1528 to 1534, a perpetual summer prevailed in France; during four years not two days' frost was experienced; nature, exhausted by a continued heat, incessantly produced blossoms, but had not strength to bring the fruit to maturity: a scarcity of provisions was the consequence of this phenomenon; the harvest was scarcely sufficient

sufficient to supply seed for the following year. Worms, and insects of every kind, multiplied *ad infinitum*, and destroyed the little fruit which the earth yielded. A most dreadful famine prevailed, and the consumption of unwholesome food gave rise to a disorder which carried off one-fourth of the inhabitants of France <sup>52</sup>.

An ordonnance was issued by Francis, in 1539, by which all vicars were ordered to keep an exact register of births and christenings; a regulation of infinite utility. In the same year an edict was issued, ordering all the sentences pronounced in the different courts to be given in French instead of Latin, as had before been usual.

<sup>52</sup> Gaillard.



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## HENRY THE SECOND.

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A. D. 1547.] HENRY the Second completed his twenty-eighth year, the very day on which he succeeded to the throne, which was the thirty-first of March; though the ceremony of his coronation did not take place till the twenty-eighth of July. He was possessed of the full vigour both of body and of mind; handsome in his person, but awkward in his manners and address; accomplished in all the martial exercises of the age, but averse from application to business, and from every pursuit which required study and attention<sup>1</sup>. An ardent admirer of the fair sex, he was grateful to all who favoured his prevailing passion; and as Diana de Poitiers had first initiated him in the school of love, she had acquired an unlimited ascendancy over the mind of the youthful monarch.

- This celebrated woman had made her first appearance at court, during the reign of Francis, at the time of the duke of Bourbon's revolt, when, it was asserted, she purchased, by the sacrifice of her honour, a pardon for her father, Saint-Vallier, who had been one of the principal agents in that conspiracy<sup>2</sup>. Dazzled with the splendour of a court, she resolved to establish her residence at a place where her superior endowments could not fail to ensure that attention they were so well calculated to command; but being suddenly recalled by her family, she was, reluctantly, compelled to defer the execution of her project till after the death of her husband, Maillé de Brezé, grand seneschal of Normandy. Finding Francis the First attached to another object, she directed

<sup>1</sup> Brantome.—Matthieu.—Mem. de la Vieuville.—MS. de Fontanieu.

<sup>2</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 2.

her attention to his second son, Henry, who was greatly neglected by his father, and she requested of the king that the prince might be permitted to become her knight, insinuating, at the same time, that love was the best master for sharpening the wit, and forming the heart, of a young man. As it was generally believed that this connection was by no means so chaste as the laws of chivalry required, Francis was severely censured for his complacency, and Henry was reproached with his want of delicacy; on the prince's bed a paper was found containing the malediction of Jacob against his son Ruben. Many persons, at a loss to conceive how the mother of two daughters, both marriageable, could so far captivate the heart of a prince, in the flower of youth, as to become the absolute mistress of his thoughts and actions, ascribed the influence of Diana to magic and witchcraft. Garnier is of opinion<sup>3</sup> that the connection which subsisted between Henry and Diana had nothing criminal in its nature, but was a mere Platonic intercourse, founded on a congeniality of soul and sentiment; and, in support of his opinion, he mentions a symbolic medal, on which the lady is represented with all the attributes of the chaste goddess of the silver bow, treading upon love, and exclaiming—" *I have conquered the conqueror of the world!*" He farther observes, that her court was composed of young women of the first quality; her alliance courted by noblemen of the highest rank; and that, although she had given proofs of her fecundity, and Henry himself had a numerous offspring, no child was born to sanction the idea of her incontinence. Be that as it may, her influence over Henry was extensive and unrivalled: in her society, he lost that roughness and ferocity which he had contracted from the martial exercises to which he had devoted the greater part of his time; and he acquired a degree of affability, an evenness of temper, and mildness of disposition, which continued to mark his character through life. But, on the other hand, he acquired that spirit of dissipation, that taste for pomp and luxury, and that blind prodigality, which were productive of such serious inconveniencies, and which laid the foundation of those calamities which distinguished the succeeding reigns.

Notwithstanding the dying injunctions of his father, Henry hastened to recall the constable Montmorenci, whom he re-established in the possession of all his honours, and to whom he paid the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, the amount of his salary, as constable, during the five years which he had passed in exile. The constable exerted his newly-acquired power for the gratification of his private revenge. The duchess of Etampes, who had greatly contributed to procure his banishment, was the first to feel the effects of his resentment: she was sent back to her husband, and stripped of all the possessions which the profuse bounty of the late monarch had lavished on her. The hotel d'Etampes was given to Diana of Poitiers, and her estate at Chevreuse to the car-

<sup>3</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 3.



dinal of Lorraine<sup>4</sup>. All the old ministers were dismissed, some of them imprisoned, and most of them persecuted. The request of Francis the First to his son to repress the dangerous ambition of the house of Guise, was equally disregarded with his other injunctions, and that potent family was soon received into favour, and entrusted with the confidence of Henry. To this imprudent conduct may be traced the origin of those factions and leagues which tended, at a subsequent period, to desolate the kingdom. Five different parties were already formed in France; the first of which was headed by Diana of Poitiers; the second, by the constable; the third, by the house of Guise; the fourth, by the marshal Saint-André; and the fifth, by Catherine of Medicis.

The first mark of favour which Diana received from Henry, after his accession to the throne, was the money arising from the confirmation of magistrates, and others, in their respective offices, and from the renewal of privileges of all kinds, a formality necessary to be observed at the commencement of every reign, and for which a certain sum was exacted. This money had generally been appropriated to the purpose of defraying the expence of the king's funeral; but Francis the First had deviated from the usual custom, and made a present of it to his mother; this liberality of a son to a parent made an impression on the minds of his people, that obviated the inconveniencies which might have arisen from this irregular proceeding; but as Henry had no such excuse to plead, his conduct excited an universal discontent. He next bestowed on his favourite the county of Valentinois, with the title of dukes; the lordship of Anet, where she built a magnificent seat; that of Limours; several mansions and vacant spots of ground, belonging to the crown, within the walls of Paris; and, lastly, all the confiscated property of those protestants who were condemned to die as heretics, or else compelled to fly to Geneva, in order to escape the persecution which awaited them in France.

Montmorenci, by being placed at the head of the administration, and by enjoying the two important offices of secretary of war, and secretary for foreign affairs, possessed the means of augmenting the number of his creatures and partizans; but the extreme severity of his disposition, his avarice, and excessive partiality for his numerous relations, disgusted a considerable part of the higher order of nobles. During the preceding reign he had scarcely suffered a single year to pass away, without extending his domains by some new acquisitions; and few men had ever possessed so many lucrative posts at one time. Though he had been compelled to resign the office of marshal of France, as incompatible with the superior dignity he enjoyed, he still retained the salary: he was constable of France; grand-master of the king's household; governor of Languedoc; private governor of Nantes; Saint-Malo; the Bastille, and the wood of Vincennes; and, lastly, bailiff of the palace, an office which he held in the name of one of his sons who was

<sup>4</sup> Belcarious.—De Thou.—Additions aux Mem. de Castelreau, par le Laboureur.—MS. de Bethune.—La Vieuville.

not yet old enough to enjoy it in person. The king had also given him the territory of Beaumont-upon-Oise, and two considerable annuities, one of which was charged on the succession of Louisa of Savoy, mother to Francis the First. The constable displayed less ardour in the attainment of titles and honours, than in the acquisition of wealth; and as he was in no haste to procure the dignity of a duke, he had the mortification to see himself preceded in all public ceremonies by the princes of the house of Guise.

Those princes pursued a very different line of conduct from that which had been adopted by the constable: affable, generous, and more anxious to obtain honours than to accumulate wealth, they sought no other possessions than what they inherited from their ancestors, and titles were the sole objects of their solicitations. Besides the two duchies of Guise and Aumale, they procured the erection of several estates they possessed in the province of Maine into a marquisate, and the barony of Joinville into a principality. By a particular mark of favour, bestowed but seldom even on princes of the blood royal, they obtained two cardinal's hats at the same time; but although by this means they enjoyed five or six bishopricks, with a dozen of abbies, and their fortunes were equal to those of many sovereigns; they carried their magnificence to such an extent, and were so profusely liberal in their benefactions, that, far from enriching their family, the greater part of them died insolvent.

Saint André, besides the dignity of mareschal of France, enjoyed the government of the Lionnois, Bourbonnois, Forès, and the Beaujolois; with the office of first chamberlain to the king, which gave him a free access to the royal presence at all hours of the day and night, and enabled him to obtain whatever he asked from a monarch who was never known to withstand the solicitations of a favourite. Henry gave him several valuable estates in Languedoc, and conferred on him many other lucrative grants.

Catherine of Medicis had been married to the king, while only duke of Orleans, and when he had barely completed his thirteenth year; she had, some time since, brought him a son, who was named Francis; but she was nevertheless holden in contempt, as well by Henry himself, as by all who surrounded him; yet the pliancy of her disposition, and her profound dissimulation, had, at length, enabled her to become the head of a party. By caressing the duchess of Valentinois, whom she detested; by perpetually flattering the pride, and asking the advice of the constable, whom she considered as her greatest enemy; and by stopping at nothing which could, in the smallest degree, promote the object she had in view; she obtained many considerable favours, as well for herself as her partizans. Her party, however, was but small, and the principal members of it were the Vidame of Chartres, descended from the ancient house of Vendôme; the admiral Annebaut, who had been dismissed by Henry, but who, through her interest, was re-admitted to a seat in the council; Pietro and Leo Strozzi, two Florentine exiles, who were related to her; and Gaspard de Saulx Tavannes.



The rest of the court, or rather the whole nation, were divided between the four first parties, by whose recommendation all military promotions, all offices, civil and ecclesiastical, all pensions and employments, were distributed; so that the king, no longer considered as the fountain of honours and rewards, was holden in little estimation by his subjects; and the only person that seemed to be attached to him from disinterested motives, was la Chateigneraie, who would doubtless have, himself, become the leader of a party, but for an act of indiscretion which occasioned his death.

Francis de Vivonne, lord of Chateigneraie, and Guy de Chabot, lord of Jarnac, both natives of the province of Angoumois, had been introduced at the court of Francis the First, nearly at the same time; one of them was placed in the dauphin's household, and the other in that of the duke of Orleans; and notwithstanding the antipathy which prevailed between their respective masters, and which extended to the partizans and dependants of either prince, these young noblemen had ever preserved a sincere friendship for each other<sup>5</sup>. The whole court was astonished at the magnificence displayed by Jarnac; and la Chateigneraie, who was better acquainted than any one else with the circumstances of his friend, having expressed a wish to know whence he derived his resources, was informed by Jarnac, in confidence, that he was supplied with money by his mother-in-law, with whom he maintained a criminal connection<sup>6</sup>. La Chateigneraie had imprudently entrusted the dauphin with this fatal secret; the dauphin was equally indiscreet, and the report becoming common soon reached the ears of Jarnac's father. He immediately sent for his son, who denied the charge, and requested he would instantly accompany him to court, that he might see in what manner he would confound the person who had dared to calumniate him. They accordingly repaired thither, and entering the apartment where the court was assembled, young Jarnac exclaimed aloud, that *whoever asserted that he maintained a criminal intercourse with his mother-in-law, was a liar and a coward*. As la Chateigneraie could not suffer this challenge to remain unanswered without dishonouring himself in the eyes of his master, and, indeed, without exposing the dauphin himself to the imputation of falshood, he boldly replied, that Jarnac had imprudently boasted of that which he now so proudly denied; and that he would extort from him a confession of the fact. The affair was carried before the council, and as it was not a case that admitted of legal proof, it was decreed, that it should be decided by single combat. Francis, however, interfered, and forbade the parties to proceed to extremities; but the public were less indulgent than the king; and la Chateigneraie, though he enjoyed the confidence of his master, scarcely dared appear in public, where every one avoided him, as the base destroyer of a lady's fame. On the accession of Henry, his favourite renewed his former accusation, the consequence of which was a public challenge from Jarnac: it was now resolved that a judicial combat should take place; and

<sup>5</sup> Brantome.<sup>6</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 20.—Mezeray, tom. viii. p. 11.

the lists were accordingly marked out at Saint Germain en Laye, where Henry attended in person, and the constable, assisted by the mareschals of France, was judge of the field.

Having observed all the forms prescribed by the laws of chivalry, the two combatants attacked each other sword in hand; la Chateigneraie, who was one of the most robust men of the age, confided in his strength, while Jarnac trusted to his superior agility; the latter, covering his head with his shield, bent beneath the vigorous blows of his adversary, till having watched an opportunity, he aimed two successful strokes at his left ham, which was left uncovered that the motion of his leg might not be impeded. The astonishment of the spectators, when they beheld that warrior whose brows they were in momentary expectation of seeing encircled with the wreath of victory, lay prostrate on the ground, was inexpressible; such was the impression made on them by this unexpected fight, that the remembrance of it has been transmitted to posterity, and every fly and unforeseen attack is still called by the French *Coup de Jarnac*. While la Chateigneraie lay in a state of insensibility, Jarnac approached the scaffold where the king was seated, and falling on his knees, exclaimed, "Sire, I am sufficiently revenged if you believe me innocent. I resign my adversary to you, and entreat you to impute all that has passed entirely to our own levity and thoughtlessness." He then returned to la Chateigneraie, who had, by this time, recovered his senses, and endeavoured to extort from him an acknowledgment of his innocence; but the wounded warrior rising on his knees, drew his dagger, and endeavoured to reach his opponent; but his strength failed him, and he again sunk on the ground. Jarnac refused to avail himself of the advantage he had obtained over his adversary, whom he entreated, by their former friendship, to preserve a life that might still be useful to his country; but the acknowledgment he required was too painful to be made; the king, therefore, interfered, and declaring that Jarnac had performed his duty, and that his honour was restored, ordered his favourite to be taken from the field. Although la Chateigneraie had lost a vast quantity of blood, the surgeons, after examining the wound, expressed their opinion that a cure might easily be effected; but their patient, indignant at the triumph of his adversary, tore off the dressings, and, obstinately rejecting all offers of assistance, soon after expired. Some writers<sup>7</sup> have affirmed that Henry was so deeply affected by the loss of his favourite, that he abolished, by an edict, all judicial combats. But no vestige of such an edict is any where to be found; and it is moreover certain that two years after this event the state council ordered another judicial combat, which was attended with the same forms, though, on account of the inferior rank of the combatants, with less pomp. Fendille and d'Aguerre had a dispute in the king's chamber, which ended in blows; the council having taken cognizance of the matter, decreed that it must be decided by arms, and

<sup>7</sup> Mezeray, Robertson, et alii.



the king entrusted the execution of their sentence to the mareschal de la Mark, who appointed the town of Sedan for the scene of action. Fendille, conscious of the superiority of his adversary, endeavoured to elude the combat, but the council rejected all his applications for that purpose, and enjoined obedience to their decree, under pain of degradation. The combat accordingly took place; Francis de Vendôme, viscount of Chartres, appeared as the friend of d'Aguerre; and the duke of Nevers, governor of Champagne, as the friend of Fendille. The latter was thrown from his horse at the first attack, and confessing whatever his adversary required, purchased his life at the expence of his honour<sup>7</sup>. This example sufficiently proves that the king and his council were far from wishing to abolish judicial combats in certain cases; barbarous as the practice undoubtedly was, it was much less prejudicial to society than the Italian custom, which now began to be extremely prevalent in France, of revenging an injury or insult by private assassination. To remedy this latter evil Henry issued several edicts, by one of which this description of assassins were subjected to the punishment of the wheel; by another, all persons, except military men, were prohibited from carrying fire-arms; and by a third, all innkeepers were ordered to keep a register of all the officers and soldiers who lodged in their house, and to refuse them admission, unless they consented to deliver up their fire-arms, which were to be returned to them on their departure<sup>8</sup>.

The rapaciousness of the leaders of the different factions, by occasioning the creation of many new places, greatly increased the public expenditure, and, of course, caused a deficit in the revenue. As it was deemed impolitic to mark the commencement of a reign by an augmentation of imposts, indirect means for procuring the necessary sum were sought for, and the following adopted:—the value of the mark of gold was raised six livres, twelve sols, six deniers, which made it worth one hundred and seventy-two livres; the mark of silver was raised from fourteen livres ten sols, to fifteen livres: crown lands, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, were exposed to sale; the tenths levied on the clergy were doubled; a *free gift* was exacted from the principal towns in the kingdom; and some trifling additions were privately made to the *Gabelle* in the provinces beyond the Loire.

The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at last summoned a general council, which had assembled at Trent, on the thirteenth of December, 1545, and had for the space of fifteen months been employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, in ascertaining her doctrines, and in condemning the tenets of Luther. The French monarch had observed with concern, that the emperor, at whose instigation this assembly had been summoned, assumed a kind of dictatorial authority over the fathers, and sought to render them the instruments of his ambition and policy; Francis, therefore,

<sup>7</sup> Garnier.<sup>8</sup> Idem.

was desirous either that the pope should prorogue the council to a more favourable season, or, which would answer the same purpose, that he should transfer it to some town within the territories of the church. The pontiff was not less alarmed than the king at the ambitious projects of Charles, but he was fearful of drawing down upon his head the vengeance of a monarch, who, being master of the greater part of Italy, might send orders to invest him in his palace, before any of his allies could arrive to his assistance. In order to remove this objection, Francis offered to gratify his favourite passion, the aggrandisement of his family, by giving in marriage to his grandson, Horatio Farnése, the princess Diana, a natural daughter of the dauphin Henry, who had been legitimated. Paul was unable to withstand so flattering an offer, and having received from Francis a promise of support, he sent orders to his legates, to transfer the council to Bologna, without appearing himself to be any wise concerned in the business. The legates, accordingly, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, made the motion required by their master, which was carried by a majority of votes, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Imperial prelates, who determined to remain at Trent. At this period Francis died, but the pope was relieved from the uneasiness which he had entertained on that account, by the resolution of Henry, to follow the same line of conduct, with regard to the emperor, which had been practised by his father.

Charles the Fifth had long been accustomed to make religion subservient to his interest: he was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatinate and the elector of Brandenburg from the protestant confederacy: he took arms against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse: he took the former prisoner at the battle of Mulhausen, and treated him in the most unfeeling and inhuman manner: by a base violation of his word, and a dereliction of every principle of honour, he detained the latter captive, after he had granted him a safe-conduct. He seemed to have obtained the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, astonished at his success, and deprived of their usual resources by the death of Francis the First, and Henry the Eighth, were no longer able to withstand his power. Henry indeed, was willing to afford them assistance, but he rather chose to interfere in favour of Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of the late king, had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

Edward the Sixth had ascended the throne of England, and, during the minority of that prince, the duke of Somerset was declared protector of the realm. Somerset resolved to avail himself of the confusion which prevailed in Scotland, where the malevolent bigotry of John Knox, and his associates, had spread terror and desolation throughout the nation, to promote an union of the two kingdoms, by marrying Mary, the  
heiress



heirefs of Scotland, to young Edward. With this view he levied an army of eighteen thousand men, and entering Scotland, revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the English crown over that kingdom, and refused to enter into negociation on any other condition than the marriage he had projected. He soon after obtained a signal victory over the Scots, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, who lost ten thousand men in the action; and had Somerset pursued his advantage, there can be little doubt but that he might have imposed what terms he pleased on that distracted nation; but the news of some intrigues which were forming against his authority at court, induced him to accelerate his return to England; and the Scots, recovering from their consternation, and instigated by the queen-dowager, Mary of Lorraine, rejected the proposed alliance, and renewed their applications to France for assistance.

Henry, who was deeply interested in preventing the union of Scotland and England, consented to furnish, at his own expence, the succours required for the defence of the former kingdom, on condition that the Scottish parliament should, by a formal act, decree that their young sovereign should give her hand to the dauphin Francis, who, in consequence of this alliance, should govern both kingdoms; and that Mary should be immediately sent over to France, to be brought up in a manner suitable to her rank, in the court of her father-in-law. The parliament was accordingly summoned to meet in an abbey, near Haddington, where the proposal of Henry was submitted to their consideration. The arguments were carried on with great warmth and ability on both sides; it was objected by some, that the measure proposed was a desperate one, that it allowed no resource in case of miscarriage; exposed the Scots to be subjected by foreigners; involved them in perpetual war with England; and left them no expedient by which they could hope to conciliate the friendship of that powerful nation. On the other hand, it was urged, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would desist when they found that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by so high a mark of confidence, would take their sovereign under his protection, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The earl of Arran received the duchy of Chatelleraut in Poitou, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms. And as the Scottish clergy dreaded the consequence of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either zeal or interest could inspire, so that it was finally determined to accept the proposals of the king of France.

Henry was no sooner informed of the resolution of the Scottish parliament, than he gave orders for the embarkation of three thousand of his best infantry, to which he joined the same number of Lansquenets, under the command of the Rhinegrave, and six companies

panies of light-horse<sup>10</sup>. This army was entrusted to the conduct of Andrew de Montalembert, lord of Essé, who had signalized his courage and military talents in the last reign, by the defence of Landrecies: he had under him Peter Strozzi, a relation of the queen's; d'Andelot, nephew to the constable; la Rochefoucaud; d'Estauges; Rocheschouard; Piennes; Crussol; Montpezat; Joyeuse; Bourdeille and Négrepelisse. "Gentlemen," said Essé to his officers, on landing, "I very well know that there is scarcely any one of you who does not think himself a greater man than I am, and who, at court, would think himself degraded by becoming my companion. But since the king has been pleased to appoint me his lieutenant-general, I must even perform the duties of my station; and, therefore, prepare to obey me both great and small: on our return to France, each of us may reassume his former rank!" It was by the observance of a strict discipline, and by setting his officers and men an example of frugality, patience and courage, that Essé succeeded in repelling the attacks of the English, and in extricating the Scots from the difficulties under which they laboured.

The fleet which had conveyed these troops to Scotland, was destined to bring back Mary Stuart to France; Leo Strozzi, who commanded it, fearful of being intercepted by the English, if he employed all his ships for that purpose, detached the chevalier de Villegagnon, with four galleys, then lying in the Frith of Forth, who set sail as if he intended to return home: but when he reached the open sea, he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton. The young queen was there committed to his care; and being attended by two Scottish noblemen, she put to sea, and, after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after betrothed to the dauphin.

A. D. 1548.] The rapid strides which the emperor continued to make towards the accomplishment of his ambitious projects gave serious inquietude to Henry, who, anxious to persuade the pope to take up arms against Charles, levied an army, with which he entered Italy; but the Roman pontiff was too far advanced in years to think of engaging in a war, and the king himself was speedily compelled to repass the Alps, in order to quell a dangerous sedition which broke out in Guienne, in consequence of the rapacious conduct of the officers of the revenue employed in collecting the oppressive duties upon salt<sup>11</sup>. The task of vengeance was entrusted to the constable Montmorenci and the duke of Guise; the former marked his progress with blood, and advancing to Bourdeaux deprived the citizens of their privileges, put numbers of them to death, and broke the parliament, who had exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner, to reduce the people to obedience. Henry then repaired to Lyons, where he was received with the utmost magnificence by the inhabitants of that opulent city: and on his arrival at Mou-

<sup>10</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 101.

<sup>11</sup> La Vieuville.—Belcarius.—Belleforêt.—De Thou.—Sleidan.



lins, he attended the celebration of the marriage of Anthony de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, and first prince of the blood, with Joan of Albret, heiress of Navarre.

A. D. 1549.] In the month of June, this year, the king made his solemn entry into Paris, where his accession to the throne was celebrated by tilts and tournaments, and by every kind of rejoicing then in vogue; but the chief object of these rejoicings was to collect together all the nobility in the kingdom, in order to accelerate the execution of a project which the confusion that prevailed in the English council had led him to form. Having, accordingly, collected a powerful army, Henry marched from Paris in the month of August, and directed his course towards the Bourbonnois, which he had resolved to recover by force of arms<sup>12</sup>. But secret as his preparations had been; the English minister was apprized of them; and he endeavoured to avert the impending storm by courting the alliance of the emperor. With this view he sent over secretary Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept his court, in order to assist the resident ambassador in the negotiation; but that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions, by acting the part of champion for the catholic religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connection with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England, and eluded the applications of the ambassadors.

Henry, meanwhile, arrived at the place of his destination, and falling on the Boulonnois, speedily reduced the forts of Sallacques, Ambleteuse, and Blacquenai, though well supplied with every thing requisite for sustaining a siege. He endeavoured to surprize Boulenburg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he returned to Paris, leaving the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligni, lord of Châtillon, (afterwards so famous by the name of admiral Coligni) who had orders to renew the siege in the spring.

During the winter, Henry entered into a fresh treaty with the Swiss, whom the emperor had long been endeavouring to detach from his alliance<sup>13</sup>, and having agreed to increase their pay one-third, they engaged to serve him in any quarter where their services might be required. He also received a deputation from the inhabitants of the provinces beyond the Loire, who represented, in energetic terms, the hardships under which they

<sup>12</sup> *Depêches de Marillac—De Thou—Belcarius—Belleforêt.*

<sup>13</sup> *MS. de Fontanieu—Rec. de Traités.*

laboured, from the oppressive impost of the Gabelle, an impost holden in such abhorrence by the people, that upwards of ten thousand families had adopted the resolution of emigrating to some foreign country: the deputies maintained that the total suppression of the Gabelle was alone adequate to remedy an evil of so alarming a nature; and they offered, in the name of their constituents, to purchase an exemption from the tax by the payment of two hundred thousand crowns of gold. This offer it was deemed prudent to accept, and the sum of twenty-five thousand livres being added, to indemnify those who had purchased the places of collectors, Henry restored the parliament of Bourdeaux, which had been suppressed by the constable, and re-established the citizens and municipal officers in the possession of their posts and privileges.

A. D. 1550.] During these transactions, a powerful party had been formed in England against the duke of Somerset, who was, at length, compelled to resign the protectorship. The earl of Warwick, who was now at the head of affairs, finding it necessary to conclude a peace with France, sent over Guidotti, a Florentine merchant, to Paris, to negotiate, in a private manner, with the constable Montmorenci. Preliminaries being settled, the constable sent his nephew, de Coligni; his brother, Francis Montmorenci, lord of Rochepot; Andrew Guillard, lord of Mortier; and William Bochetel, lord of Saffi, secretary of state, to meet the English plenipotentiaries; and, after some discussion, it was agreed to give four hundred thousand crowns for the immediate restitution of Boulogne: one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty, which was signed on the twenty-fourth of March. An agreement, some time after, was formed for a marriage between the king of England and Elizabeth, a daughter of Francis; and all the articles were, after a little negotiation, fully settled: but this project never took effect.

A. D. 1551.] Henry, having disengaged himself, in such an honourable manner, from the burden of supporting the Scots, and maintaining a war against England, was now at full leisure to pursue the measures which his hereditary jealousy of the emperor's power naturally suggested. He had openly protested against the treaty of Crespy, as injurious to the interest of the crown, and only calculated to aggrandize his younger brother, the duke of Orleans, who soon after expired. He now resumed his hopes of Italian conquests, and Italy was again menaced with indications of approaching hostilities. Julius the Third, who had succeeded Paul in the papal throne, had taken up arms to dispossess Octavio Farnese, grandson of the late pontiff, of the duchy of Parma. Octavio claimed and obtained the protection of Henry; and the pope, sensible that he could not, with his own forces alone, expect to subdue that prince, while supported by such a powerful ally as the king of France, had recourse to the emperor, who, being extremely solicitous to prevent the establishment of the French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to second Julius with all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the allies of Octavio; the Imperialists, as the protectors of the holy see; and hostilities commenced between them, while Henry and



Charles themselves still affected to give out that they would inviolably adhere to the peace of Crespy. Gonzaga laid siege to Parma; while Horatio Farnese, and Lewis de Saint-Gelais, lord of Lenfac, committed depredations on the ecclesiastical territories.

Meanwhile the council had, by the pope's orders, reassembled at Trent; but many of the Italian prelates being prevented, by this war, or the preparations for it, from repairing to that city on the first of May, the day appointed; the papal legate and nuncios were compelled to adjourn till the first of September, when about sixty prelates, mostly from the ecclesiastical states, or from Spain, were convened<sup>14</sup>. The session was opened with the accustomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to business; when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and, presenting letters of credence from the French king, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he protested, in the name of his master, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impossible for the deputies from the Gallican church to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and discipline, with the requisite tranquillity; he declared, that his master did not acknowledge this to be a general or œcumenick council, but must consider, and would treat it, as a particular and partial convention. The legate affected to despise this protest; and the prelates proceeded, notwithstanding, to examine and decide the great points in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, penance, and extreme unction. This measure of the French monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations. The Germans could not pay much regard to an assembly, the authority of which the second prince in Christendom had formally disclaimed, or feel any great reverence for the decisions of a few men, who arrogated to themselves all the rights belonging to the representatives of a church universal; a title to which they had such slender pretensions.

Henry, meantime, had laid aside the veil which he had hitherto worn, and stood forward as a principal in that war in which at first he had appeared only as an auxiliary. Polin, baron de la Garde, sailing from the ports of Normandy, with a squadron of twenty galleys, surprized a fleet of Flemish ships, on their return from Spain, and made a considerable booty. Leo Strozzi, with another squadron, took a large Spanish galley, and several transports, off the harbour of Barcelona: the dukes of Vendôme and Nevers, governors of Picardy and Champagne, entered Artois, Hainaut, and the duchy of Luxembourg, and ravaged a vast extent of country; but, though the enemy were wholly unprepared to receive them, they were unable to make any conquest of importance. In Piedmont, however, the marshal de Brissac was more successful; he reduced Quiers, Queras, and Saint-

<sup>14</sup> *Adriani Historia*, lib. viii. p. 505, 514, 524.—*Sleidan*, p. 513.—*Paruta*, p. 226.—*Lettere del Caro*, scritte al nome del Cardinale Farnese, tom. ii. p. 1.

Damien, three places of great strength, whose central situation enabled them to keep the whole province in subjection. Gonzaga, sensible of their importance, converted the siege of Parma into a blockade, and, leaving the marquis of Marignano to command in his absence, advanced with a strong detachment to retake them; but he arrived at a period when the season was too far advanced for military operations; and the division of his army enabled the garrison of Parma to make several successful sallies on the enemy, whom they finally compelled to retire from before the city.

Early in the winter, Henry entered into a negotiation with the Roman pontiff, and soon concluded a truce for two years, that he might be at liberty to direct all his efforts against the emperor. While Charles was employed in subverting the liberties of Germany, Maurice, duke of Saxony, cousin to the deposed elector, and a protestant prince himself, had, from motives of interest, seconded his designs, and acquired his favour: but he was no sooner invested with the spoils of his degraded kinsman, than he resolved to rescue them from the caprice of a master whom he dreaded, and more firmly to establish a religion, the exercise of which he had contributed to restrain. In the execution of this difficult and dangerous enterprize, he formed and conducted, with acute penetration and consummate skill, an intricate plan of policy which deceived the most artful prince in Europe; and while he appeared the servile instrument of Imperial greatness, he insinuated himself into the confidence, and attained an unqualified ascendancy over the minds, of those whom he had lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. He secretly negotiated a new confederacy of the protestants, and he earnestly courted the assistance of Henry to oppose the despotism which Charles laboured to establish.

John de Fresse, bishop of Bayonne, whom Henry had sent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to negotiate with Maurice and his associates; and a formal treaty was, accordingly, concluded on the fifth of October<sup>25</sup>. As it would have been unsuitable to the character of a king of France to undertake the defence of the Protestant church, the interests of religion, how much soever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. Religious concerns the contracting parties pretended to commit entirely to the disposition of Divine Providence; the only motives assigned for their present confederacy against Charles, were to release the landgrave of Hesse from captivity, and to prevent the subversion of the ancient constitution and laws of the German empire. In order to accomplish these ends, it was agreed, that all the contracting parties should, at the same time, declare war against the emperor; that neither peace nor truce should be made but by common consent, nor without including each of the confederates; that, in order to guard against the inconveniences of anarchy, or of pretensions to joint command, Maurice should be acknowledged

<sup>25</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 340.



as head of the German confederates, with absolute authority in all military affairs; that Maurice and his associates should, before the eleventh of March, bring into the field seven thousand horse, and forty thousand infantry; that, towards the subsistence of this army, during the three first months of the war, Henry should contribute two hundred and forty thousand crowns, and afterwards, sixty thousand crowns a month, as long as they continued in arms; that Henry should attack the emperor on the side of Lorraine, with an army equal to that of the confederate princes; that if it were found requisite to elect a new emperor, such a person should be nominated as should be agreeable to the king of France, who should himself have the preference if he chose to declare himself a candidate for the Imperial dignity<sup>15</sup>. The preparatory negociations for this treaty were conducted with such profound secrecy, that, of all the princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated his plans only to two of them, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh, and William of Hesse, the Landgrave's eldest son. The league itself was no less anxiously concealed, and with such fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the emperor or his ministers; nor do they seem to have conceived the most distant suspicion of such a transaction<sup>17</sup>. Maurice swore to observe the treaty, in presence of the bishop of Bayonne; and Albert of Brandenburg was dispatched to the castle of Chambor, where Henry then resided, to exact a similar engagement from that monarch.

A. D. 1552.] The king hastened to make the necessary preparations for fulfilling the engagements he had contracted, but he found an extreme difficulty in raising a sufficient sum for defraying the expences of his expedition. The war in Italy had already exhausted the treasury, and compelled the government to have recourse to exactions both odious and onerous. He now opened a loan at Lyons; and demanded a free gift from the city of Paris, in return for which he granted a duty of two sols six deniers on every hoghead of wine introduced into the capital. But these expedients proving insufficient, he had recourse to others of greater extent and importance. By the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, he instituted sixty new courts of justice in the different towns of the kingdom, by which means nearly six hundred offices were exposed to sale<sup>18</sup>. The sentences of these courts were decisive in all matters of property, where the object of litigation did not exceed in value two hundred and fifty livres; and from that sum to five hundred livres—for matters of no higher importance came within their cognizance—an appeal lay to the superior courts. Each of the new courts was presided by nine magistrates, with a salary, each, of one hundred livres, payable out of the produce of the duties upon salt. The king also obtained from the clergy a promise of three millions of livres, payable in six months, on condition that he should pass an edict, restoring to the ecclesiastical courts the same degree of power which they enjoyed previous to the year 1539, when an ordonnance, distinguished by the appellation of *Guillemine*<sup>19</sup>, from the unfortunate chancellor *Guillaume Poyet*,

<sup>15</sup> Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. p. 258.  
du Parlement.

<sup>17</sup> Robertson.

<sup>18</sup> De Thou.—Recueil d'Ordonn.—Regist.

<sup>19</sup> Loyseau, Traité des Offices.—Regist. du Parl.

was passed, by which the decisions of those courts were properly confined to matters purely spiritual, or regarding the persons of the clergy; the money was paid, and the edict passed; but the parliament refusing to register it, it was not enforced. A farther sum was raised by the erection of other new offices, as well in the court of aids, as in the chamber of accounts. A treasurer-general was appointed in each of the fourteen *Generalities* into which France was divided, and a *criminal-judge* in every bailiwick, *senéchaussée*, and other jurisdiction.

Henry having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, during his absence, took the road to Champagne, where his army was assembled. It consisted of fifteen thousand French infantry; nine thousand *Lansquenets*; seven thousand Swiss; fifteen hundred lances; two hundred gentlemen, and four hundred archers of the king's household-troops; twelve hundred horse-archebers; two thousand light-horse; two thousand militia, and five hundred English knights, sent by Edward to the assistance of his intended father-in-law<sup>20</sup>. As soon as the troops were ready to march, Henry published a manifesto, in which, after taking notice of the ancient alliance between the French and German nations, both descended from the same ancestors, and, after mentioning the applications which, in consequence of this, some of the most illustrious of the German princes had made to him for his protection; he declared, that he now took arms to re-establish the ancient constitution of the empire, to deliver some of its princes from captivity, and to secure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanic body. In this manifesto Henry assumed the extraordinary title of *Protector of the liberties of Germany and its captive princes*; and there was engraved on it a cap, the ancient symbol of freedom, placed between two daggers, in order to intimate to the Germans, that this blessing was to be obtained and preserved by force of arms.

So early as the fifteenth of March, the French, having entered Lorraine, laid siege to Toul, which opened its gates at their approach; Verdun followed the example. Their forces next appeared before Metz, and that city, by a fraudulent stratagem of the constable Montmorenci, who having obtained permission to pass through it with a small guard, introduced as many troops as were sufficient to overpower the garrison, was likewise seized without bloodshed. Henry, who had hitherto been detained at Joinville by the illness of his queen, now joined the army, and made his entry into all the towns which his troops had reduced, with great pomp; he obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him, and annexed those important conquests to the French monarchy. He left a strong garrison in Metz, under the command of the lord of Gonnor, brother to the marshal de Brissac, with orders to repair and strengthen, without delay, the fortifications of that city. From thence Henry advanced into Alsace, as far as Strasburg, and having demanded leave of the

<sup>20</sup> De Thou—Matthieu—Rabutin—Paradin—Sléidan—Dom Calmet, Histoire de Lorraine—Garnier.



senate to march through the city, he hoped that, by repeating the same fraud which he had practised at Metz, he might render himself master of the place, and by that means secure a passage over the Rhine into the heart of Germany. But the Strasburgers, instructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortunes of their neighbours, shut their gates, and having assembled a garrison of five thousand soldiers, repaired their fortifications, rased the houses in their suburbs, and determined to defend themselves to the utmost. At the same time they sent a deputation of their most respectable citizens to the king, in order to divert him from making any hostile attempt upon them. The electors of Treves and Cologne, the duke of Cleves, and other princes in the neighbourhood, interposed in their behalf, beseeching Henry that he would not so soon forget the title which he had generously assumed, and instead of being the deliverer of Germany become its oppressor. The Swiss cantons seconded them with zeal, soliciting Henry to spare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendship and alliance.

Powerful as this united intercession was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of so much value, had he been in a condition to seize it. But in that age, the method of subsisting numerous armies, at a distance from the frontiers of their own country, was imperfectly understood; and neither the revenues of princes, nor their experience in the art of war, were equal to the great and complicated efforts which such an undertaking required. The French, though not far removed from their own country, began already to suffer from scarcity of provisions, and had not sufficient magazines collected to support them during a siege, which must necessarily have been of great length. At the same time, the queen of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, had assembled a considerable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Rossem, laid waste Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. These concurring circumstances obliged the king, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterprize. But being willing to acquire some merit with his allies by this retreat, which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiss that he had taken the resolution merely in compliance with their request<sup>21</sup>; and then, after giving orders that all the horses in his army should be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of having pushed his conquests so far, he marched back towards Champagne.

Maurice had published his manifesto, and taken the field at the same time with Henry, and after a variety of successful manœuvres, compelled the emperor, who was unable to check the rapidity of his progress, to evacuate Inspruck with a slender train, and under cover of the night; and that monarch fled with precipitation before the arms of Maurice as far as Villach in Carinthia, on the frontier of the Venetian territories.

<sup>21</sup> *Stéidan*, p. 557.—*Brantome*, tom. vii. p. 39.

While the king and the main army of the confederates were thus employed, Albert of Brandenburg was entrusted with the command of a separate body of eight thousand men, consisting chiefly of mercenaries, who had resorted to his standard rather from the hope of plunder, than the expectation of regular pay. That prince, finding himself at the head of such a number of desperate adventurers, ready to follow wherever he should lead them, soon began to disdain a state of subordination, and to form such vast schemes of aggrandizing himself, as seldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unless when civil war, or violent factions, rouse them to bold exertions, by alluring them with immediate hopes of success. Full of these aspiring thoughts, Albert made war in a manner very different from the other confederates. He endeavoured to spread the terror of his arms by the rapidity of his motions, as well as the extent and rigour of his devastations; he exacted contributions wherever he came, in order to amass such a sum of money as would enable him to keep his army together; he laboured to get possession of Nuremburg, Ulm, or some other of the free cities in Upper Germany, in which, as a capital, he might fix the seat of his power. But, finding these cities on their guard, and in a condition to resist his attacks, he turned all his rage against the popish ecclesiastics, whose territories he plundered with such wanton and unrelenting cruelty, as gave them a very unfavourable impression of the spirit of that reformation in religion, with zeal for which he pretended to be animated. The bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, by their situation, lay particularly exposed to his ravages; he obliged the former to transfer to him, in property, almost one half of his extensive diocese; and compelled the latter to advance an immense sum in order to save his country from ruin and desolation. During these destructive incursions, Albert paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whose commands, as generalissimo of the league, he had engaged to obey, or to the remonstrances of the other confederates; and manifestly discovered, that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any solicitude about the common cause, or the general objects which had induced them to take arms.

Meantime the emperor, alarmed at the powerful confederacy which had been formed against him, and wholly unprepared to resist the united efforts of his enemies, expressed a willingness to listen to terms of accommodation; and conferences were accordingly opened at Passau, at which most of the protestant princes and deputies from the free cities attended, and where Charles was represented by his brother, Ferdinand, king of the Romans. After much discussion, during which the emperor had raised up numerous obstacles to the conclusion of a peace, Maurice left Passau abruptly, and joining his troops, which were encamped at Mergentheim in Franconia, he put them in motion, and renewed hostilities. As three thousand men in the emperor's pay had thrown themselves into Frankfort on the Maine, and might from thence infest the neighbouring country of Hesse, he marched towards that city, and laid siege to it in form. The briskness of this enterprize, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches against the town, gave such an alarm to the emperor, that he lent a favourable ear to the arguments



which his brother advanced in behalf of an accommodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it necessary to bend, and signified his disposition to make concessions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate somewhat of the rigour of his demands. Maurice, equally desirous of an accommodation, complied with the proposal, and after a long consultation with his associates, he signed, on the second of August, the treaty of peace, of which the chief articles were—That before the twelfth day of August the confederates shall lay down their arms, and disband their forces; that on or before that day, the landgrave of Hesse shall be set at liberty, and conveyed in safety to his castle of Rheinfels; that a diet shall be holden within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most proper and effectual method of preventing, for the future, all disputes and dissensions about religion; that, in the mean time, neither the emperor, nor any other prince, shall, upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to such as adhered to the confession of Augsburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; that, in return, the Protestants shall not molest the Catholics, either in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; that the Imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with the Catholics, to sit as judges in that court; that if the next diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in behalf of the Protestants, shall continue for ever in full force and vigour; that none of the confederates shall be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the course of the war; that the consideration of those encroachments which had been made, as Maurice asserted, upon the constitution and liberties of the empire, shall be remitted to the approaching diet; that Albert of Brandenburg shall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he shall accede to it, and disband his forces before the twelfth of August <sup>22</sup>.

Such was the memorable treaty of Passau, that overturned the vast fabric, in the erection of which Charles had employed so many years, and had exerted the utmost efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority absolute and hereditary in his family; and established the Protestant church, which had hitherto subsisted precariously in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and secure basis.

The interests of Henry had been little attended to during the negotiations at Passau. Maurice and his associates having attained their object, discovered no great solicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they deemed overpaid for the assistance he had afforded them, by his acquisitions in Lorraine. A short clause which they procured to be inserted in the treaty, importing that the king of France might communicate to the con-

<sup>22</sup> Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. p. 261.

federates his particular pretensions or causes of hostility, which they would lay before the emperor, was the only sign that they gave of their remembering how much they had been indebted to him for their success. But how much soever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they hastened to make their peace with the emperor at his expence, he was perfectly sensible that it was more his interest to keep well with the Germanic body, than to resent the indignities offered him by any particular members of it. For that reason he dismissed the hostages which he had received from Maurice and his associates, and affected to talk in the same strain as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaining the ancient constitution and liberties of the empire.

The loss of Metz, Toul and Verdun had made a deep impression on the emperor, who, accustomed to terminate all his operations against France with advantage to himself, thought his honour was concerned in not allowing Henry the superiority in this war, and in not suffering his own administration to be stained with the infamy of having permitted territories of such consequence to be dismembered from the empire. His interest, too, was no less concerned than his honour in this case. As the frontier of Champagne was more defenceless, and lay more exposed than that of any other province in France, he had frequently, during his wars with that kingdom, made inroads upon it with great success and effect; but if Henry were allowed to retain his late conquests, France would gain such a formidable barrier on that side, as to be altogether secure where formerly she had been weakest. On the other hand, the empire had now lost as much, in point of security, as France had acquired, and being stripped of the defence which those cities afforded it, lay exposed to invasion on a quarter, where all the towns having been hitherto considered as interior, and remote from any enemy, were but slightly fortified. Charles was influenced by these considerations to attempt the recovery of the three towns which Henry had reduced; and the preparations which he had made against Maurice and his associates, enabled him to carry his resolution into immediate execution.

The peace, therefore, was no sooner concluded at Passau, than he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augsburg, at the head of a considerable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To these he added several battalions which had been dismissed by the confederates, and prevailed also on some princes of the empire to join him with their vassals. In order to conceal the destination of this formidable army, and to guard against alarming the French, so as to lead them to prepare for their defence, he gave out that he meant to march to Hungary, in order to second Maurice in his operations, who had engaged in an expedition against the Turks. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he had recourse to new artifice, and spread a report, that he took this route in order to chastise Albert of Brandenburg,



whose destructive incursions and cruel exactions in that part of the empire, called loudly for his interposition.

But Henry immediately discerned the true object of his vast preparations, and resolved to defend the important conquests which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foresaw that the principal efforts of the Imperialists would be directed against Metz, by whose fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, to take the command of that city during the siege. The character and conduct of this nobleman fully justified his choice: the duke of Guise possessed, in a high degree, all the talents of courage, sagacity, and presence of mind, which eminently fitted him for so important a trust. He was amply endowed with that magnanimity of soul which delights in bold undertakings, and aspires to fame by splendid and daring achievements. He repaired with joy to the dangerous station assigned him; while the martial genius of the French nobility, which led them to disdain a life of inactivity, when an opportunity occurred for the acquisition of honour, prompted great numbers to follow a leader, who was at once the darling and the pattern of every one who courted military fame. Several princes of the blood, many noblemen of the highest rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the king's permission, entered Metz as volunteers; among these were two of the duke's brothers, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the grand prior; Enghien, Condé, and la Roche-sur-Yon; the constable's two eldest sons, Francis de Montmorenci and Damville; Horatio Farnese, son-in-law to the king; the duke of Nemours, of the house of Savoy; the Vidame of Chartres; la Rochefoucauld and Randan, two brothers; la Trémouille; Mortemar; du Châtelet; Levis; Biron; the two Maillis; Canaples; Martigues; Matignon; Gamaches; Fontrailles; Gondrin and Bethune. By their presence they added spirit to the garrison, and enabled the duke of Guise to employ, on every emergency, persons eager to distinguish themselves, and fit to conduct any service.

But with whatever alacrity the duke of Guise undertook the defence of Metz; he found every thing, upon his arrival there, in such a situation, as might have induced any person of less zeal and intrepidity to despair of defending it with success. The city was of great extent, with large suburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch was narrow, and the old towers, which projected instead of bastions, were at too great distance from each other to defend the space between them. For all these defects he endeavoured to provide the best remedy which the time would permit. He ordered the suburbs, without sparing the monasteries or churches; not even that of Saint Arnulph, in which several kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but, in order to guard against the imputation of impiety, to which such a violation of so many sacred edifices, as well as of the ashes of the dead, might expose him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy vestments and utensils, together with the bones of the kings, and other persons deposited in these churches,

to be removed, they were carried, in solemn procession, to a church within the walls, he himself walking before them uncovered, with a torch in his hand. He then pulled down such houses as stood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was necessary that all these works should be finished with the utmost expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands: the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the soldiers submitted with cheerfulness to the most extreme fatigues, when they saw that their superiors did not decline to bear a part with them. At the same time he compelled all useless persons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with provisions and military stores; burnt the mills, and destroyed the corn and forage, for several miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his art of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens seconded him with no less ardour than the soldiers; and every other passion being swallowed up in the zeal to repulse the enemy, with which he inspired them; they beheld the ruin of their estates, together with the havock which he made among their public and private buildings, without any emotion of resentment<sup>23</sup>.

The emperor, meantime, having collected all his troops, continued his march to Metz. As he passed through the cities on the Rhine, he saw the dismal effects of those destructive depredations which Albert had committed in those parts. Upon his approach, that prince, though at the head of twenty thousand men, withdrew into Lorraine, as if it were his intention to join Henry, whose arms he had quartered with his own in all his standards and ensigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops, which amounted to upwards of sixty thousand men, forming one of the most numerous and best-appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars between the princes of Christendom<sup>24</sup>.

The chief command, under the emperor, was committed to the duke of Alva, assisted by the marquis of Marignano; together with the most experienced of the Italian and Spanish generals. These officers represented the danger of beginning at such an advanced season—the month of October being nearly expired—a siege which could not fail to prove very tedious. Charles, however, rejected their advice; and, relying on the strength of his preparations, and the efficacy of his precautions, he ordered the city to be invested. As soon as the duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French sallied out and attacked his van-guard with great vigour, threw it into confusion, and killed or took prisoners a great number of men. The place, notwithstanding this check, was completely invested by the Imperialists, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

<sup>23</sup> De Thou, tom. xi. p. 387.—Salignac, Journal.—Rabutin.—Histoire de Lorraine, par Dom Calmet.—Fontanieu.

<sup>24</sup> Natalis Comes.—Robertson.



The attention both of the besiegers and besieged was turned, for some time, towards Albert of Brandenburg, and they strove, with emulation, which should gain that prince, who still hovered in the neighbourhood, fluctuating in all the uncertainty of resolution natural to a man, who, being swayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of interest. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial: the Imperialists made every promise which they thought would make an impression upon him. After much hesitation, he was gained by the emperor, from whom he expected to receive advantages more immediate and more permanent. As Henry, who began to suspect his intentions, had appointed a body of troops, under the duke of Aumale, brother to the duke of Guise, to watch his motions, Albert fell upon them unexpectedly, with such vigour, that he routed them entirely, killed the viscount of Rohan, la Chatre, and about two hundred gentlemen; Aumale himself was wounded, and, with d'Eguilli, d'O, and d'Aguerres, was taken prisoner. The three last were ransomed; but Albert refused to release Aumale, whom he determined to keep as an hostage for securing any terms, which he might, at a future period, be led to exact from the French. Immediately after this victory, he marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the emperor. Charles, in reward for this service, and the great accession of strength which he brought him, granted Albert a formal pardon of all past offences, and confirmed him in the possession of the territories which he had violently usurped during the war.

The duke of Guise, though deeply affected with his brother's misfortune, did not remit, in any degree, the vigour with which he defended the town. He harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies, in which his officers were so eager to distinguish themselves, that his authority being scarcely sufficient to restrain the impetuosity of their courage, he was often obliged to shut the gates, and to conceal the keys, in order to prevent the princes of the blood, and noblemen of the first rank, from exposing themselves to danger in every sally. He repaired in the night whatever damage the enemy's artillery had effected during the day, or erected behind the ruined works new fortifications of almost equal strength. The Imperialists, on their part, pushed on the attack with great spirit, and carried forward approaches against different parts of the town at the same time. But the art of attacking was not then arrived at that degree of perfection to which it attained towards the close of the sixteenth century, during the long war in the Netherlands. The besiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progress; and although breaches were effected by their batteries in various places, they were astonished by the sudden appearance of works, the demolition of which would require a renewal of all their dangers and fatigues. The emperor, enraged at the obstinate resistance which his army experienced, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and, though still so infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that, by his presence, he might animate the soldiers,  
and

and urge on the attack with greater spirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardour.

The winter, however, had by this time set in with extreme rigour; the Imperial camp was alternately deluged with rain and covered with snow. Provisions, too, were become extremely scarce, as a body of French cavalry hovered in the neighbourhood, and often intercepted the convoys, or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diseases began to spread among the soldiers, especially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccustomed to such inclement weather; so that great numbers were rendered unfit for service, and many died. At length, such breaches being made as seemed practicable, Charles resolved to hazard a general assault, in spite of the remonstrances of his generals, concerning the imprudence of attacking a numerous garrison, conducted and animated by the most gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diseases, and disheartened with ill success. The duke of Guise, suspecting the enemy's intentions, from the extraordinary hurry he observed in their camp, ordered all his troops to their respective posts. They immediately appeared on the walls and behind the breaches, with such a determined countenance, so eager for the combat, and so well prepared to give the assailants a warm reception, that the Imperialists, instead of advancing to the charge, when the word of command was given, stood motionless, in a timid dejected silence. The emperor perceiving the impossibility of trusting troops whose spirits were so much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deserted by his soldiers, who no longer deserved the name of men <sup>25</sup>.

Deeply as Charles was mortified and affected by the conduct of his troops, he would not consent to abandon the siege, though he perceived the necessity of changing the mode of attack. He suspended the fury of his batteries, and proposed to proceed by the more secure but tedious method of sapping. But as it still continued to rain or snow almost incessantly, such as were employed in this service endured incredible hardships: and the duke of Guise, whose industry was equal to his valour, discovering all their mines, counterworked them, and prevented their effect. At last, Charles, finding it impossible to contend any longer with the rigour of the season, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor subdue with art; while, at the same time, a contagious distemper raged among his troops, and daily cut off great numbers of the officers as well as soldiers, yielded to the solicitations of his generals, who conjured him to save the remains of his army by a timely retreat: "Fortune,"—said he—"I now perceive, resembles other females, and chooses to confer her favours on young men, while she forsakes those who are advanced in years."

<sup>25</sup> De Thou, p. 397.—Robertson.



On the twenty-sixth of October, Charles gave orders to raise the siege, and submitted to the disgrace of abandoning the enterprize, after having continued fifty-six days before the town, during which time he had lost upwards of thirty thousand men, who died of diseases, or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guise, as soon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialists, took measures to molest them on their march, and sent out several bodies of cavalry and infantry to infect them on their rear, to pick up stragglers, and to seize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confusion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have annoyed them in the most cruel manner. But when they sallied out, a spectacle presented itself to their view, which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into tenderness and compassion. The Imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape, beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no farther, to perish without assistance. This they received from their enemies, to whom they were indebted for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guise immediately ordered proper refreshments for such as were dying of hunger; he appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; he removed such as could bear removal into the adjacent villages; and those who would have suffered by being carried so far, he admitted into the hospitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own soldiers. As soon as they recovered, he sent them home under an escort of soldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By these acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and animosity than at present, the duke of Guise completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and successful defence of Metz, and engaged those whom he had vanquished to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name<sup>26</sup>.

In Italy the Sienese threw off the Imperial yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of France, so that this was the most disastrous year in the life of Charles the Fifth, and the most glorious in that of Henry.

A. D. 1553.] The king was too much intoxicated with his late success to harbour any sentiments of moderation, he caused a great number of medals to be stricken with symbolical figures and pompous inscriptions, less honourable to himself than insulting to his rival. He addressed a long manifesto to the princes and free cities in Germany, in which he reminded them of the state of abject subjection whence they had so recently extricated themselves; exhorting them to the adoption of sentiments worthy their origin; to demand justice for the acts of violence and rapine which had been exercised against

<sup>26</sup> Pere Daniel, Hist. de France. tom. iii. p. 392.—Natalis Comes.

them,

them, and, particularly, to re-establish their rights, and restore, in its primitive vigour, their ancient constitution. In order to shew how favourable to their exertions the present opportunity appeared, he urged them to cast their eyes on the emperor, who so lately, inflated with pride, insolently dragged captive princes at his car, swallowed up crowns and sceptres in his projects of ambition, and fought to establish a throne on the ruins of the universe; but now abject, depressed, and confused, he dared not meet the looks of his own officers, and was reduced to conceal his shame in the marshes of the Netherlands: an eternal promoter of discord, deeply versed in the perfidious art of making traitors, and ever attentive to hide his base proceedings beneath the sacred veil of religion, though he had long enjoyed the feeble advantage of fascinating the eyes and imposing on the credulity of mankind; now that the mask was thrown aside, that his schemes were known, and that the facility of conquering him was proved by experience, he could not possibly appear a formidable opponent: for, admitting even that his exhausted treasures, his ruined credit, and his weakened and dispirited army, still left him some resources, yet his habitual infirmities and broken constitution no longer entitled him to a place among the living. Henry promised the most effectual assistance to those whom he styled his hereditary allies and ancient kinsmen; though he had reason to complain of the conduct of a few, he did not, he said, confound a whole nation, distinguished for its sincerity, and generally faithful to its engagements, with a few individuals, who appeared to have abjured their country: and the Germans would always find him ready to fly to their relief the moment he should be called upon: he concluded by observing, that he made no demand on them, that he only invited them to reflect whether it would not tend as much to the promotion of their own interest as of his, that the French ambassadors should be restored to the privilege they formerly possessed of assisting at the diets of the empire, and whether it did not depend entirely upon themselves to prevent the emperor from excluding them, by which conduct they would effectually deprive him of every temptation to infringe on their liberties a second time.

Maurice and his associates were inclined to listen to the overtures of the king of France, from the perfidious conduct of the emperor at this period, who encouraged the destructive depredations and other violent proceedings of Albert of Brandenburg.—That prince's troops having shared in the calamities of the siege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number; but the emperor, less from gratitude for his services on that occasion, than from his desire to foment divisions among the princes of the empire, having paid all the money due to him, he was enabled with that sum to hire so many of the soldiers dismissed from the Imperial army, that he was soon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever. The bishops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg having solicited the Imperial chamber to annul, by its authority, the iniquitous conditions which Albert had compelled them to sign, that court unanimously declared all their engagements with him to be void in their own nature, because they had been extorted by force; enjoined Albert to renounce all claim to the performance of them; and, if he



should persist in urging such an unjust demand, exhorted all the princes of the empire to take arms against him as a disturber of the public tranquillity. To this decision Albert opposed the confirmation of his transactions with the two prelates, which the emperor had granted him as the reward of his having joined the Imperial army at Metz; and, in order to intimidate his antagonists, as well as to convince them of his resolution not to relinquish his pretensions, he put his troops in motion, that he might secure the territory in question.

The Imperial chamber now issued its decree against this dangerous usurper, and required the elector of Saxony, together with several other princes, to take arms in order to enforce its execution. Maurice, and those associated with him, were not unwilling to undertake this service; since they were convinced that the emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings, and secretly afforded him assistance, that, by raising him up to rival Maurice in power, he might, in any future broil, make use of him to counterbalance and controul the authority which the other had acquired in the empire<sup>27</sup>.

These considerations united the most powerful princes in Germany in a league against Albert, of which Maurice was declared generalissimo; and he had no sooner accepted this office, than he addressed himself to the king of France, requesting him to send, with as much secrecy as possible, some deputies to Metz, in order to conclude the terms of a new confederacy. Henry, accordingly, appointed the cardinal of Lenoncourt, bishop of Metz; Francis de Scépaux, lord of Vieilleville, who had succeeded Gonnor, as governor of that city; and Marillac, bishop of Vannes, his plenipotentiaries, with full powers to treat with the Saxon envoys<sup>28</sup>. But the conclusion of this treaty was prevented by an accident which gave a new face to affairs in Germany.

The confederacy formed against Albert wrought no change in his sentiments; but as he knew that he could not resist so many princes if he should allow them time to assemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantages which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and, for that reason, marched directly against Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded most. It was happy for the allies, that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a prince of such abilities. He, by his authority and example, had inspired them with vigour; and having carried on their preparations with greater rapidity than could have been expected, he was in condition to face Albert, before he could make any considerable progress.

<sup>27</sup> Sleidan, p. 585—Memoires de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 442—Arnoldi vita Mauritii apud Menken, tom. ii. p. 1242—Robertson.

<sup>28</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 452.

Their armies, which were nearly equal in number, each consisting of twenty-four thousand men, met at Sieverhausen, in the duchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animosity against each other, which possessed the two leaders, did not suffer them to continue long inactive. The troops, inflamed with the same hostile rage, marched fiercely to the combat; they fought with the greatest obstinacy; and, as both generals were capable of availing themselves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At last, victory declared for Maurice, who was superior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving four thousand dead in the field; and their camp, baggage, and artillery, in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear, their best troops suffered greatly; two sons of the duke of Brunswick, a duke of Lunenburgh, and many other persons of distinction, were among the number of the slain. But all these were soon forgotten; for Maurice himself, as he led up to a second charge a body of horse which had been broken, received a wound with a pistol-bullet in the belly, of which he died two days after the battle, in the thirty-second year of his age, and in the sixth after his attainment to the electoral dignity.

The emperor, meanwhile, impatient to efface the stain which his ignominious repulse at Metz left upon his military reputation, took the field early in the spring, and entering the Low Countries with a powerful army, laid siege to T rouenne. Though the town was of such importance, that Francis used to call it one of the two pillows on which a king of France might sleep with security, the fortifications were out of repair, and the garrison consisted only of one troop of light-horse, under the command of the lord of Loffes, who was governor of the place, and three companies of foot. The constable, jealous of the glory acquired by the duke of Guise in the defence of Metz, procured for his eldest son, Francis de Montmorenci, the appointment of lieutenant-general of T rouenne; and the celebrated d'Ess , who had signalized his courage and military conduct in the expulsion of the English from Scotland, was given him as an assistant in the arduous enterprize. D'Ess  was afflicted with the jaundice, and when he went to take leave of the king, Henry expressed his concern at the languid and debilitated state to which he seemed to be reduced; to which the gallant veteran replied—" *When your majesty shall receive intelligence of the reduction of T rouenne, you may safely affirm that d'Ess  is cured of the jaundice.*" D'Ess  conducted a strong reinforcement, and ample supplies, which entered the town without loss or molestation; and from this first success it was generally believed at court, that the emperor was preparing for himself at T rouenne the same affront which he had sustained at Metz; though all those who gave themselves time to reflect on the difference of the season, situation, and other circumstances, foresaw that the town must inevitably be taken, unless an army were levied sufficiently strong to compel the emperor to raise the siege.



After the enormous disbursements of the preceding year, it became a matter of extreme difficulty to raise the necessary sums for defraying the expences of the present campaign. A tax was imposed on all deeds of conveyance, or gift; marriage contracts and wills: new offices of various kinds were created: the duties on goods imported into the city of Lyons were disposed of to the Florentine bankers: several of the principal towns, such as Paris, Rheims, Troyes, Châlons, Poitiers, and Mans, were compelled to purchase an exemption from the tax upon salt. All notaries were forbidden, under pain of forfeiting their employments, to draw up any deed of conveyance, till such time as the king had collected all the money he wished to borrow; by this means, joined to some measures of a still more arbitrary nature, with regard to the disposal of the domains of the crown, a sufficient sum was raised for carrying on the war.

The siege of Têrouenne still continued: d'Essé, when he entered the town, found the enemy's batteries completed, and all the posts so well fortified that it was impossible to attack them with any prospect of success. The trenches were opened, and extended to the very walls of the place: in vain did d'Essé make continual sallies, by day and night; in vain did he effect a partial destruction of their works, and bring off in triumph several pieces of artillery which greatly incommoded the garrison; these inconveniences were speedily remedied by the Imperialists: and the emperor had such a prodigious quantity of artillery at his command, that one piece was no sooner taken or destroyed, than three or four others appeared in its place, owing to the zeal of the Flemings, who were so anxious to have the town reduced, that sooner than suffer the army to be in want of pioneers, they would have deserted their cities, and left their fields untilled. A practicable breach being effected, the Imperialists, on the twelfth of June, delivered a general assault, which lasted four hours, when they were repulsed with the loss of twelve or fifteen hundred men: the besieged lost only three hundred, but among the slain was their brave commander d'Essé, who closed a life of military toil in the field of honour. Young Montmorenci, who, though his equal in rank, had cheerfully consented to fight under his orders, now became commander in chief: he immediately assembled Losses, Fumel, Contai, Renti, Wart, la Chapelle, and all the principal officers, who unanimously agreed to follow the example of d'Essé, and bury themselves beneath the ruins of the place. They were confirmed in this heroic resolution by the unexpected arrival of three hundred arquebusiers, sent by the duke of Vendôme, and of thirty young noblemen, who had obtained permission to serve as volunteers in this chosen band: among these gallant gentlemen, history has preserved the names of Baugé, Dampierre, la Roue, Bailleul, Vieuxmaisons, and Rambure<sup>29</sup>. But the most desperate exertions of courage proved insufficient to save the place; masters of all the approaches, the enemy had

<sup>29</sup> Rabutin—Memoires de Villars—De Thou—Paradin—La Poplinière—Dépêches de Marillac—Cabinet de Fontanien.

digged mines under the principal towers, and, on the twentieth of July, they set fire to them, and effected two breaches more extensive and accessible than the former one. All means of resistance being thus removed, Montmorenci demanded to capitulate, but having neglected to stipulate a truce while the articles were preparing, he found himself suddenly attacked by the Flemings, and afterwards by the Spaniards, who soon repulsed the few troops that attempted to oppose them. The Flemings massacred, without mercy, all that came in their way; but the Spaniards, on the contrary, recollecting the humane treatment they had experienced from the French, after the siege of Metz, suffered the soldiers to escape, and only exacted from their leaders such ransoms as they chose to fix on themselves. Montmorenci, however, and some other officers, were presented to the emperor, and confined in different prisons in the Netherlands. That T rouenne might not again fall into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town itself to be razed, and the inhabitants to be dispersed in the adjacent cities.

Elated with this success, the Imperialists immediately invested Hesdin, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewise taken by assault, and such of the garrison as escaped the sword were made prisoners. Charles entrusted the conduct of this siege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who, on that occasion, gave the first display of those great talents for military command, which soon entitled him to be ranked amongst the first generals of the age, and facilitated his re-establishment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which having been over-run by Francis, in his expeditions into Italy, were still occupied by Henry. Hesdin was levelled with the ground, and the place which now bears that name was built by the emperor, about a league from the spot where the old town stood, in a more advantageous situation.

The losses which France had sustained, and by which the emperor had assumed his wonted superiority in the field, were ascribed to the extreme jealousy and precaution of the constable, in refusing to appoint a commander in chief of the troops, or to put the army in motion, till he had secured a decisive superiority<sup>30</sup>. The troops which the French kept in pay during the winter, were, at least, equal in number and discipline to those who had recently taken the towns of T rouenne and Hesdin by assault; but it was the constable's intention to reinforce them with a body of twelve thousand Swiss, and, in expectation of their arrival, he kept the national forces in a state of inactivity. But the murmurs of the public, and the danger to which Dourlens was exposed, a place of inferior strength to Hesdin, and into which the Vidame of Chartres, and a great number of the nobility, had thrown themselves, at length induced the constable to make a part of his

<sup>30</sup> Haræus, Annales Brabant—Rabutin—De Thou—La Poplini re—Bellefor t—Manusc. de Bethune—Garnier.



cavalry cross the Somme. Detaching five hundred lances, under the conduct of the marechal de Saint André, and five or six troops of light horse, under the prince of Condé and the duke of Nemours, he ordered them to lie concealed in a certain spot, which he pointed out, while Baptista Fregosa and Saint-Gelais-Lansac extended their incursions within sight of the enemy's camp, in order to court an attack: the plan succeeded to his wishes; three regiments of Imperial cavalry were sent to cut off the retreat of Fregoso's detachment, but, failing in that attempt, they pursued them on full gallop, and fell into the ambuscade that was prepared for them. The enemy lost four or five hundred men, among whom was the prince of Epinoi; and among the prisoners, who amounted to three hundred, was the duke of Arscot.

This check rendered Emanuel Philibert, now duke of Savoy, more circumspect: before the French army was in motion, he strengthened the garrison of Bapaulme, on the frontiers of Picardy; and then distributing the rest of his infantry in those places which were most exposed to attack, he reserved only a flying camp, in order to harass the enemy on their march. The Swiss did not arrive in Picardy till towards the end of August, when the king placed himself at the head of his army, which consisted, independant of the household troops, of eighteen hundred lances, two thousand light horse, twelve hundred horse-arquebusers, fifteen thousand French infantry, nine or ten thousand Lansquenets, twelve thousand Swiss, and three thousand militia. Henry directed his march towards Bapaulme, which, being destitute of regular fortifications, must speedily have surrendered, had the troops been able to remain before the place; but the impossibility of procuring water compelled them to retire, when they continued their route through the open country, which they laid waste as they advanced, then, turning suddenly to the right, they encamped before Crevecœur, in the Cambresis; after staying there some time, during which the constable made a vain attempt to get possession of Cambray by intrigue, they marched towards Valenciennes, under the walls of which town the duke of Savoy had pitched his camp; but it was so strongly entrenched that it was deemed imprudent to attack it, and the army returning to Picardy was, soon after, put into winter quarters.

■ In Italy the French arms were more successful: Charles having exerted himself to the utmost to make a great effort in the Low Countries, his operations on the other side of the Alps were proportionally feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Cosmo di Medicis, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Sienna, endeavoured to become master of that city; but instead of reducing the Siennese, the Imperialists were obliged to retire with precipitation, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkish fleet, which threatened the coast of Naples; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but, by the assistance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the island of Corsica, subject, at that time, to the Genoese.

The attention of Henry was now called to the state of affairs in England, to the throne of which kingdom Mary, sister to Edward the Sixth, had lately succeeded. The emperor, immediately after the queen's accession, sent a pompous embassy to London to congratulate her on that happy event, and to propose a marriage with his son Philip, in the hope of adding England to his other kingdoms. Mary, dazzled with the prospect of marrying the heir of such a powerful monarch; fond of uniting more closely with her mother's family, to which she had ever been warmly attached, and eager to secure the powerful aid which she knew would be necessary towards the completion of her favourite scheme for re-establishing the Romish religion in England, lent a favourable ear to the proposal. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the church of Rome with a sanguinary zeal that exceeded the measure even of Spanish bigotry: this alarmed all the numerous partizans of the reformation. The English could not think, without the utmost uneasiness, of admitting a foreign prince to that influence in their councils, which the husband of their queen would naturally possess. They dreaded, both from Philip's overbearing temper, and from the maxims of the Spanish monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuse ideas into the queen's mind, dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom, to assist her in any attempt against them.

A. D. 1554, 1555.] Henry observed the progress of the emperor's negotiation in England with much uneasiness. The great accession of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his son with the queen of such a powerful kingdom, was obvious and formidable. He easily foresaw that the English, whatever precautions their fears might induce them to adopt, would be soon drawn to take part in the quarrels of the continent, and be compelled to act in subserviency to the emperor's ambitious schemes. For this reason the king gave it in charge to Anthony de Noailles, his ambassador at the court of London, to employ all his address in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any prince of the blood in France whom he could propose to the queen as a husband, he instructed him to co-operate with such of the English as wished their sovereign to marry one of her own subjects. But the queen's ardour and precipitation rendered all his endeavours ineffectual; she closed with the first overtures of Philip, and all that Noailles could obtain was the insertion of a clause in the marriage treaty, by which it was stipulated, that, in consequence of the marriage, England should not be engaged in any war subsisting between France and Spain, and that the alliance between France and England should remain in full force<sup>31</sup>.

But Henry, sensible that this condition would only be observed so long as the interests

<sup>31</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 377, 393.—*Mém. de Ribier*, tom. ii. p. 498.



of the court should continue subservient to those of the nation, determined to carry on his military operations both in the Low Countries and in Italy with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could surmount the aversion of her subjects from a war on the continent, and prevail on them to assist the emperor either with money or troops. For this purpose he exerted himself to the utmost in order to have a numerous army early assembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands; and while one part of it, under the prince of Roche-sur-Yon, laid waste the open country of Artois, the main body, under the constable Montmorenci, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainault, by the forest of Ardennes<sup>32</sup>.

The duke of Nevers reduced and demolished the fort of Jadines, with the castles of Orcinont, Beaurain, Fument, and Hierges; while the mareschal de Saint André, with a detachment of six thousand Swiss and two thousand cavalry, laid siege to Mariembourg, a town which the queen of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, had fortified at a great expence; but being destitute of a sufficient garrison, it surrendered in six days. Henry, elated with this success, put himself at the head of his army, and investing Bouvines, took it by assault, after a short resistance. With equal facility he became master of Dinant; and then turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The vast sums which the emperor had remitted into England, for the purpose of securing the leading men in his interest, with regard to the marriage of his son, had so exhausted his treasury, as to render his preparations at this juncture slower and more dilatory than usual. He had no body of troops to oppose the French at their first entrance into his territories; and though he hastened to collect all the forces in the country, and gave the command of them to the duke of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy so far superior in number. The duke, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a distance, and by choosing his own posts with skill, he put it out of their power either to form any siege of consequence, or to attack him. Want of subsistence soon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country in the most cruel and licentious manner.

But Henry, unwilling to dismiss his army, without attempting some conquest adequate to his vast preparations and sanguine hopes, invested Renti, a place then deemed of great importance, as, by its situation on the confines of Artois and the Boulonnois, it covered the former province, and protected the parties which made incursions into the latter. The town, which was strongly fortified, and provided with a numerous garrison, made a gallant defence; but being warmly pressed by a powerful army, it could not be ex-

<sup>32</sup> Rabutin—Paradin—Belleforet—Harzeus—De Thou—La Poplinière.

pected to hold out long. The emperor, who, at that time, enjoyed a short interval of ease from the gout, with which he was greatly afflicted, was so solicitous to save it, that although he could bear no motion but that of a litter, he instantly put himself at the head of his army, which, having received various reinforcements, was now sufficiently strong to approach the enemy.

The emperor had resolved, if possible, to avoid a decisive action, but, notwithstanding all his precautions, a dispute about a post, which both armies endeavoured to seize, brought on an engagement, on the thirteenth of August, which proved almost general. The object of dispute was a wood, which commanded one part of the French camp, and in which the duke of Guise, foreseeing the emperor's intentions, had judiciously posted, in an advantageous situation, several companies of arquebusiers, who successfully repelled the first body of troops that was sent to dislodge them. Charles, however, being resolved to carry his point, detached from his army three thousand Spanish arquebusiers, under the conduct of Gonzaga, whom he had lately recalled from Italy, and two thousand light horse, headed by the duke of Savoy: these troops were to march through the wood, while count Wolrad de Schwatzemberg advanced between the wood and the enemy's camp, with a strong body of infantry, in order to form a junction with them at the farther end, where they would be sufficiently strong to make head against the French, till such time as the emperor should join them with the rest of his army. The duke of Guise, thus overawed by a superior force, withdrew the troops he had stationed in the wood, and sent word to the king to prepare the army for action, while he endeavoured to retard the enemy's march as much as possible. Of this perilous commission the duke acquitted himself with his accustomed intrepidity; and when he had accomplished his task, and secured the retreat of his own men, he placed himself at the head of his company of one hundred lances. The count of Schwatzemberg, meantime, continued to advance at the head of two thousand foot, all veterans, who had served under Albert of Brandenburg, and who, in order to frighten their enemies, had blackened their faces. This formidable corps was twice attacked by the French light horse, under the conduct of the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, who were speedily repulsed; but Gaspard de Saulx Tavannes, at the head of his company of fifty lances, charged them with such fury, both in front and flank, that he made them give way, and then, by mixing among them, compleated their disorder; being first supported by the duke of Guise, and afterwards by the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, who, having rallied their men, returned a third time to the charge, he was enabled to pursue his advantage; and the Germans falling back on a regiment of Lansquenets which had been sent to their support, fled for shelter to the wood. Meanwhile the admiral de Coligny, at the head of the French and Swiss infantry, after receiving the first fire of Gonzaga's arquebusiers, ordered his men to charge with their pikes, by which means the enemy were routed, and pursued to the farther extremity of the wood: Coligny took several standards, and four field-pieces.



The emperor, during the engagement, had taken possession of some heights which commanded the field, where he began to throw up entrenchments in order to secure his camp from insult. In this action two hundred of the French were slain, and among them was the lord of Curton, son to the marechal de Chabannes: the loss of the Imperialists amounted to fifteen hundred or two thousand men<sup>33</sup>. Both armies passed the night under arms: that of the emperor, from the expectation that the conqueror would be induced to pursue his advantage; and that of Henry, because, as they were situated in an open field, and destitute of entrenchments, they had every thing to dread from an attack during the night. It was also expected that Charles would seek to exact vengeance for the affront he had sustained; but content with having secured a post which must force the enemy to raise the siege of Renti, he continued to fortify his camp with all possible diligence. The constable, who went to reconnoitre it the next morning, declared the impossibility of attacking it with any prospect of success; and as it would have been extremely imprudent to make an assault upon the town of Renti, in sight of a numerous army, it was determined, in a council of war, that the troops should return to Picardy; and, in order that this retreat might not wear the appearance of a flight, the king sent a herald to inform the emperor that he would wait for him the next day on the field of action, during four hours; and that, on his arrival at the first place where forage could be procured, he would again wait for him during four days.

The arms of France were still more successful in Italy. Peter Strozzi, who commanded the French forces in that country, was defeated, with the loss of four thousand men, near Marciano, by the marquis of Marignano, general to Cosmo de Medicis. The siege of Sienna was instantly formed by the victor; the fate of that city was protracted for ten months, by the valour of Monluc, who commanded the French garrison; but the Siennese, superior to the force of arms, were incapable of resisting the assaults of famine: the terms they obtained were, however, honourable; and Monluc, with the French troops, were allowed to march out with all the honours of war. But the marechal de Brissac, in Piedmont, supported the glory of his country, and justified the choice of his prince; though his troops were in number inferior to those of the Imperialists, he not only baffled the attempts of the duke of Alva, who, with his usual arrogance, had boasted that he would soon drive him beyond the mountains, but even extended his incursions into that part of the country which hitherto the emperor had preserved; and would probably have rendered more important services to his king, but for some overtures made, about this time, for a peace, which induced the ministry to withhold the necessary supplies for carrying on his plan of operations.

The campaign of 1555 was neither conducted with spirit nor effect; both parties being

<sup>33</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 522.

too much exhausted to bring any considerable army into the field. But what Charles wanted in force he endeavoured to supply by a stratagem, the success of which would have been equal to that of the most vigorous campaign. During the siege of Metz, Leonard, father guardian of a convent of Franciscans in that city, had insinuated himself into the esteem and favour of the duke of Guise, by his attachment to the French; and the duke, in return for the services he had rendered him, in procuring intelligence of the motions and designs of the enemies, had strongly recommended him to Vielleville, who was appointed to the government of Metz. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers, or from resentment against the French, who had not rewarded him according to his own opinion of his deserts, or tempted by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him to imagine that he might carry on and accomplish any scheme with perfect security, formed a design of betraying Metz to the Imperialists.

He communicated his intention to the governess of the Low Countries, who approving, without any scruple, an act of treachery whence the emperor might derive such signal advantages, assisted the father guardian in concerting the most proper plan for ensuring its success. They agreed that Leonard should endeavour to gain his monks to concur in promoting the design; that he should introduce into the convent a certain number of chosen soldiers, disguised in the habit of friars; that when every thing was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville should march towards Metz in the night, with a considerable body of troops, and attempt to scale the ramparts; that while the garrison was employed in resisting the assailants, the monks should set fire to the town in different places; that the soldiers, who lay concealed, should fall out of the convent, and attack those who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidst the universal terror and confusion, which events so unexpected would occasion, it was not doubted but that the Imperialists might become masters of the town. As a recompence for this service, the father guardian stipulated that he should be appointed bishop of Metz; and ample rewards were promised to such of his monks as should be most active in co-operating with him.

Leonard accomplished, with great secrecy and dispatch, every thing which he had undertaken to perform; but, happily for France, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a spy, whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciscan friars resorted frequently thither, and were admitted to many private conferences with the governor, who was making great preparations for some military enterprize. This intelligence having awakened Vielleville's suspicions, he instantly visited the convent of Franciscans, and detected the soldiers who were concealed there; the father-guardian was also seized, on his return from Thionville; and he, in order to escape the rack, revealed all the circumstances of the conspiracy.

Vielleville, not content with having frustrated the nefarious machinations of these traitors, was solicitous to avail himself of the discoveries which he had made, so as to be



revenged on the Imperialists. For this purpose, he marched out with the best troops in his garrison, and placing these in ambush near the road, by which the father-guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell with great fury upon the Imperialists, who, confounded at this sudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to surprize, made little resistance; and a great part of the troops employed in this service, among which were many persons of distinction, was killed or taken prisoners. Before next morning, Vieilleville returned to Metz in triumph.

During these transactions, the queen of England, at the instigation of cardinal Pole, had offered her mediation to the contending powers, and prevailed both on the emperor and the king of France to send their plenipotentiaries to a village between Gravelines and Ardres. Pole himself, with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, repaired thither in order to preside as mediators in the conferences, which were to be holden for adjusting all the points in difference. But though each of the monarchs committed this negociation to some of their most able ministers, it soon became evident that they were neither of them actuated by a sincere desire of accommodation. Each proposed articles so extravagant, that they could have no hopes of their being accepted; and Pole, after exerting, in vain, all his zeal, address, and invention, in order to persuade them to relinquish such extravagant demands, and to consent to the substitution of more equal conditions, became sensible of the folly of wasting time, in attempting to reconcile those whom their obstinacy rendered irreconcilable, broke off the conference and returned to England<sup>34</sup>.

On the twenty-third of March, this year, pope Julius the Third died, and was succeeded in the papal throne, by Marcellus Cervino, cardinal of Santa-Croce, who enjoyed his new dignity only twenty days. All the refinements in artifice and intrigue peculiar to conclaves, were displayed in that which was holden for the election of a successor to Marcellus; the cardinals of the French and Imperial factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the necessary number of suffrages for one of their own party. But, after a struggle of no long duration, though conducted with great warmth and eagerness, they united in choosing John Peter Caraffa, the eldest member of the sacred college, and the son of count Montorio, a nobleman of an illustrious family in the kingdom of Naples. In order to testify his respect for the memory of Paul the Third, by whom he had been created cardinal, he assumed the name of Paul the Fourth. The new pontiff, at the instigation of his nephews, proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the king of France; that they should attack the duchy of Tuscany, and the kingdom of Naples, with their united forces; and, if their arms should prove successful, that the ancient republican form of government should be re-established in the former, and the investiture of the latter should be granted to one of Henry's sons, after reserving a certain territory which should be an-

<sup>34</sup> De Thou, lib. xv. p. 523—Mem. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 613.

nexed to the patrimony of the church, together with an independent and princely establishment for each of the pope's two nephews.

The king, allured by these specious projects, gave a most favourable audience to the papal envoy; and the cardinal of Lorraine was immediately sent to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert measures for carrying it into execution. Before he could reach that city, the pope, either from reflecting on the danger and uncertain issue of all military operations, or through the address of the Imperial ambassador, who had been at great pains to soothe him, had not only begun to lose much of the ardour with which he commenced the negotiation with France, but even discovered great unwillingness to continue it. His nephews, however, again interfered, and the treaty was accordingly concluded on the fifteenth of December: the conditions were much the same as had been proposed by the pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole transaction secret until their united forces should be ready to take the field.

During the negotiation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened, which seemed to render the fears which had given rise to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unnecessary. This was the emperor's resignation of his hereditary dominions to his son Philip; together with his resolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in business or the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude. At Brussels this extraordinary renunciation was made; and Charles only retained for himself the Imperial dignity, which, about a year afterwards, he relinquished to his brother Ferdinand, the king of the Romans.

A. D. 1556.] The few months which Charles passed in the Low Countries after his abdication, were devoted to the purpose of establishing his son in his new dominions, and of facilitating the means of confirming that power which he had just resigned to him. Sensible of the importance of peace, at the commencement of a reign, he was anxious to conclude an accommodation with Henry. Previous to his resignation, commissioners had been appointed by the king and the emperor, in order to treat of an exchange of prisoners. In their conferences at the abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was accidentally proposed for terminating hostilities between the contending monarchs, by a long truce, during the subsistence of which, and without discussing their respective claims, each should retain what was in his possession. Charles declared warmly for closing with the overture, though manifestly dishonourable as well as disadvantageous; and such was the respect due to his wisdom and experience, that Philip, notwithstanding his unwillingness to purchase peace by such concessions, did not presume to urge his opinion in opposition to that of his father.

Henry could not have hesitated one moment about giving his consent to a truce on such conditions as would leave him in quiet possession of the duke of Savoy's dominions, together



gether with the important conquests which he had made on the frontiers of Germany. But it was no easy matter to reconcile such a step with the engagements which he had recently contracted, by his late treaty with the pope. The constable Montmorenci, however, represented, in such strong terms, the imprudence of sacrificing the true interests of his kingdom to these rash obligations, and took such advantage of the absence of the cardinal of Lorraine, who was anxious to maintain his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, naturally fluctuating and unsteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice last given him, authorized his ambassadors to sign, on the fifth of February, a treaty of truce for five years, on the terms which had been proposed<sup>35</sup>: but that he might not seem to have altogether forgotten his ally the pope, who he foresaw would be highly exasperated, he, in order to soothe him, took care that he should be expressly included in the truce.

The count of Lalain repaired to Blois, and the admiral Coligni to Brussels, the former to be present when the king of France, and the latter when the emperor and his son, ratified the treaty, and bound themselves by oath to observe it. The sudden and unexpected conclusion of the truce filled the pope with astonishment and terror. The cardinal of Lorraine durst not encounter that storm of indignation, to which he knew he should be exposed from the haughty pontiff, who had so good reason to be incensed; but departing abruptly from Rome, he left to the cardinal Tournon the difficult task of attempting to soothe Paul and his nephews. They were fully sensible of the perilous situation in which they now stood. By their engagements with France, which were no longer secret, they had highly irritated Philip, the violence of whose implacable temper they had reason to dread. The duke of Alva had advanced from Milan to Naples, and begun to assemble troops on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state, while they, if deserted by France, must not only relinquish all the hopes of dominion and sovereignty to which their ambition aspired, but remain exposed to the resentment of the Spanish monarch, without a single ally to protect them against an enemy with whom they were so little able to contend.

Under these circumstances, Paul had recourse to the arts of negotiation and intrigue: he affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a stop to the effusion of human blood: he expressed his warmest wishes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace: he exhorted the rival princes to open a negotiation for that purpose; and he offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed cardinal Rebiba, his nuncio to the court of Brussels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The public instructions given to both were the same; that they should exert themselves to the utmost to prevail on the two monarchs to accept of the pope's mediation, that, by means of it, peace might be re-established, and

<sup>35</sup> Recueil de Traités—Ribier—De Thou—Belcarius—Matthieu—MS de Fontanieu—Relation de Coligni.

measures taken for the assembling a general council. But Caraffa received a private commission to solicit Henry to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the holy see; and he was empowered to spare neither entreaties nor promises, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This both the uncle and the nephew considered as the real end of the embassy; while the other served to amuse the vulgar, or to deceive the emperor and his son.

Caraffa made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp; and having presented a consecrated sword to Henry, as the protector, on whose aid the pope relied in the present exigency, he besought him not to disregard the entreaties of a parent in distress, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This he represented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of justice. As the pope, from confidence in the assistance and support which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken such steps as had irritated the king of Spain, he conjured Henry not to suffer Paul and his family to be crushed under the weight of that resentment which they had drawn on themselves merely by their attachment to France. Having made this appeal to his generosity, he next endeavoured to work on his ambition. He affirmed that now was the time, when, with the most certain prospect of success, he might attack Philip's dominions in Italy; that the flower of the veteran Spanish bands had perished in the wars of Hungary, Germany and the Low Countries; that the emperor had left his son an exhausted treasury, and kingdoms drained of men; that he had no longer to contend with the abilities, the experience, and good fortune of Charles, but with a monarch scarcely seated on his throne, unpractised in command, odious to many of the Italian states, and dreaded by all. He promised that the pope, who had already levied soldiers, would bring a considerable army into the field, which, when joined by a sufficient number of French troops, might, by one brisk and sudden effort, expel the Spaniards from Naples, and add to the crown of France a kingdom, the conquest of which had been the great object of all his predecessors during half a century, and the chief motive of all their expeditions into Italy.

These arguments made a deep impression on Henry; but reverence for the oath, by which he had so lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles, together with the extreme old age of the pope, whose death might occasion a total revolution in the political system of Italy; kept him for some time in suspense. The cardinal, however, had expedients ready for removing these obstacles. To obviate the king's scruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the pope to absolve him from the obligation of it; and by way of security against any danger which he might apprehend from the pope's death, he engaged that his uncle would make such a nomination of cardinals, as should give Henry the absolute command of the next election, and enable him to place in the papal chair a person entirely devoted to his own interest.



The cardinal having had the art to secure in his interest not only the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, but even Catharine of Medicis and her rival, the duchess of Valentinois, they, by their united sollicitations, easily swayed the king, whose secret inclinations were favourable to their design. The prudent remonstrances of Montmorenci were treated with neglect; the nuncio absolved Henry from his oath; and he signed a new league with the pope, which kindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low Countries.

Philip, in his dispute with the pope, though naturally haughty and inflexible, discovered uncommon moderation. The care of his education had been entrusted to Spanish ecclesiastics, and he retained in a maturer age that superstitious veneration for the holy see which they had been studious to inculcate. But in proportion to the moderation of Philip, the arrogance of Paul encreased, and the duke of Alva at length received orders to enter the ecclesiastical territories. The light troops of the Spaniards soon penetrated to the very gates of Rome, and the sovereign pontiff, yielding to the fears and sollicitations of the cardinals, proposed a cessation of arms; and the Spanish general, sensible of his master's eagerness to terminate a war, in which he had engaged with infinite reluctance, closed with the overtures, and a truce was accordingly concluded on the nineteenth of November, 1556, for ten days, and was afterwards protracted to forty.

A. D. 1557.] Preparations, meanwhile, had been making in France for affording effectual assistance to Paul; and on the twenty-fifth of January the duke of Guise arrived at Turin<sup>36</sup>. Having taken a few towns in the vicinity, and strengthened his army with fifteen hundred foot and three hundred light horse, part of the forces commanded by the marechal de Brissac, he proceeded to Regio, where he had a conference with the duke of Ferrara and the cardinal Caraffa, after which he accompanied the latter to Rome. On his arrival at that city he found the pope profuse in professions, but slow in the performance of his promises; neither the pecuniary nor military aids which he had engaged to furnish, were ready; and the Italian states either preserved a strict neutrality, or were openly united with Philip. The duke of Guise soon perceived that his hopes of success must entirely depend on his own exertions: he took the field with an army consisting of five hundred men at arms; eight or nine hundred light-horse, and from thirteen to fourteen thousand foot<sup>37</sup>; he opened the campaign by the reduction of Campoli, which he resigned to pillage, and then advancing to the Neapolitan frontiers, laid siege to Civitella. Twice he made a general assault on the town, and as often was repulsed; the neglect or treachery of the Caraffas had rendered him destitute of the means of prolonging the siege, and the unexpected approach of the duke of Alva compelled him to resign all hopes of conquest, and to confine himself to the defence of the capital, whence he was, soon after, recalled to France.

<sup>36</sup> Mémoires de Boivin du Villars—La Poplinière—De Thou—Matthieu—Ribier—Manuscrits de Bethune.

<sup>37</sup> Garnier.

The admiral Coligny, who was now governor of Picardy, anxious to distinguish himself by some act of eclat, made an attempt to take by surprize the important fortrefs of Douai, on the frontiers of Flanders; but his plan being frustrated, he led his troops to Lens, which he pillaged, and after laying waste the open country, retired to Peronne with a considerable booty. This was considered as an open declaration of war, and Philip immediately assembled an army of fifty thousand men in the Low Countries. That prince also persuaded his consort, the queen of England, to enter into his views; her violent affection for Philip, though returned with coldness and disdain, excited her to surmount the reluctance of her subjects, and to declare war against France. She accordingly levied a body of eight thousand men, and sent them, under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke, to join Philip's army.

To this army, which now amounted to nearly sixty thousand men, and which was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the best generals of the age, Henry could only oppose eighteen thousand infantry, and six thousand horse; but he imagined, that, by standing on the defensive, he should be able to baffle all the efforts of the enemy, and to prevent him from obtaining any material advantage<sup>39</sup>. He was confirmed in this idea, when he found that the duke of Savoy directed his course successively to Mariembourg, Rocroi, Mezieres and Maubertfontaine, without venturing to lay siege to either of those places; or even to penetrate into Champagne, which was generally considered as the weakest side of the kingdom. But these movements were only calculated to deceive the French, and to induce them to draw their chief strength to a quarter distant from the country which the duke destined to be the scene of action. As soon as he perceived that this feint had its full effect, he turned suddenly to the right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and sending his cavalry, in which he was extremely strong, before him, invested Saint Quintin, the capital of Vermandois. This was a town deemed in that age of considerable strength, and of great importance, as there were few fortified cities between it and Paris. The fortifications, however, had been much neglected, and it had but a weak garrison, under the command of de Beuil, a gentleman of Brittany. Under these circumstances, the duke of Savoy must soon have become master of the town, if the admiral de Coligny, who thought it concerned his honour to attempt saving a place of so much importance to his country, and which lay within his jurisdiction, as governor of Picardy, had not taken the gallant resolution of throwing himself into it, with such a body of men as he could collect of a sudden. He left Ham towards the close of the evening, with twelve hundred troops, which had orders to march by different roads, and to meet, at the same hour, at one of the gates of Saint-Quintin; but some of them missed their way, through the darkness of the night, others were intercepted by the enemy, and the admiral only entered the town with four hundred and forty. The

<sup>39</sup> Relation de Coligny—De Thou.—La Poplinière—MS. de Bethune.



unexpected arrival of an officer of such high rank and reputation, and who had exposed himself to such danger in order to join them, inspired the garrison with fresh courage. Every thing that the admiral's great skill and experience in the art of war could suggest for annoying the enemy, or defending the town, was attempted; and the citizens, as well as the garrison, seconding his zeal with equal ardour, seemed determined to hold out to the last.

The Spanish army, being so numerous and so well supplied with every thing requisite, carried on its approaches with great advantage against a garrison which was still so feeble that it durst seldom venture to disturb or retard the enemy's operations by sallies. The admiral, sensible of the approaching danger, and unable to avert it, acquainted his uncle, the constable, with his situation, and pointed out a method by which he might relieve the town. The constable, solicitous to save a place, the loss of which would give the enemy a passage into the heart of the kingdom; and eager to extricate his nephew out of that perilous situation, in which zeal for his country had engaged him, resolved, though aware of the danger, to attempt what he desired. With this view, he detached two thousand foot, under the command of Coligny's brother d'Andelot, who was colonel-general of the French-infantry; but that officer executed his orders with greater intrepidity than conduct. He missed the road that had been pointed out to him, and, falling in with the Spaniards, a part of his detachment was cut to pieces, and the rest were compelled to fly.

One part of the town of Saint-Quentin was defended by extensive marshes, filled with bogs and ponds of considerable depth, and generally covered with reeds and other aquatic plants; deeming the town inaccessible on that side, the enemy had contented themselves with placing a small detachment, in a windmill and some cottages at the head of the marsh, and in stationing some boats filled with soldiers in the different parts of the stream which ran through it. The admiral, however, sensible of the advantage to be derived from this marsh, had caused every part of it to be carefully sounded, and had established a secret path, by which he was enabled to maintain a correspondence with his uncle. He now apprized the constable, that, by advancing to the head of the marsh, with a body of troops sufficiently strong to dislodge the detachment of Spaniards posted in the mill, it would be an easy matter, by means of some boats which he would take care to have ready, to throw a re-inforcement into the town, without having any thing to fear from the enemy, whose quarters were so far distant from that spot, that the escort would be out of danger before they could possibly arrive. The constable having procured every necessary information, as to the position of the enemy, their distance from the head of the marsh, and the intervening obstacles, formed the bold design of relieving the town in the day-time, in presence of an army three times as strong as his own, and of leading his troops back, in good order, after having completed his object.

Every

Every preparation being made for this hazardous attempt, the constable marched from la Fere with his whole army, and twenty pieces of artillery, and reached the head of the marsh about nine in the morning<sup>39</sup>. The enemy were soon dislodged from the mill, of which the prince of Condé took immediate possession: while two companies of German infantry were stationed at the head of a narrow pass, which formed the only road by which the Spanish army could advance; and these were supported by three companies of Gendarmerie, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers. On an eminence, which commanded the duke of Savoy's quarters, the constable placed his artillery, which he ordered to play upon the enemy, who were soon thrown into confusion, and obliged to fall back on that part of the camp where the count of Egmont was stationed. Meanwhile the officers and men, who were destined to reinforce the garrison, were employed in crossing the water; which proved a work of greater time than had been expected, for the admiral had had such short notice, that he had been able to procure no more than five boats. The enemy, on their part, lost no time; recovered from their first alarm, they made their cavalry advance by a causeway that led to the narrow pass which the constable had secured; as soon as the prince of Condé perceived them, from the top of the mill, forming their squadrons as they entered the plain at the end of the causeway, he sent a messenger to the constable to apprise him of the circumstance, and to tell him that he must either advance immediately, in order to attack the enemy's horse before they had time to form, or else retreat without delay. The constable, who was never fond of receiving advice unless he asked for it, replied—That the prince was a very young man to think of instructing *him* in his profession, who had been entrusted with the command of armies before the prince was born, and who hoped to be in a situation to give him lessons twenty years hence. The constable's extreme confidence, on this occasion, was founded on the information he had received as to the breadth of the causeway over which the enemy's cavalry were passing, and which, he had been assured, would only admit four men a-breast. Having made his calculations on this supposition, he concluded, that before the enemy could reach the head of the marsh, he should have arrived at La Fere. The calculation was just; but the supposition on which it was founded proved to be erroneous; for, instead of four men a-breast, it was found that the causeway would admit thirty. This mistake, however, would have been attended with no bad consequence, if the constable, after two or three discharges, had sent off his artillery, which could be of no farther use to him, then his infantry, and last his Gendarmerie; reserving only, for the protection of the reinforcement, his horse-arquebusiers and light-horse, who might have retarded the enemy's approach, and have easily effected their escape; but, convinced that he had as much time as he wanted, he refused to sound a retreat, till d'Andelot had entered the town with five hundred soldiers, a body of canoniers, and a

<sup>39</sup> D'Aubigné—Tavannes—Matthieu—La Poplinière—De Thou—Belleforêt—Montluc.



certain number of engineers, under the direction of the famous Saint-Remi, who had already displayed his talents in nine different towns, during the time they were besieged, and who had greatly contributed to the gallant defence of Metz. When the constable had completed these operations, he retreated in the same order as he came, only that the cavalry now formed the rear-guard. The duke of Nevers, perceiving him move off, withdrew his detachment from the defile where he had been stationed, and joined the prince of Condé, who hastened to overtake the army, which, by this time, had advanced a league on its return to La Fere. The enemy, on their arrival at the mill, finding nobody there, despaired of overtaking the constable, and would immediately have returned, if the count of Egmont's scouts had not descried the sutlers, valets, and a crowd of useless men who followed the army at a distance, and who, alarmed at the sight of a few Spanish horse, fled across the fields in the utmost disorder. This being reported to the count, he conjectured that the rear-guard was not far off; and he obtained permission from the duke of Savoy to pursue them with all his cavalry; while the duke himself, at the head of the infantry, advanced to support him. The constable, finding it impossible to avoid an action, drew up his troops in the best order the ground would admit of. The French cavalry, chiefly composed of nobility, sustained, with great intrepidity, the first shock of the enemy, and continued to fight, till overpowered by numbers, and nearly disabled, they were at length compelled to give way. The infantry, forming a square battalion, repelled the attacks of the enemy's horse, who, despairing to break their ranks, contented themselves with surrounding them till such time as the duke of Savoy came up, with the remainder of the army, and a numerous train of artillery. Some pieces of cannon which were now brought to bear on the centre of the French, threw them into such confusion, that the cavalry, renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became universal. Authors differ as to the number of the slain; some make the loss of the French amount only to two thousand five hundred men; while others carry it to double that number. Among the killed were John de Bourbon, count of Enghien; Francis de la Tour, viscount of Turenne; Claude de Rochechouart, lord of Chandenier; Nicholas Tiercelin, son to la Roche du Maine; Saint-Gelais; Goulaine; Rochefort, and about six hundred other gentlemen. Among the prisoners, who amounted to nearly four thousand, were the constable himself, who had received a dangerous wound in the thigh, by a pistol-bullet; the duke of Montpensier, of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon; the mareschal Saint-André; Eleonor d'Orleans, duke of Longueville; Lewis de Gonzaga, brother to the duke of Mantua; Gabriel de Montmorenci, lord of Montheron, the constable's fourth son; the Rhinegrave; Francis, count of Rochefoucaud; la Roche du Maine; Vassé; the baron de Curton; d'Aubigné; John de Gontaud, lord of Biron; la Chapelle-Biron; Saint-Seran; la Vernade; du Bellai; Fumel, and Monfallès.

Most of those who escaped, amongst whom were Lewis de Bourbon, prince of Condé; Francis, duke of Nevers; the count of Sancerre; Bourdillon, who by an uncommon exertion

exertion of courage, had brought off two pieces of artillery; the lords of Piennes, Grammont, Crevecoeur, and Escars, fled to La Fere, two leagues from the field of battle: they there chose the duke of Nevers for their commander, and immediately sent off a messenger to the king, with the news of their defeat. Many inhabitants of Paris, expecting to see the enemy at their gates, quitted the city, and retired into the remoter provinces. Henry, by his presence and exhortations, endeavoured to console and to animate such as remained; he published letters-patent, by which every officer of his household was enjoined, under pain of death, to repair, duly equipped for the field, to the town of Noyon; and all the nobility in the kingdom were ordered, under pain of degradation, to hasten, with all possible expedition, to the town of Laon, or else to send a proper person as a substitute, to serve in the companies of the *Arriere-ban*. The duke of Nevers, whom Henry confirmed, for the present, in the post to which he had been raised by his brother officers, appointed governors, and threw garrisons into all the frontier towns; and only retained six hundred light-horse, under the prince of Condé, to watch the motions of the duke of Savoy.

Philip was at Cambrai when he received the news of a victory, the splendour of which obscured the most brilliant achievements of his father. Impatient to reap the fruits of this victory, he immediately repaired to the field of battle, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph, and where the duke of Savoy presented him with fifty pair of colours, eighteen pieces of cannon, and so many prisoners, that he would have found no little difficulty in supplying them with food and lodging. The chief of them he confined in the different fortresses of the Netherlands, fixed a ransom upon the others, and released the private soldiers, after taking away their arms, and exacting an oath that they would not serve against him for the space of six months. These troops were of the utmost service to the duke of Nevers, who immediately distributed them in those towns which were at some distance from the frontiers, with the garrisons of which he strengthened his army, that soon amounted to sixteen hundred horse, and from seven to eight thousand foot, independent of the king's household troops, and the *Arriere-ban*.

On the thirteenth of August the queen convened an assembly of the Parisians at the *hôtel-de-Ville*, in which she exhorted them to rescue the kingdom, by the strength and unanimity of their exertions, from the danger to which it was exposed. The city accordingly granted a hundred thousand crowns for the support of ten thousand men, on condition that the sum should be levied, as a poll-tax, upon all the inhabitants indiscriminately. The other towns followed the example of the capital; and the sums thus levied were destined to the pay of ten thousand Swiss, and four thousand *Lansquenets*; and to raise some new regiments of national troops. But as farther pecuniary assistance would be necessary, before the conclusion of peace, the king, by the advice of the cardinal  
of



of Lorraine, whose power and influence were now unrivalled, appointed an assembly of the states-general to meet in the month of January following.

Philip had been advised by his generals, after the battle of Saint Quintin, to march straight to Paris, but he rejected their council, and resolved to continue the siege. Though hopeless of relief, the admiral expressed his determination to defend the town to the last extremity; and having received a small reinforcement of one hundred and twenty arquebusers, who made their way into the place by a ford which Coligny had lately discovered, he called a general assembly of the inhabitants, to whom he declared, that it was his earnest desire, if ever he should be heard to pronounce the word capitulation, that they would bind him hand and foot, and throw him into the fosse, as a coward unworthy of life; but, at the same time, he observed, that no one must think himself ill-used if, on the commission of a similar offence, he should meet with a similar punishment. De Coligny had little hopes of saving the town, but his object was to protract the siege, in order to deter the enemy from attempting any enterprize more dangerous to France. Such was the skill and perseverance with which he conducted the defence, and such the fortitude and patience he displayed in animating the garrison to uncommon exertions, that though the attack was carried on by the Spaniards, the Flemish, and the English, with all the ardour of national emulation, he held out seventeen days; at the expiration of which, *eleven* practicable breaches having been effected in the walls, the town was taken by assault. The French fought with extraordinary courage, and great numbers of them were slain on the breaches. The admiral was taken prisoner, together with Beuil, Jarnac, Rambouillet, la Garde, Saint Remi and Soleil. D'Andelot, brother to the admiral, had the good fortune to make his escape. Philip employed his army, during the remainder of the campaign, in the sieges of Ham and Catelet. Of these he soon became master; and the reduction of two such petty towns, together with the acquisition of Saint-Quentin, constituted all the advantages which he derived from one of the most decisive victories gained in that century.

Henry, meanwhile, had recalled a part of the veteran troops which served under the marechal de Brissac in Piedmont, and had sent repeated orders to the duke of Guise to bring back his army, with all possible expedition, to France. Alarmed at the progress of the enemy, he had ordered the citizens of Paris to take arms, and when they were reviewed by the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, they were found to amount to forty thousand men, properly equipped for the field<sup>40</sup>. Fortifications were also begun to be erected for the protection of the capital; but the arrival of the lord of Termes, a veteran officer, from Italy, put a stop to the works. After viewing the state of the frontiers, he was of opinion, that Paris was secure from insult, and that the money about to be expended there, might be

<sup>40</sup> Rabutin—Belleforêt—La Poplinière.

better employed in Picardy. The metropolis was still covered by three towns of great strength; La Fère, Compiègne and Laon; and by an entrenched camp on the river Oise, capable of containing a hundred thousand men, and in which the troops assembled by the duke of Nevers were supposed to be in greater safety than in any town in the kingdom.

The duke of Guise was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill-success in Italy seemed to be forgotten, while his former services, particularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praise; and he was welcomed in every city through which he passed, as the restorer of public security, who, after having set bounds, by his conduct and valour, to the victorious arms of Charles the Fifth, returned now, at the call of his country, to check the formidable progress of Philip's power. The reception which he experienced from Henry was no less cordial and honourable: new titles were invented, and new dignities created, in order to distinguish him. He was appointed lieutenant general in chief, both within and without the kingdom, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited, and little inferior to that which was possessed by the king himself. The duke of Nevers, who had, for a time, enjoyed the dignity of commander in chief, resigned, without a murmur, his station to his rival. He was a prince of solid virtue, superior to the intrigues of a court, too honest to become the tool of a party, and influenced by no desire but that of serving the state, without any view to his own personal interest. After having, during several months, by his exertions, his prudence, and the voluntary sacrifice of his property, sustained the falling fortunes of the state, he saw another preparing to reap the fruits of his labours; but, so far from being actuated by envy, he consented to serve *under* the duke of Guise.

By the arrival of ten thousand Germans, as many Swiss, the veteran bands from Piedmont, and the troops which had served under the duke of Guise in Italy, Henry had collected an army so formidable, he was resolved it should not remain inactive during the winter. A secret council was therefore called to settle the plan of operations, when Henry, to the surprise of all present, proposed the reduction of the city of Calais. The duke of Guise at first exclaimed against the scheme as impracticable. Calais had been taken by the English, under Edward the Third, being the only place which they retained of their ancient and extensive territories in France, and which opened to them, at all times, an easy and secure passage into the heart of that kingdom; their keeping possession of it soothed the pride of the one nation, as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its situation was naturally so strong, and its fortifications deemed so impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventurous soever, had been bold enough to attack it. Even when the domestic strength of England was broken and exhausted by the bloody wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and its attention entirely diverted from foreign objects, Calais had remained undisturbed and unthreatened. These considerations gave an appearance of absurdity to the king's proposal, and justified the expressions



expressions of astonishment made use of by the duke of Guise. The plan, however, was not hastily conceived, nor was Henry the author of it. S  narpont, governor of Boulogne, a man of great knowledge in the art of fortifying towns and taking plans, had availed himself of the short interval of peace between France and England, to visit Calais, and to examine the fortifications as closely as he could, without laying himself open to suspicion. What information he was unable to procure himself, he obtained by means of his emissaries. He had particularly observed that it was the custom of the English to dismiss the greater part of the garrison towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the spring, in order to save expence; and he judged, therefore, that the winter would be the only season to make an attempt on it. S  narpont had weighed every circumstance with great judgment; and the result was, that the scheme was feasible, and ought to be put in execution without delay<sup>41</sup>. The duke of Guise consented to make the experiment, but without being answerable for the event, from the conviction, that in an operation so complicated, the smallest accident might overturn the whole plan.

A. D. 1558.] While the duke of Guise was employed in making preparations for his intended expedition, the states-general assembled in Paris, and after some deliberation consented to grant the king three millions of crowns of gold, one third of which the clergy agreed to advance as a free gift. The duke of Guise having, at length, assembled his troops, sent the duke of Nevers, with the greater part of the army, towards Luxembourg, as if his intention had been to penetrate into that province; while he placed himself at the head of a second division, and took the road to Picardy, under pretence of visiting the different towns, and reinforcing the garrisons. After amusing the enemy with threatening successively different places on the frontiers of Flanders, the two divisions joined, when the duke of Guise suddenly turned to the left, and invested Calais with his whole army. As the country adjacent to the city was overflowed during the winter, the marshes around it became impassable, except by one avenue, which the forts of Saint Agatha and Newnham-bridge commanded. The duke, sensible that the success of his enterprize depended on conducting his operations with such rapidity as would afford the English no time for throwing relief into the town by sea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he pushed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying on sieges during that age. He drove the English from fort Saint Agatha at the first assault; he obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnham-bridge, after defending it three days; he took the castle which commanded the harbour by storm; and, on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to surrender, as his feeble garrison, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with the fatigue of sustaining so many attacks, and defending such extensive works.

<sup>41</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 416, 417.

The duke of Guise, without allowing the English time to recover from the consternation occasioned by this blow, immediately invested Guisnes, the garrison of which, though more numerous, defended itself with less vigour, and, after standing one brisk assault, gave up the town. The castle of Hames was abandoned by the troops posted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

Thus in a few days, during the depth of winter, and at a time when the fatal battle of Saint Quintin had so depressed the sanguine spirit of the French, that their utmost aim was to protect their own country, without dreaming of making conquests on the enemy, the enterprising valour of one man drove the English out of Calais, after they had holden it two hundred and ten years, and deprived them of every foot of land in a kingdom where their dominions had been once so extensive. This exploit, at the same time that it gave an high idea of the power and resources of France to all Europe, set the duke of Guise, in the opinion of his countrymen, far above all the generals of the age. They celebrated his conquests with immoderate transports of joy; while the English gave vent to all the passions which animate a high-spirited people, when any great national calamity is manifestly owing to the misconduct of their rulers. Mary and her ministers, formerly odious, were now contemptible in their eyes. All the terrors of her severe and arbitrary administration could not restrain them from uttering execrations and threats against those, who having wantonly involved the nation in a quarrel wherein it was nowise interested, had, by their negligence or incapacity, brought irreparable disgrace on their country, and lost the most valuable possession belonging to the English crown <sup>42</sup>.

Henry imitated the policy of its former conqueror, with regard to Calais. He commanded all the English inhabitants to quit the town, and giving their houses to his own subjects, whom he allured to settle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garrison, under that gallant officer the marshal de Termes, for their defence. After this, his victorious army went into quarters of refreshment, and the usual inaction of winter returned.

Mary, the young queen of Scots, had been affianced to the dauphin, Francis, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-eight, and having been educated, since that time, in the court of France, she had grown up to be the most amiable, and one of the most accomplished princesses of that age. Henry now demanded the consent of her subjects to the celebration of the marriage, and a parliament, which was holden for that purpose in Scotland, appointed eight commissioners to represent the whole body of the nation at that solemnity, with power to sign such deeds as might be requisite be-

<sup>42</sup> Robertson.



fore it was concluded. In settling the articles of the marriage, the Scots took every precaution that prudence could dictate, in order to preserve the liberty and independence of their country; while the French used every art to secure to the dauphin the conduct of affairs during the queen's life, and the succession of the crown on the event of her demise. The young queen, indeed, was actually seduced to sign a private deed, by which she made over all her rights to the kingdom of Scotland to Francis, in case she died without children<sup>43</sup>. The marriage was celebrated at Paris with pomp suitable to the parties, and the magnificence of a court at that time the most splendid in Europe.

By this event the duke of Guise acquired new consideration and importance; but though the marriage of his niece to the heir apparent of the crown raised him so far beyond the condition of other subjects, as seemed to render the credit which he had gained by his splendid achievements no less permanent than it was extensive, yet he soon perceived the difficulty of insinuating himself into the confidence of the king, which seemed to be monopolized by the constable. The faults and the misfortunes of Montmorenci, far from weakening Henry's esteem and attachment for that minister, had only served to give them additional energy. Never, perhaps, did so perfect an union subsist between a monarch and his subject; and as it is the characteristic of friendship to admit of no superiority, so on perusing the letters that passed between the king and the constable, one might be induced to believe that a change of stations had taken place between them, and that Montmorenci had become the sovereign who disposed of all things at his pleasure, and Henry the subject who groaned in captivity, and sighed for the hour of his release. It must be confessed, indeed, that the constable displayed no small portion of virtue, in resisting, for more than a year, the voice of nature and of friendship, and even the most positive orders of his sovereign, who begged, entreated, and conjured him to purchase his liberty at any rate, and not to bestow a thought on the magnitude of the sacrifice that might be required for the accomplishment of an object he had so much at heart. Henry even submitted to the voluntary degradation of serving his friend in the capacity of a spy; informing him daily of every thing that was said and done to his prejudice; of the oppression to which those were exposed who persevered in their attachment to him; of the treachery of others on whose friendship he relied, and who had sacrificed that friendship to their interest; and of the secret measures adopted by the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise for supplanting him in the favour of his sovereign, and destroying his credit at court. The duchess of Valentinois, enraged at the conduct of the Guises, who began to treat her with disdain, in order to obtain the good graces of Catharine of Medicis, supported, to the utmost of her power, the tottering faction of the constable, and contributed, in no small degree, to the preservation of his influence. Some letters, forming a part of this secret correspondence, are still extant:

<sup>43</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 471.

in the royal library at Paris, written partly by the king and partly by the duchess, and subscribed “*Your old and best friends Diana and Henry*”<sup>44</sup>.”

When the campaign opened, however, soon after the dauphin’s marriage, the duke of Guise was placed at the head of the army, with the same unlimited power as before. Henry had received such liberal supplies from his subjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhausted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to dismiss so many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head against the enemy. The duke of Guise did not lose the favourable opportunity which his superiority afforded him; urged by Vieilleville, governor of Metz, who had long entertained spies in the town, and obtained every necessary information, he invested Thionville, in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France, by its vicinity to Metz; and notwithstanding the obstinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate on the twenty-second of June, after a siege of three weeks. Vieilleville, the projector of the enterprize, was rewarded with the government of the town, with permission to reserve that of Metz also, where he appointed a lieutenant-governor. Marechal Strozzi, a gallant and experienced officer, was killed during the siege by a musket-ball, as the duke of Guise was leaning on his shoulder.

But the success of this enterprize, which it was expected would lead to other conquests, was more than counterbalanced by an event that happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The marechal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without opposition, with an army consisting of six hundred light-horse, and from six to seven thousand infantry<sup>45</sup>, seized and pillaged the town of Bergue-Saint-Vinoc, and then investing Dunkirk, took it by storm, on the fifth day of the siege. The marechal perceiving that the soldiers, solely intent on preserving the rich booty they had acquired, neglected all military discipline, took the precaution to send it to Calais; and at the same time wrote to the king, to inform him that Dunkirk, from its advantageous situation, might, in a short time, and at a little expence, be rendered a place of importance. Unhappily for France, Henry had, at this period, no person near him with whom he could advise on the business; for the cardinal of Lorraine, who officiated as prime minister, was totally ignorant of all military concerns. At the expiration of twelve days the king’s answer arrived, containing a permission to the marechal to fortify Dunkirk, for which purpose the sum of two thousand crowns were remitted to him. But it was now too late; Lalain, lord of Bénicourt, had entered Gravelines with four

<sup>44</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 475.  
Villars—Garnier.

<sup>45</sup> La Poplinière—De Thou—Matthieu—Manuf. de Bethune—Mem. de du



thousand men, while the count of Egmont, the most active of all Philip's generals, having received a regiment of cavalry from the duke of Savoy, and having assembled all the garisons of the neighbouring towns, advanced to the banks of the river Aa, in order to cut off the retreat of the French. At this critical conjuncture de Termes was seized with a violent fit of the gout that nearly deprived him of the use of his limbs; he therefore gave up the command of the troops to John d'Estouteville, lord of Villebon, with orders to retreat along the sea-coast, and to profit by the falling of the tide to ford the Aa, by which means he would get the start of the count of Egmont, who lay in wait for him at that part of the river which the army had crossed on their road to Dunkirk. The marshal, however, followed the next day in a litter, and overtook his troops just as the baggage and rear guard were passing the stream; but he had no sooner gained the opposite bank than he descried the enemy, who, fearful lest he should escape them, had left all their artillery behind. Finding an action unavoidable, de Termes now drew up his army in the most advantageous manner; with the sea at their backs, their right wing extended along the banks of the river, and their left covered by the baggage-waggons. In this position, the French sustained the impetuous attack of an enemy whose numbers were double their own; repulsed, with considerable slaughter, their foremost battalions, and were on the point of obtaining a victory, when one of those accidents which human foresight cannot anticipate, nor human prudence avert, gave a different turn to the contest. A squadron of English ships of war, which were cruising on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing towards the scene of action, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns against the right wing of the French with such effect, as immediately broke that body, and spread terror and dismay through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom assistance so unexpected and so seasonable gave fresh courage, redoubled their efforts, that they might not lose the advantage which fortune had presented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their consternation; and the rout of the French soon became general. Near two thousand of them were killed on the spot; the rest were taken prisoners, together with the marshal de Termes, Villebon, Annebaud, Morvilliers, and the count of Chaunes.

Impatient to revenge the affront they had sustained in the reduction of Calais, the English had fitted out a fleet of one hundred and forty sail, which, being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, were sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany: the French having gotten intelligence of their design, were so well prepared to receive them at Brest, that they did not think it prudent to attack that place; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with some adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit farther depredations, when Kerfimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell upon them, put them to the rout, and drove them to their ships with considerable loss.

The victory obtained by the count of Egmont over the marechal de Termes, obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all other schemes, and to hasten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppose the progress of the enemy in that province. This disaster reflected new lustre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whose arms victory always attended, and in whose conduct, as well as good fortune, they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced Guise's army with so many Germans and Swiss, that it soon amounted to forty thousand men, whom Guise encamped on the banks of the Somme, from Amiens to Pont-Remi. The enemy's army, after the junction of the count of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number, and they pitched their camp at the distance of six leagues from the French. Each monarch having joined his army, it was expected that a decisive action would, at last, determine which of the rivals should take the ascendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them discovered any inclination to bring the determination of such an important point to depend upon the uncertain and fortuitous issue of a single battle. *Who* made the *first* overtures for a peace, however, it is not known, nor is it of any consequence to ascertain. Commissioners met at the abbey of Cercamp, on the frontiers of either kingdom; those, on the part of France, were the cardinal of Lorraine; the constable Montmorenci; the marechal de Saint-André; John de Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans; and d'Aubespine, secretary of state: on the part of Philip appeared the duke of Alva; William of Nassau, prince of Orange; Rui Gomez de Silva; Granvelle, bishop of Arras; and Ulric Viglius, Doctor of Laws. All military operations were immediately terminated by a suspension of arms, and an agreement to dismiss the foreign mercenaries (which were extremely numerous) on either side. The plenipotentiaries of Spain, however, made such high demands, in the name of Philip, that the conferences were likely to be protracted to a considerable length; and an event also happened which occasioned an unavoidable delay in the negotiations; about a month after the conferences had been opened, Mary of England ended her short and inglorious reign, and her sister Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed queen by the English. As the powers of the English plenipotentiaries, who attended the congress, expired on the death of their mistress, they could not proceed until they received a commission and instructions from their new sovereign.

Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal solicitude. As during Mary's jealous administration, under the most difficult circumstances, that princess had conducted herself with great prudence and address, they had conceived a high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her sister. Equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favour, both monarchs set themselves with emulation to court it, and employed every art, in order to insinuate themselves into her confidence. Each of them had something meritorious, with  
regard



regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in his dominions, if the dread of her sister's violence should force her to fly for safety out of England. Philip, by his powerful intercession, had prevented Mary from proceeding to the most fatal extremities against her. Each of them now endeavoured to avail himself of the circumstances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth soon after her accession, with the warmest expressions of friendship and regard. He represented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her husband, and fond compliance with all his wishes. He entreated her to disengage herself from an alliance which had proved so unfortunate to England, and to consent to a separate peace with him, without mingling her interests with those of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to lose his connection with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope to that effect.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs with all the attention that their importance deserved. She gave some encouragement to Henry's overture for a separate negotiation, because it opened a channel of correspondence with France, which she might find to be of great advantage, if Philip should not discover sufficient zeal and solicitude for securing to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But she ventured on this step with the most cautious reserve, that she might not alarm Philip's suspicious temper, and lose an ally in attempting to gain an enemy. In order to give her time to come to a decision on this point, it was agreed to suspend the conferences for two months, and to assemble, either at Cercamp, or at some more convenient place, towards the end of January.

- Before the constable returned to his prison in the Low Countries, whence he had been released in order to attend the conferences, he had an interview with the king at Beauvais, who received him with the most flattering marks of regard, and convinced him, that absence, instead of abating or extinguishing his friendship, had given it new ardour<sup>46</sup>. Evincing a desire of settling his affairs, as it he expected to finish his days in prison, he easily obtained, from a master who could refuse him nothing he asked, the reversion of the office of grand-master of his household, for his eldest son. Then returning to the Low Countries, he declared that he was tired of being deluded by a vain promise of liberty

<sup>46</sup> Tavannes—Montluc—Brantôme—Villars—MS. de Bethune.

which it was never intended to fulfil, since it was made to depend on a treaty of peace which could not possibly take place on the conditions attempted to be imposed on France : that, for his part, he would die sooner than advise the king to accede to them : that as his enemies had taken advantage of his weakness in accepting the office of plenipotentiary, unsuitable as it was to a prisoner, in order to ruin his reputation in the opinion of all who loved their country, he now renounced a function which he could not discharge without becoming an object of suspicion ; that he had settled his family affairs and made his will ; that it now depended on the king of Spain either to fix a ransom on him, or to assign him a prison, in which he could pass the remainder of his days in a christian-like manner : that if the ransom required was such as a gentleman, like himself, could pay, he would do his utmost to raise the necessary sum, and would afterwards endeavour, as far as he could consistently with his loyalty and honour, to promote the conclusion of a peace ; that were it, on the contrary, exorbitant, he would calmly wait the approach of death, which, at his age, could not be far distant. The Spanish ministers, finding the constable fixed in his resolution, and considering that, by prolonging the term of his captivity, they should defeat their own purpose, since the negotiation, on the part of the French, would, in that case, be left solely to the Guises, who were strongly interested in the continuation of the war, they engaged Philip to release him before it was too late. His ransom was accordingly fixed at two hundred thousand crowns, one half of which was to be remitted, in case a peace were brought about through his means.

Henry, in the course of this business, conducted himself with a degree of meanness and duplicity, wholly unworthy a monarch. The Guises, apprized by one of their emissaries of the transaction that had passed between the king and the constable, during their late interview at Beauvais, were enraged at the idea that a man, whose imprudence had brought the state to the brink of destruction, should reap the rewards which had been refused to those whose conduct and courage had restored it to its former splendour : for the duke himself had been anxious to obtain the place of grand-master of the household, which gave a considerable influence to the person who held it, by subjecting to his will almost all the principal officers of the court. Having resolved to come to an explanation with Henry, he begged that monarch to believe that the humble request which he was about to prefer was not, in the smallest degree, influenced by jealousy ; but that having been chosen, by his majesty himself, to act as grand-master of the household, on the marriage of the dauphin with the queen of Scotland, he could not but feel sensibly mortified at seeing any other person vested with that dignity : that he had, therefore, experienced the most lively concern on hearing that his majesty had promised it to the constable's eldest son, because the whole kingdom would believe that nobody would have received a preference over himself, unless he had given cause for displeasure, or had been deemed unworthy of the office. The king, extremely embarrassed, at first denied that any conversation had passed between him and the constable on the subject ; but observed, that



that if the constable had asked the place for his son, he was so strongly attached to the young man, and his father had rendered such essential service to the state, that he could with difficulty have refused him. The duke of Guise pressed the matter no farther; and the king, after denying, in the most positive manner, that he had disposed of the place in question, did not dare to invest young Montmorenci with the promised dignity <sup>47</sup>.

The constable, on giving security to the king of Spain for the payment of the sum stipulated for his ransom, was released from prison, whence he hastened to court. During his captivity, he had formed the project of an alliance which was calculated to confirm his influence, and secure him a superiority over his rivals: this was the marriage of his second son, Danville, with Antoinette de la Mark, grand-daughter to the dukes of Valentinois. Danville, who had signalized his courage in the wars of Italy, whence he had been recalled after the fatal battle of Saint-Quentin, had made such an impression on the heart of his intended bride, and had so far ingratiated himself with her relations, that, though a younger son, he obtained a preference over the most opulent noblemen who frequented the court, and even over some of the princes of the blood, who aspired to obtain her hand. Apprized of these circumstances, the constable went to sign the marriage-contract, and to assist at the nuptials, which were celebrated at his castle of Ecouen.

The Guises, on their side, availing themselves of the favour they now enjoyed, and for the possession of which they were solely indebted to their recent services, pressed the conclusion of the marriage of Charles the Third, duke of Lorraine, the head of their family, with the princess Claude, second daughter to the king: the young duke, who, for the last seven years, had been brought up with the dauphin, received, as a marriage-portion with his wife, the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, and the town of Stenay, one of the keys of the province of Champagne, which formerly belonged to the dukes of Lorraine.

But amidst these disputes between the rival factions, the interests of the state were not wholly forgotten, and the council skilfully availed themselves of an opportunity, afforded by the whimsical pertinacity of the pope, to keep possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their dependencies, commonly distinguished by the appellation of the Three Bishopricks. After the resignation of the Imperial crown, by Charles the Fifth, at Francfort, Ferdinand, the new emperor, sent Gusman, his chancellor, to acquaint the pope with the transaction, to testify his reverence to the holy see, and to signify that, according

<sup>47</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 549.

to form, he would soon dispatch an ambassador extraordinary to treat with his holiness concerning his coronation; Paul, whom neither experience nor disappointments could teach to bring down his lofty ideas of the papal prerogative to such a moderate standard as suited the genius of the times, refused to admit the envoy into his presence, and declared all the proceedings at Francfort irregular and invalid. He contended that the pope, as the vicerent of Christ, was entrusted with the keys both of celestial and terrestrial government; that from him the Imperial jurisdiction was derived; that though his predecessors had authorized the electors to choose an emperor whom the holy see confirmed, this privilege was confined to those cases when a vacancy was occasioned by death; that the instrument of Charles's resignation had been presented in an improper court, (the college of electors), as it belonged to the pope alone to reject or to accept of it, and to nominate a person to fill the Imperial throne; that, waving all these objections, Ferdinand's election laboured under two defects which alone were sufficient to render it void, for the protestant electors had been admitted to vote, though, by their apostasy from the catholic faith, they had forfeited that and every other privilege of the electoral office; and Ferdinand, by ratifying the concessions of several diets in favour of heretics, had rendered himself unworthy of the Imperial dignity, which was instituted for the protection, not for the destruction, of the church. But, after thundering out these extravagant maxims, he added, with an appearance of condescension, that if Ferdinand would renounce all title to the Imperial crown, founded on the election at Francfort, make professions of repentance for his past conduct, and supplicate him, with due humility, to confirm Charles's resignation, as well as his assumption to the empire, he might expect every mark of favour from his paternal clemency and goodness. Gusman, though he had perceived considerable difficulties in his negotiation with the pope, little expected that he would have revived those antiquated and wild pretensions; which astonished him so much, that he hardly knew how to reply. He prudently declined entering into any controversy concerning the nature or extent of the papal jurisdiction, and confining himself to the political considerations which should determine the pope to recognize an emperor already in possession, he endeavoured to place them in such a light, as, he imagined, could scarcely fail to strike Paul, if he were not altogether blind to his own interest. Philip seconded Gusman's arguments with great earnestness, by an ambassador whom he sent to Rome on purpose, and besought the pope to desist from the assertion of claims so unseasonable, as might not only irritate and alarm Ferdinand and the princes of the empire, but furnish the enemies of the holy see with a new reason for representing its jurisdiction as incompatible with the rights of princes, and subversive of all civil authority. But Paul, who deemed it a crime to attend to any consideration suggested by human prudence or policy, when he thought himself called upon to assert the prerogatives of the papal see, remained inflexible<sup>43</sup>, and, at an interview with the bishop of Angoulême,

<sup>43</sup> Godleueus de Abdicatione Caroli Quinti—Palavicini—Ribier—Robertson.



he even intimated a wish that Henry would, in imitation of Francis the First, offer himself as a candidate for the Imperial dignity<sup>49</sup>.

A. D. 1559.] At any other conjuncture, Henry would not have resisted such a temptation; but, since the defeat of Saint-Quentin, the sole object of his wishes appears to have been the release of the constable, and the restoration of peace. Paying, therefore, much less attention to the insidious offers of the sovereign pontiff, than to certain expressions which dropped from the cardinal of Augsbourg, one of Ferdinand's principal ministers, in a conversation with the cardinal of Tournon, he sent an extraordinary embassy, composed of Marillac, archbishop of Vienne, and Bourdillon, lieutenant-governor of Champagne, to the diet which Ferdinand had recently assembled at Augsbourg, where they publicly acknowledged that prince for emperor; in return for which, they received secret assurances, that the restitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, would not be strongly insisted on.

Elizabeth, meanwhile, had instructed the English plenipotentiaries to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no step until they had previously consulted with them. But though she deemed it prudent to assume this appearance of confidence in the Spanish monarch, she knew precisely how far to carry it; and discovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary proposal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The English had expressed so openly their detestation of her sister's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to exasperate them by a renewal of that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's harsh and imperious temper, to think of him for a husband: nor could she admit a dispensation from the pope to be sufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catharine of Arragon, and acknowledging, of consequence, the nullity of her mother's marriage, and the illegitimacy of her own birth. But, though she determined not to yield to Philip's addresses, the situation of her affairs rendered it dangerous to reject them; and she returned an answer, therefore, in terms which were evasive, but so tempered with respect, that though they gave him no reason to be secure of success, they did not altogether extinguish his hopes.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which she concealed her sentiments and intentions with regard to religious concerns, for some time after her accession, she so far gained upon Philip that he warmly espoused her interest in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed, on the sixth of February, to Cateau-Cambresis. A definitive treaty which was to adjust the claims and pretensions of so many princes, required the

<sup>49</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 551.

examination of such a variety of intricate points, and led to such infinite and minute details, as spun out the negotiations to a great length. But by the indefatigable exertions of the constable Montmorenci, who alternately repaired to the courts of Paris and Brussels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, the chief points in dispute were at length adjusted.

The claims of England remained as the only obstacle to retard the treaty. Elizabeth demanded the restitution of Calais, in the most peremptory terms, as an essential condition of her consenting to peace; Henry refused to give up that important conquest; and both seemed to have taken their resolution with unalterable firmness. Philip warmly supported Elizabeth's pretensions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the English nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had lost by espousing his cause; nor solely with a view of soothing Elizabeth by this manifestation of zeal for her interest; but in order to render France less formidable, by securing to her ancient enemy this easy access into the heart of the kingdom. The earnestness, however, with which he seconded the arguments of the English plenipotentiaries soon began to relax. During the course of the negotiation, Elizabeth, who now felt herself firmly seated on her throne, began to take such open and vigorous measures, not only for overturning all that her sister had done in favour of popery, but for establishing the protestant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate. From that period his interpositions in her favour became more cold and formal, flowing merely from regard to decorum, or from the consideration of remote political interests. Elizabeth, having reason to expect such an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it; but as nothing would have been of greater detriment to her people, or more inconsistent with her schemes of domestic administration, than the continuance of war, she saw the necessity of submitting to such conditions as the situation of her affairs imposed, and that she must reckon upon being deserted by an ally who was now united to her by a very feeble tie, if she did not speedily reduce her demands to what was moderate or attainable. She accordingly gave new instructions to her ambassadors; and Philip's plenipotentiaries acting as mediators between the French and them<sup>50</sup>, an expedient was suggested, which, in some measure, justified Elizabeth's departure from the rigour of her first demand with regard to Calais. All inferior articles were settled without much discussion or delay: Philip, that he might not appear to have abandoned the English, insisted that the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form, before that between the French monarch and him. The one was accordingly signed on the second day of April, the other on the ~~third~~

Pending the negotiation, the marechal de Brissac, who commanded in Piedmont, apprized of the sacrifices which France was about to make, and fearful of being deprived of

<sup>50</sup> Forbes, vol. i. p. 59.



his government, sent his secretary, Boivin, to the king: he observed to Henry, that the country proposed to be ceded to the enemy was equal in value to any one of the best provinces in his dominions; and would, in time of peace, produce a revenue of five hundred thousand crowns, three hundred thousand whereof, or even more, would be paid into the treasury, every year; that the finances of the Spanish monarch were in such a deplorable state, that the continuance of the war for another year would suffice to make him alter his tone, and submit to such conditions as France might choose to exact; that the nation was not so impoverished but that it could yet supply the sum of three hundred thousand crowns; that the marshal himself would contribute five-and-thirty thousand, and, should it be necessary, would even sell a part of his estates; that if, from motives which he was unable to divine, the king should be led to reject the marshal's advice, he earnestly entreated his majesty to banish, by sound of trumpet, him and all who should embrace the same cause, and to leave him to oppose, as well as he could, all those who should attempt to drive him out of his government; that should he be overpowered by numbers, he would perish like the last constable de Bourbon, by a glorious death, while France would lose nothing but what she had voluntarily consented to resign; if, on the contrary, fortune should favour his efforts, he should secure to his country the possession of provinces which she had purchased with the blood of her children, and render the king the most powerful monarch in Europe. Henry, confused at such a proposal, replied, that he considered the marshal's advice as that of a man who had given him the most unequivocal proofs of his zeal and attachment; that, thank Heaven! he was not reduced to such a situation as would justify the adoption of desperate measures; and that he still possessed courage and resources sufficient to inspire the enemy with greater dread than it was in their power to make him experience. "Do not be offended, Sire,"—said the duke of Guise, who was present at the time—"if I declare that the conduct you are made to pursue proves the contrary; and that a single stroke of your pen is about to take from you more than you could possibly lose by an unsuccessful war of thirty years. Put me in one of the weakest places which you are advised to resign, and let your enemies dislodge me if they can. In the offer I now make, I shall be joined by hundreds of your servants, as well on this as on the other side the Alps." Henry remained silent, and exhibited evident marks of confusion; and the duke believing him to be shaken, told him to trust to his brother and him for providing the requisite funds for raising and supporting an army of equal strength to that of the preceding year; that they would even, he said, save him the trouble of convening the states-general a second time, having already opened a negotiation with certain bankers who had consented to advance as much money as would be wanted; and he had formed a plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, the success whereof appeared to him to be infallible, and would put him in a situation to give law to the enemy.

These offers, from a man who had always been accustomed to perform more than he promised,

mised, seemed to decide the king; who, to give an apparent satisfaction to the duke of Guise, immediately dispatched Boivin with orders to his plenipotentiaries to exercise their powers with great discretion; but, in a private letter which he sent, at the same time, to the constable, he gave him an account of this conversation, which he represented as a new scheme of the Guises in order to keep the reins of government in their own hands; and he therefore urged Montmorenci to accelerate the conclusion of the treaty as much as possible <sup>51</sup>.

The treaty of peace between France and England contained no article of real importance, but that which respected Calais. It was stipulated, that Henry should keep possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; that, at the expiration of that term, he should restore it to England; that in case of non-performance, he should forfeit five hundred thousand crowns, for the payment of which sum seven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his subjects, should grant security; that five persons of distinction should be given as hostages until that security were provided; that, although the forfeit of five hundred thousand crowns should be paid, the right of England to Calais should still remain entire, in the same manner as if the term of eight years were expired; that the king and queen of Scotland should be included in the treaty; that if they, or the French king, should violate the peace by any hostile action, Henry should be obliged instantly to restore Calais; that, on the other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry, and the king and queen of Scots, were absolved from all the engagements which they had contracted by this treaty.

Notwithstanding the studied attention with which so many precautions were taken, it is evident that Henry did not intend the restitution of Calais, nor is it probable that Elizabeth expected it. It was hardly possible that she could maintain, during the course of eight years, such perfect concord both with France and Scotland, as not to afford Henry some pretext for alledging that she had violated the treaty. But even if that term should elapse without any ground for complaint, Henry might then choose to pay the sum stipulated, and Elizabeth had no method of asserting her right but by force of arms. However, by throwing the articles in the treaty with regard to Calais into this form, Elizabeth satisfied her subjects of every denomination; she gave men of discernment a striking proof of her address, in palliating what she could not prevent; and amused the multitude, to whom the cession of such an important place would have appeared altogether infamous, with the prospect of recovering in a short time that favourite possession <sup>52</sup>.

The expedient employed by Montmorenci for the purpose of facilitating the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiating two treaties of marriage, one

<sup>51</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 567.

<sup>52</sup> Robertson.



between Elizabeth, Henry's eldest daughter, and Philip, who supplanted his son, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that princess had been promised in the former conferences at Cercamp; the other between Margaret, Henry's only sister, and the duke of Savoy. Henry having, by this means, secured an honourable establishment for his sister and his daughter, granted, in consideration of these marriages, terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve.

The principal articles in the treaty between Henry and Philip were, that a sincere and perpetual amity should be established between the two crowns and their respective allies; that the two monarchs should labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progress of heresy, and restore unity and concord to the Christian church; that all the conquests made by either party on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war, in 1551, should be mutually restored; that the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the country of Bresse, and all the other territories formerly belonging to the dukes of Savoy, should be restored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pignerol, Chivaz, and Villanova excepted, of which Henry should keep possession until his claims on that prince, in right of his grand-mother, should be heard, and decided in course of law; that as long as Henry retained these places in his hands, Philip should be at liberty to keep garrisons in the towns of Vercelli and Asti; that the French king should immediately evacuate all the places he held in Tuscany and the Siennese, and renounce all future pretensions to them; that he should restore the marquisate of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; that he should receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corfica; that none of the princes or states, to whom these cessions were made, should call their subjects to account for any part of their conduct while under the dominion of their enemies, but should bury all past transactions in oblivion. The pope, the emperor, the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal, the king and queen of Scots, and almost every prince and state in Christendom, were comprehended in this pacification, as the allies either of Henry or of Philip<sup>53</sup>.

Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-established in Europe. All the causes of discord which had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had transmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, seemed to be wholly removed or finally terminated. The French alone complained of the unequal conditions of a treaty, into which an ambitious minister, in order to recover his liberty, and an artful mistress, that she might gratify her resentment, had seduced their too easy monarch. They exclaimed loudly against the folly of giving up to

<sup>53</sup> Recueil des Traités, tom. ii. p. 287.

the enemies of France an hundred and eighty-nine fortified places, in the Low Countries or in Italy, in return for the three insignificant towns of Saint-Quintin, Ham, and Catelet. They considered it as an indelible stain upon the glory of the nation, to renounce, in one day, territories so extensive, and so capable of being defended, that the enemy could not have hoped to wrest them out of their hands, after many years of victory and success.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the duke of Savoy repaired, with a numerous retinue, to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's sister. The duke of Alba was sent to the same capital, at the head of a splendid embassy, to espouse the princess Elizabeth, in the name of his master the king of Spain; the ceremony was performed, on the twenty-sixth of June, by the cardinal of Bourbon, at the church of Notre Dame. The greatest rejoicings and festivities took place on this occasion, and on the twenty-ninth of June a grand tournament was holden in the Rue Saint-Antoine, at which the king bore away the palm of victory. But as he was retiring from the circle, he perceived two lances at one end of the lists which were yet unbroken; one of these he took himself, and the other he sent to Montgomery, the captain of his guards, a man eminently skilled in all martial exercises, inviting him to break it with his sovereign in honour of the ladies. Montgomery hesitated for some time, and even twice refused to obey the summons; the queens of Scotland and France too, who were present, sent to entreat the king to content himself with the glory he had already acquired, and to run no farther risk; Henry, however, persisted, and, at length, sent a positive order to Montgomery to prepare for the assault: he obeyed; the attack was violent; their lances were shivered in pieces: but the king's vizor having been deranged by the shock, one of the broken pieces of his adversary's lance pierced his forehead, just above the left eye, and he fell senseless on the ground. He was immediately conveyed to his palace, and the surgeons, after examining the wound, declared it, though dangerous, not incurable; but an abscess having unexpectedly formed in the head, their utmost skill proved ineffectual, and, on the tenth of July, Henry expired, in the forty-first year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

The character of this monarch may be traced in a few words: he had more in his disposition of the warrior than the statesman; active and intrepid in the field, but weak and irresolute in the council: better formed for obedience than command, a culpable facility of temper subjected him to perpetual imposition, and betrayed him into situations by which he was not only degraded as a monarch, but disgraced as a man. The *best* feature in his character was his constancy in friendship, and the *worst*, his cruelty in religion.

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The doctrine of the Reformers began to spread with great celerity in France, during the reign of Henry the Second; and from a principle, justly applied to religious sectaries, in  
whom



whom opposition begets perseverance, the persecuting spirit of that monarch, who piqued himself upon the orthodoxy of his religious tenets, far from stemming the torrent it was intended to check, only served to encrease the rapidity of its progress. The French reformers indeed being chiefly Calvinists, and their principles, of course, being farther removed from those of the established church, than the principles of the more moderate Protestants, could not fail to be highly disgusting to such as were firmly resolved to adhere to the religion of their country. As this was the case, and as the monarch, a zealous bigot himself, was generally under the influence of men enjoying high dignities in the church, and hostile, as well from principle as interest, to those *levelling* doctrines, which aimed at the extirpation of episcopacy, and the total abolition of all religious forms and ceremonies, a determination was speedily adopted to crush these innovators with the strong arm of power.

A system of persecution was accordingly entered upon and pursued with unrelenting severity, by Henry and his principal ministers, who publicly declared war against heretics of every denomination. The cognizance of the crime of heresy had been sometimes entrusted to the parliaments, and sometimes to the bishops' courts; and these rival jurisdictions had, from a spirit of jealousy, generally contrived to thwart the operations of and impose a restraint upon each other. With a view to remedy the inconveniences arising from this jealousy, and to enforce the execution of the laws against heretics, Henry the Second, in the year 1551<sup>54</sup>, issued the famous edict of Châteaubriand, by which the two courts were strictly enjoined, in all similar prosecutions, to act in conjunction, and to afford each other all possible assistance. The *presidials*—tribunals established in the different provinces during this reign—were empowered to decide definitively in matters of heresy, and even to pronounce sentence of death on the persons convicted of that crime, provided not less than ten judges were present at the time; and, in order to effect the total expulsion of the reformers from the kingdom, all *lords high-justiciaries* were strictly enjoined to inform against such as were *suspected* of heresy, throughout their respective lordships, and to send their informations to the nearest presidial, that the culprits might be proceeded against without delay.

The king being informed that several of the magistrates having themselves imbibed the principles of the reformation, though they did not dare publicly to avow them, secretly favoured those who endeavoured to propagate them, and either prevented them from being arrested, or facilitated the means of their escape, it was ordained, that every man who should offer himself as a candidate for any office in the courts of justice, should produce, besides the usual attestations with regard to the purity of his life and manners, a certificate, importing that he was a good Catholic; and that the tribunals might be purged of all mem-

<sup>54</sup> Recueil des Ordonnances.

bers who were infected with heretical principles, the attornies-general were ordered, with regard to the conduct of the inferior courts, to take private information of the seneschals, bailiffs, provosts, or lieutenant-provosts; and with regard to the superior courts, to convene them every three months, when every judge should be bound to answer all questions that were proposed to him on matters of faith. Similar precautions were used with regard to the education of youth. The edict prescribed the measures to be observed by all who enjoyed the privilege of electing principals of colleges, regents, and school-masters, in order to confer those offices on such only whose religion and doctrines were exempt from suspicion: a similar injunction was issued to corporations, with regard to their mayors and aldermen, and, in case of non-observance, they were to be prosecuted as *encouragers of heresy*: the same severity was to be exerted, not only against all such as received heretics into their houses, or contributed, directly or indirectly, to their evasion from the pursuits of justice, but even against those who, after their apprehension, should intercede, or present a petition, in their favour.

Many of those who favoured the new doctrines, and were afraid of being exposed to the dangers of a trial, attended with every circumstance of prejudice and partiality, fled to Geneva or to Switzerland, after transferring their property and estates to their friends, who remitted them the produce thereof. Some, indeed, really sold their estates at a very inferior price, from the idea that it was better to save a part than to run the risk of losing the whole. All the property belonging to these fugitives was ordered to be seized; and if the officers employed in executing this commission met with any obstacle from persons who pretended to have purchased such property, the judges were strongly enjoined by the edict to investigate, with the utmost rigour, the validity of their titles, and, in case they should discover any collusion between the purchaser and vender, not only to seize the property in dispute, but to impose a heavy fine on the purchaser: whoever gave information, and substantiated such information by proof, that any of the king's subjects sent money to Geneva, was entitled to a third of the amount: any person informing against a heretic was also entitled to a third of his property, but, in some measure to check the abominable oppressions which such a regulation would necessarily occasion, it was decreed that if the informer failed to convict the person he accused, he should be subjected to the same punishment as that person would have incurred, had his guilt been confirmed.

In order to stop the circulation of the numerous pamphlets, dogmatical, polemical, and satirical, which were introduced into the kingdom from Geneva, and reprinted at Paris, Poitiers and Bourdeaux, the importation of books, of every denomination, as well from Geneva, as from any town or country whose inhabitants had seceded from the church of Rome, was prohibited, by this edict, under pain of confiscation of property, and corporal punishment: the officers of justice were enjoined to pay frequent visits to the shops and warehouses of printers and booksellers: all printers and booksellers were



forbidden to work in any other place than their own house; to expose any work to sale without putting their own name, and that of the author, on the frontispiece, under pain of being punished as men guilty of forgery; to receive any manuscript on the Bible or any theological subject, unless sanctioned with the approbation of two doctors of divinity; to sell any work that was not inserted in the catalogue, which they were obliged to send to the officers of the police; to open any package of books coming from any foreign country, but in the presence of two divines; and to sell any book, by auction, which had not been previously inspected by proper persons.

The executions, in consequence of this rigorous and oppressive edict, were numerous; but still the number of protestants, as well in the capital as in the provinces, continued to encrease. Enraged at the inefficacy of their measures, and stimulated by the prospect of confiscations, the produce whereof the king had resigned to his favourite courtiers, the cardinal of Lorraine, and several others of the ministry, represented to Henry, that the magistrates were themselves infected with the new opinions, and far from enforcing the execution of his edicts, acted in concert with the protestant ministers: that the presidials, through fear of being engaged in a dispute with the sovereign courts, seldom exercised the power which had been conferred on them of trying heretics in dernier resort: that the ecclesiastical tribunals in vain caused the culprits to be apprehended and proceeded against with becoming severity, since, by means of an appeal which the judges were compelled to respect, they were taken from their jurisdiction, when the secular judges always discovered some mode of clearing them from the accusation: that religion would be destroyed in France, unless resource were had to the only remedy which preserved it pure and unpoluted, throughout Spain, and the greater part of Italy: that for this purpose, it was only necessary to make two alterations in the edict of Châteaubriant, which the calamity of the times rendered indispensable; that the first of these alterations consisted in putting a stop to all appeals from the sentences of the ecclesiastical courts, which ought to be sent to the nearest secular judge, who should be compelled to enforce their execution: the second, in confiscating the property of all persons, indiscriminately, who should leave the kingdom, through the dread of persecution, in order to settle in foreign countries; and in seizing such property, for the king's use, wherever it might be found, even though it were in possession of a person who had given a valuable consideration for the same. As soon as this resolution had been adopted by the council, a secret conference was holden at the house of Bertrand, keeper of the seals, at which certain magistrates, who were sworn enemies to the new doctrines, were invited to attend; and two new edicts were there drawn up, which were presented to the parliament to be registered, at a time when most of the judges were absent. This attempt, however, being foiled, the matter was argued on the eleventh of September; when Denis Riant, advocate-general, in support of the edicts, observed, that they were the result of the deliberations of the most *enlightened* men in the kingdom; that the king had been led to pass them from the conviction that there was no other preservative to be found against the progress of

of a contagion which infected the capital and spread over the provinces: that if any objection could be raised against the edicts, it was the too great extension of the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, by subjecting to them, indiscriminately, all orders of citizens: but it could not be denied that it was highly expedient with regard to apostate monks, and other fanatics, who, assuming the right of dogmatizing, perverted the consciences of his majesty's subjects, and diffused trouble and confusion throughout the realm: that the court, as might be proved from the registers, did not disapprove of the inquisition, provided it were directed by the rules laid down in the canons: that he was therefore justified in his expectation, that the court would, after making such restrictions as it might think proper with regard to the too great extension of the power of the spiritual tribunal, proceed to register the edict in question. It was however decided in the parliament, by a very considerable majority, that the edict should not be registered, but that the court would address the king, and indicate some other means of promoting the extirpation of heresy, more conformable to the spirit of Christianity.

Accordingly, on the seventeenth of October, 1555, the president Séguier, and the counsellor Dudrac had an audience of the king at Villers-Coterets, when the former thus addressed his majesty, in the name of the parliament:

“ Sire, The difficulties naturally attending the commission with which we are entrusted, are considerably augmented by the sinister impressions which your majesty has been led to encourage against your parliament. Were the sole object of our commission the justification of those by whom we are sent, it would suffice to observe that the edict which they have refused to register is precisely the same as that which was rejected by a part of the court some months ago; and that it would be impossible to act otherwise without making your parliament fall into a contradiction with itself, and without introducing into the kingdom, and into the same sanctuary of justice, two tribunals opposed to each other. But this reason, powerful as it is with regard to ourselves, is not that which we mean to employ, since it would only justify us at the expence of our brethren, and would rather constitute an excuse than form an apology. In fact, it is not, because the edict has before been rejected that we have thought proper to reject it also, but because, after a close examination, it appeared to us, as it did to our brethren, that it could not be admitted without depriving your subjects of their liberty, and your majesty of the noblest rights of that sovereignty which we are constitutionally bound to defend and protect. But before I enter on the reasons by which our conduct has been influenced, let me be permitted to offer one previous reflection.

“ Your parliament, Sire, is composed of one hundred and sixty magistrates, who were not admitted as members of the court, until they had furnished satisfactory proofs of their capacity, and ample attestations of the purity of their lives and manners; who



“ are, in short, men of that description, that your majesty would scarcely find it possible  
“ to replace them throughout the whole extent of your dominions: what mortal, then,  
“ can be so presumptuous as to oppose his private judgment to that of so large a body  
“ of men, devoted, from their infancy, to the study of the laws, and employed, from  
“ morning to night, in distinguishing what is just and lawful, from what is unjust and  
“ prohibited? As for me, I have formed so high an opinion of the integrity and knowledge  
“ of that august senate, that if it had pronounced a sentence of death against me, I  
“ should be led to doubt my own innocence, and, in some degree, to reject the testimony  
“ of my conscience. Those men who wished to persuade your majesty to establish the  
“ inquisition, were aware they could only succeed in their attempt, by rendering the re-  
“ ligion of your magistrates suspected; by representing them either as heretics in dis-  
“ guise, or as men floating between error and truth, and perfectly indifferent on the  
“ article of faith. That, Sire, is an accusation, ever easy to hazard, but which no  
“ honest man would ever advance unless he were able to substantiate the charge by clear  
“ and convincing proofs. The orthodoxy of your magistrates has been proved, and they  
“ are all obliged to give a certificate with regard to the stability and purity of their faith;  
“ it must, therefore, be supposed, either that they have been perverted since their recep-  
“ tion, or that they have given false certificates: if a door be once opened to suspicions  
“ of that nature, what man will be free from them, or in whom can you place your  
“ confidence? we know our brethren much better than those who speak of them with  
“ such disrespect; and if your majesty will give credit to our oaths, we shall not hesi-  
“ tate to swear by all that we hold sacred, that we have never perceived any thing in  
“ the conduct of the parliament, that could possibly occasion or justify similar suspicions.  
“ Not that we would pledge ourselves that, in a society so numerous, there are no fan-  
“ tastical nor whimsical minds, which entertain peculiar sentiments on the article of  
“ faith; God is the sole judge of men’s consciences; and it would be wonderful indeed  
“ if, in an age when the rage for reasoning is become an epidemic disorder, not a single  
“ man could be found among us who, impelled by prejudice and presumption, had strayed  
“ from the right road; but we will venture to assert, that we do not know any one magi-  
“ strate but what professes and practises the true religion: in short, I should sooner be made  
“ to believe that anti-Christ is arrived, and that the world is just at an end, than to give  
“ credit to any of the absurdities which have been related to you. It is you, Sire, who  
“ appoint magistrates: when you chose the present members of your parliament, you  
“ deemed them worthy your confidence; to that confidence, then, they have an undoubt-  
“ ed right, until it shall have been proved that they deserve to lose it; and you cannot  
“ deprive them of it, either wholly or partially, without prejudice to your own au-  
“ thority and power. For how can their decisions be respected by the inferior judges,  
“ and by the rest of your subjects, if it be suspected that they are the decisions of  
“ men of doubtful characters, and who are themselves acting in opposition to the laws  
“ of the realm? it is evident, therefore, that the perfidious and malicious insinuations  
“ which

“ which have been conveyed to you have a direct tendency to subvert all order, and to  
 “ expose your authority to contempt.

“ We have been accused of betraying an extreme dread of the Inquisition. If our  
 “ accusers mean to apply this observation to us, in our private capacities, they are in a  
 “ gross error; not one of us dread it: we are aware that this violent remedy may be  
 “ employed with some hope of success in the desperate disorders of the state, and when  
 “ every other remedy has failed; and it might possibly be of some use in common  
 “ cases, were it always to be administered by men devoid of prejudice, and endowed  
 “ with the most enlightened minds. We learn from history that the Roman emperors  
 “ had recourse to it in order to stifle Christianity at its birth; but we also learn from  
 “ thence that the wisest among them, such as Trajan and Marcus-Aurelius, though  
 “ zealous pagans, rejected it with horror, declaring that it were infinitely better to wait  
 “ till the public conduct of the Christians should afford ground for prosecution, than to  
 “ favour the progress of calumny, and to sow terror and mistrust in the hallowed shades  
 “ of domestic retirement: such is our opinion, as individuals, with regard to the Inqui-  
 “ sition. As magistrates, that is to say, as men appointed by your majesty to prevent  
 “ oppression, and to render to every man what is his due, we dread, it is true, or, rather,  
 “ we abhor, the establishment of a bloody tribunal, where informations are admitted as  
 “ proofs, where the parties accused are deprived of all natural means of defence, and  
 “ where no one form of justice is observed. We have advanced nothing but what, were  
 “ it required, we could prove from recent examples: several persons, condemned by the  
 “ officers of the Inquisition, have appealed to the parliament, and in revising the  
 “ proceedings against them, we have found them so replete with absurdities, that though  
 “ charity forbids us to impute the conduct of the judges to fraud or wickedness, it allows  
 “ and even enjoins us to deplore their ignorance and presumption: yet it is to such  
 “ judges, Sire, that you are advised to deliver up your faithful subjects, in a state of  
 “ bondage, by taking from them the resource of appeal: but, could you be brought to  
 “ give your consent to this measure, have you the right to enforce it? The same ties  
 “ which unite them to you, bind you to them; if they be obliged to pay you taxes  
 “ of various descriptions; in return it is your duty to afford them security and protec-  
 “ tion, and the very lowest of them has the indisputable right of appealing to you  
 “ whenever he thinks himself oppressed; for you are always supposed to preside at your  
 “ sovereign courts; our sentences are delivered in your name, and bear the signature of  
 “ Henry. What then do the promoters of the new edict advise you to do?—to disown  
 “ your people, to alienate the affections of your subjects, and to break the contract in vir-  
 “ tue of which you hold your throne.

“ Hitherto we have acknowledged only one king of France; and his authority,  
 “ though often obscured and always opposed by another spurious authority, has tri-  
 “ umphed



“ umphed over the lures and snares of superstition. But, by compelling us to register  
 “ the edict in question, you would destroy the work of four or five centuries; you would  
 “ give rise to new convulsions in the state, for you would then cease to be the only le-  
 “ gislator in your kingdom; justice would no longer be administered by your judges, nor  
 “ in conformity with your ordonnances; in short, you would raise up a rival who would  
 “ soon become your master.

“ Such, Sire, are the real motives by which we have been deterred from paying obe-  
 “ dience to your orders, and we never doubted but that, as soon as we should be per-  
 “ mitted to explain them to you, they would make the same impresson on your mind  
 “ as on our own. Your parliament laments the rapid progress of heresy, and has long  
 “ perceived the necessity of opposing it with strength and efficacy; but cannot this be  
 “ done without shaking the foundations of the monarchy? Grant, if you will, per-  
 “ mission to the bishops and Inquisitors to inflict capital punishments on men of their  
 “ own profession—though even with regard to them it would be infinitely more just to  
 “ leave open the way of appeal—but never suffer your lay-subjects to be tried except by  
 “ your own tribunals, and by men who hold of you alone their commissions and their  
 “ powers. To this first expedient, suggested by the court, another must be added, of  
 “ much greater efficacy.

“ Confine not your paternal cares to the cutting off from the body politic the parts  
 “ which are already corrupted; but extend them to prevent the corruption of such  
 “ parts as are yet in a state of sanity. The measures to be adopted for this desirable  
 “ purpose have nothing of violence in them; they consist only in recalling the clergy  
 “ to their primitive institution; the religion, Sire, which you wish to maintain in your  
 “ dominions, was not planted there by fire and sword; on the contrary, it resisted, dur-  
 “ ing three centuries, the utmost efforts of those dreadful instruments, and increased  
 “ by the very means employed for its destruction, because it was announced by pious  
 “ prelates, by vigilant pastors, who resided in the midst of their flocks, quenching their  
 “ thirst with the word of God, edifying them by their example, and defending them, with  
 “ intrepid courage, from the snares and fury of the wolves. Since, then, it was planted by  
 “ these means, since by these means it increased, by these means alone can it be made to  
 “ regenerate, and acquire additional vigour. No longer, therefore, delay to send the bi-  
 “ shops and curates to discharge the duties of their respective stations; order them, un-  
 “ der the severest penalties, to reside in the midst of their flocks, to advise and instruct  
 “ them, and to watch day and night in order to preserve them from the attacks of the  
 “ enemy: you will thereby impose on them no painful task, no new obligation: there  
 “ are still extant two celebrated constitutions of the emperor Justinian, by which bi-  
 “ shops are forbidden, under the penalty of forfeiting their temporalities, to appear  
 “ at court, and to absent themselves from their dioceses. If that emperor, who was  
 “ no devotee, and whose tenets were not the most orthodox, deemed it necessary to  
 “ pass

“ pass an ordonnance thus salutary and holy, on what pretence could the Most Christian  
 “ king, the eldest son of the church, think himself exempted from the necessity of re-  
 “ newing it? Nay, it is not by human constitutions alone, by Imperial rescripts, that  
 “ the residence of bishops is enforced, but by formal texts in Scripture, by the canons  
 “ of general councils; it is enforced by divine law, and the man who would dare to ad-  
 “ vance a contrary opinion would be a greater heretic than Luther himself. Begin,  
 “ then, Sire, by the promulgation of an edict, which will not cover your kingdom with  
 “ piles, which will neither be wetted with the blood, nor with the tears of your sub-  
 “ jects. At a distance from your throne, bending beneath the weight of their rustic la-  
 “ bours, or absorbed in business and occupations of various kinds, they are wholly igno-  
 “ rant of the snares which are now laying for them; they do not suspect that, at this  
 “ moment, you are thinking of separating them from you, and of depriving them of  
 “ their natural safeguard. It is for them, it is in their name, that the court addresses  
 “ its most humble remonstrances, and its most ardent supplications to your majesty.

“ As for you, gentlemen,” addressing himself to the ministers and courtiers who were  
 present, “ who listen to me with so much tranquillity, and who think, probably, that  
 “ the matter does not concern you, it is proper that you should be undeceived. As long  
 “ as you are in favour, you wisely make the most of your time; honours and rewards are  
 “ lavished on your heads; you are respected by all who approach you; and no one thinks  
 “ of attacking you: but the higher your station, the nearer you are to the thunder, and  
 “ a man must be ignorant of history not to know on what trivial circumstances the dis-  
 “ grace of a courtier frequently depends. Formerly, however, when this disaster befell  
 “ you, you could, at least, retire with a fortune, that consoled you, in a certain degree,  
 “ for the loss you had sustained, and that enabled you to enrich your heirs. But were  
 “ this edict to pass, from that moment your situation would be altered; you would, as  
 “ before, be succeeded by needy men, of hungry minds, who, knowing not how long  
 “ they may remain in office, will burn with the desire of making a sudden fortune, and  
 “ will find it a very easy matter to gratify that desire: certain of obtaining from the  
 “ king the confiscation of your property, it will only be necessary to secure in their in-  
 “ terest one Inquisitor and two witnesses, and though you were saints, you would be  
 “ burned as heretics.”

At these words, the constable Montmorenci, who had not forgotten his own disgrace,  
 in the preceding reign, knitted his brows and changed colour; and all the other ministers  
 shuddered with horror. The king himself exhibited evident marks of confusion, and  
 thanking the parliament for their remonstrances, promised to pay attention to them. No-  
 thing farther, however, was done in the business, till the year 1557, when the number of  
 Calvinists having considerably encreased, the king, by his letters-patent, enjoined all pre-  
 lates to repair to their dioceses, and either to discharge the duties of their office in per-  
 son, or to appoint grand-vicars of approved virtue and rigid principles, who were worthy



to act as their substitutes: in case of disobedience, the king authorized the parliament to proceed against them, by seizing their temporalities, and applying the produce thereof to the purpose of paying enlightened ministers who might preach the Word of God to the people; it was farther ordained that all the parliaments in the kingdom should depute a certain number of commissioners, to visit, in company with the bishops or their vicars, all the provinces within their respective jurisdictions, and to proceed, in a summary manner, against heretics and all persons suspected of entertaining heretical principles, on whom they were even empowered to pass sentence of death. The parliament of Paris, however, regarding these regulations as the means of introducing the Inquisition, refused to trust such unlimited powers to a few individuals, though members of the court. The bishops, too, contrived to avoid the obligation of residence, without incurring the penalties inflicted by the law. Some of the prelates were members of the council, others were employed as ambassadors, and a great number of them were at Rome: while many enjoyed three or four bishopricks at the same time, and of course could not reside at them all.

In the year following, after the return of the cardinal of Lorraine from Rome, a bull was published, by which Paul the Fourth, at the king's request, established an Inquisition in France, after the model of that which subsisted at Rome; and the cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Châtillon, were appointed presidents of this new tribunal, with the power of choosing vicars, either from among the bishops, or doctors of divinity; conferring, as well on these inquisitors, as on their delegates, a full power to arrest, imprison, and condemn all persons, of whatever rank or quality, convicted or suspected of the crime of heresy. The king, by his edict for enforcing the execution of this bull, subjected the grand inquisitors to the necessity of presenting their vicars and delegates to the council; where they were to swear that they would, in no instance, deviate from the rules established by the canons, in the course of their proceedings, which were open to revision by a supreme tribunal, to be instituted in every diocese, consisting of ten judges, six of whom must be members of a sovereign court. The parliament were compelled to register the bull and the letters-patent, though with certain restrictions: they made a distinction between the clergy and the laity, abandoning the former to the tribunals of the Inquisition, but, with regard to the latter, confining those courts to the receiving informations, and to the simple declaration that the parties accused were heretics; leaving such parties at liberty to appeal to their natural judges. This restriction, however, would have proved of little avail, but for the perilous situation to which the kingdom was, at this time, reduced by the number of its foreign enemies; and for the number and quality of the partizans of the new doctrines, among whom was one of the inquisitors appointed by the pope. These circumstances proved an effectual obstacle to the establishment of that iniquitous tribunal.

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This attempt to establish the Inquisition had been preceded, though not influenced, by a tumult in the Rue Saint-Jacques, where about four hundred Calvinists had assembled, in a private house, in order to perform divine service<sup>55</sup>: the neighbours, alarmed, or pretending to be so, at this unusual assemblage of people, at such a late hour—for it was night—surrounded the house; and, having collected a mob, assailed the congregation, on their attempt to leave the place after service was over, with stones and other missile weapons. The Calvinists held a consultation among themselves, and as they knew that death must be their portion if taken, the boldest of them resolved to cut their way through the mob, sword in hand. This they easily effected; the cowardly rabble fled before them; but they were no sooner out of danger, than they speedily re-assembled, and prepared to vent their rage on the old men, women, and others, who had been restrained by fear from following their companions. The timely arrival of the ministers of justice saved the unhappy victims—among whom were several females of high distinction—from immediate assassination; though, as they were conducted to prison, they were exposed to the blows and licentious insolence of a brutal populace. To complete the misery of their situation, by adding calumny to persecution, a report was industriously propagated, that, immediately after the celebration of their infernal orgies, the Calvinists extinguished the lights, and, mixing together indiscriminately like brutes, each man seized, as the partner of his crimes, the first woman he could lay hold of, even though she were his mother, daughter or sister. These atrocious calumnies were repeated from the pulpit<sup>56</sup>, and the king, prone to credulity, gave easy credit to tales that flattered his religious prejudices. Mufnier, a man of infamous character, who had been convicted of subornation of perjury, was appointed, by the cardinal of Lorraine, to try the culprits, but the parliament remonstrated with such warmth on the insult offered to them by that appointment, that the cognizance of the cause was left to themselves. Five of the wretched Calvinists were publicly burned at the Place de Grève, but the judges purposely prolonged the trials of the rest, and, by that means, afforded them an opportunity to escape.

Such of the Calvinists as had cut their way through the mob in the Rue Saint-Jacques, together with the friends and relations of the prisoners, exerted their utmost influence to avert the storm that threatened them. Alarmed at the imputations which had been thrown out against them, they drew up a kind of apology, addressed to the king, in which they maintained that their assemblies could be reproached with nothing with which those of the early Christians had not been reproached by the Pagan emperors: that reduced, like them, by the rage of their persecutors, to the necessity of concealing themselves, and of worshipping God in private, they might have expected to become objects of calumny and detraction: that if it pleased his majesty to investigate the nature of their religious prin-

<sup>55</sup> Bezé, Hist. Eccles.—La Poplinière.

<sup>56</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 406.



ciples, and either to interrogate, himself, or suffer to be interrogated by others, in his presence, some of the Calvinists who were now detained in captivity, he would soon discover how little credit their detractors deserved: that the measure they proposed to him, so far from being unworthy of his rank, was, on the contrary, a duty annexed to his station—a duty, which even the pagan emperors, Trajan and Marcus-Aurelius, thought themselves compelled to discharge: that the pains he had taken, at the instigation of his cardinals and prelates, to exterminate the Calvinists, had succeeded so ill, that, from the ashes of one martyr, a thousand converts sprang up; and that their number had already encreased to such a degree, that, could his favourite system of destruction be accomplished, his kingdom would be converted into a desert: that the arm of the Almighty had fallen heavy on their persecutors, a truth of which he might easily be convinced, by enquiring into the fate of a Duprat, a Lizet, and an Oppède: that the constable, who, when he set out on his last expedition, had made a sacrilegious vow, if he returned victorious, to attack Geneva, in person, during the winter, and reduce that city to ashes, had himself been defeated and taken prisoner: that his majesty exhibited, in his own person, a striking example of divine justice, since so long as he had defended the protestants against the pope and the emperor, God had loaded him with glory and wealth; whereas the moment he became the ally of the pope, by accepting a blessed sword as a pledge of his devotion to the church of Rome, he had fallen into an abyss, whence he would, with difficulty, extricate himself: that if, docile to the warnings of Heaven, he sought for the true means of preserving his kingdom from total ruin, he ought to begin by stripping the Romish clergy of all those vain decorations, and those immense riches, which only served to nourish their pride, their luxury, and lewdness: that so long as the ministers of the Gospel had remained poor, the church had flourished, and the evangelical doctrine been preserved in its original purity, because, bound by no ties of interest, they had the glory of God, and the salvation of their flock, continually before their eyes: that, on the contrary, since the popes had been in possession of principalities, and had seated themselves on the throne of the Cæsars, they had perverted and corrupted, by vain comments and false interpretations, the true sense of the scriptures, and had arrogated to themselves honours and powers which belonged to God alone: that there was no doubt but that his majesty might lawfully employ the property of the clergy, first, for procuring a moderate subsistence for the true ministers of the gospel; secondly, for paying the salaries of the magistrates who now gratuitously rifled his treasury; thirdly, for the foundation of colleges for the diffusion of knowledge among his subjects; and that, the residue, which would be immense, he might devote to the purpose of supplying the wants of the state, and relieving the poor, who alone bore the weight of the taxes, though least able to support it: that, by an arrangement thus simple, he would be enabled to provide for one-third of the nobility, who now led a life of indolence and obscurity, and would have amply sufficient to reward those who should really serve the state: that there was not a single captain but would rather procure a pension of five or six hundred livres for himself, than obtain a living of ten thousand for one of his relations, who spent  
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it on dogs, horses, and prostitutes: that the second remedy which they thought themselves obliged to point out, consisted in the convocation of a council, not such as had formerly assembled, governed by a pope, and entirely composed of his creatures, but a free council, at which the monarch, as sovereign magistrate, should preside in person, and to which the papists should only be admitted, in order to defend, if they could, their practices and doctrine by texts from scripture, the sole rule of the Calvinistic faith, and the touchstone of truth: that he might then easily distinguish on which side the error lay, and punish those who pertinaciously refused to open their eyes to the light of the Gospel: that should he, on the contrary, persist in requiring them to abjure their creed, before it was proved in what that creed was erroneous, they wished him to know, that neither fire nor sword, nor punishments of any kind, would be sufficient to enforce compliance with such a requisition, because their Divine Master had warned them that there would be persecutions, in order that they might be prepared before-hand, and not be astonished when they should come to pass.

Some parts of this remonstrance are spirited and proper; but others favour too much of that puritanical cant, and that spirit of insubordination, which have, almost invariably, marked the followers of Calvin. To inveigh against the wealth of the regular clergy, and yet to aim at the acquisition of that wealth for themselves, was an inconsistency, proceeding from a very natural cause, by which the reformers of France and Scotland were, at this period, equally distinguished; nor can we even discover much patriotism in an anxiety to provide for the necessities of the *state*, by the seizure of property that belongs not to ourselves. *Persecution* must be an object of abhorrence to all who are possessed of the common feelings of humanity; but, convinced as we are of the wise policy, if not of the necessity, of an established church, we cannot but consider all attempts to overthrow it—to swallow it up, as it were, in the gulph of innovation—as having a pernicious tendency, hostile to the peace and welfare of society. To secure the establishment, by the imposition of proper restraints on its enemies, is an act of wisdom in the partisans of such establishment; the endeavour to obtain, by lawful means, a *toleration* of that mode of worship which their conscience bids them pursue, is highly justifiable in sectaries of every description; but, as in the former instance, no pretext whatever can sanction oppression, so, in the latter, the failure of efforts, however moderate or rational, can afford no possible excuse for acts of violence, opposition to the laws, or insidious attempts to subvert that faith and those regulations which the majority of the nation have thought proper to adopt. But, unfortunately, both the partisans of the old and of the new doctrines, disdained to regulate their conduct by such moderate principles; they often fell into extremes, and though the former were infinitely more culpable, yet the latter were certainly not blameless.

The remonstrance, which was rather intended as an appeal to the public, than as an



address to the king, produced but little effect : but the unhappy prisoners found more able advocates in the protestant cantons of Switzerland, and the elector palatine, who solicited their release with uncommon earnestness ; and the king, who was, at that time, raising troops in their dominions, did not think it prudent to reject their application. The calm, however, which ensued on their release, was but of short duration. Many princes of the blood, who favoured the new doctrines, and among others, Anthony of Bourbon and his consort Jane d'Albret, king and queen of Navarre, with the prince and princess of Condé, having repaired to Paris, to be present at the marriage of the dauphin with the young queen of Scotland, frequented the private assemblies of the Calvinists, carested their ministers, and encouraged them to redouble their zeal and activity.

Calvin had, for some time past, reproached them, in his letters, with their timid circumspection, or rather pusillanimity ; and, convinced that any explosion must prove advantageous to the propagation of his doctrine, which had already taken such deep root in the kingdom, that it was deemed impossible to eradicate it, he incessantly exhorted them to act with firmness and decision, and boldly to publish their profession of faith wherever they went<sup>57</sup>. Piqued at these reproaches, and encouraged by the presence and exhortations of the princes of the blood, they appointed two or three successive meetings, in a meadow, called Le Pré aux Clercs, where three or four thousand persons assembled, and sang the Psalms of Marot, set to music : they then marched in procession through several of the streets in the suburbs of Saint-Germain, attended by a great number of armed gentlemen, who threatened to cut down all that should attempt to oppose their passage. The magistrates, alarmed at this unexpected tumult, ordered those gates to be shut which led to the university and the suburb of Saint-Germain, and sent their officers to take informations on the spot. The bishop of Paris, immediately sent the particulars of this transaction to the king, without, however, naming the principal persons concerned in it. Henry, having compared this intelligence with the notice which Granvelle, bishop of Arras, had recently given to the cardinal of Lorraine, of a conspiracy on the point of breaking out, dispatched, without delay, the cardinal Bertrand, keeper of the seals, with three masters of requests, to investigate the business. Bertrand, after he had read the informations already taken by the officers of the Châtelet, went to the parliament, where he observed, that the cardinal of Lorraine, having had a fresh conference with the bishop of Arras, prime minister to the king of Spain, on the subject of peace, had received intelligence from that prelate of a conspiracy then forming by the protestants, which would soon break out : that the day after the cardinal's return to court, the king had received a letter from the bishop of Paris, in which he was informed that some of the insurgents had been heard to say—" *That they would do as they pleased in spite of every body :—they cared not who disapproved of their conduct—it would soon be seen*

<sup>57</sup> Beze, Hist. Eccles.—Reg. du Parlement—Calv. Epist

"*who was the strongest*:"—that there could be no doubt but this insolent challenge was addressed to the king, and announced a regular plan for overthrowing the state: that the king, who was of the same opinion, would have come, in person, to investigate this mystery, had not his presence been necessary at the army: that having received his majesty's orders for that purpose, he had examined the few informations which had been taken by the officers of the Châtelet, in some of which it was declared, that men of such high rank had been concerned in the transaction, that the witnesses neither dared nor would expose themselves to the danger of incurring their resentment: that it was the duty of the parliament, who possessed sufficient authority, to compel those witnesses to explain themselves more clearly: that it was very well known that there were, and ever would be, persons discontented at not enjoying so great a share in the government as their ambition led them to aspire to, and who, for the gratification of their own private interest, would favour any plan for the dissemination of discord, and the fuscitation of general anarchy; but that there was every reason to believe that, in the union of the true Christians, and of all those who were attached to their country, they would experience an insurmountable obstacle to the accomplishment of their pernicious designs: that the king, who, on his accession to the throne, had found the catholic religion established in the kingdom, was firmly resolved to maintain it, and would consider as an enemy and a traitor every man—without excepting even his own son—who, departing from the faith of his ancestors, should favour the new doctrines: that he was well aware that many abuses had crept into the discipline of the church; that the clergy in general were depraved; and that, from the highest to the lowest, not one of them discharged his duty<sup>58</sup>. That the cause of all these disorders would be found in the too long interval suffered to elapse between the general councils, which ought to be convened every three years: that the king proposed to remedy this evil, whence arose his extreme anxiety to conclude a peace; that, meanwhile, he ordered the parliament to discover the authors of the sedition, and to employ their utmost attention in stopping the evil at its source.

The first president, Le Maitre, replied, that the little lights which they had been able to procure on the subject, rather resembled intelligence imparted in confidence, than evidence delivered on oath, because the witnesses had no sooner evinced a disposition to enter into explanations, than they had been threatened by persons in disguise to be massacred in the streets, or to have their houses reduced to ashes; fear, therefore, had rendered them silent: that Truth was the daughter of Time, and as soon as it was known that the king would spare none of the criminals, however elevated their rank in life, depositions would flow in apace: that, if it was intended to trace the evil to its source, it would be found to originate in the Concordate; and that the people had only been led astray since they had ceased to hear the voices of their lawful pastors: that, at that time,

<sup>58</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 491.



there were forty bishops at Paris, who did nothing but excite disgust: that, formerly, at least, they never appeared in public but in their canonicals, whereas now they strutted about the streets in court dresses: that the edict, published at the request of the parliament, for compelling bishops and curates to reside, had been speedily abrogated: that all the abbies in the kingdom were successively exposed to the degradations of the commendataries, who laid waste the woods, suffered the buildings to go to ruin, and endeavoured to abolish the little regularity which still subsisted in the monasteries.

A few days after this discussion, an edict was published, strictly enjoining, under severe penalties, all masters and students to go to church regularly, and to receive the sacrament; nothing, however, was done with regard to the late tumult, for the keeper of the seals having learnt the names of the principal insurgents, did not think it prudent to push his enquiries any farther.

About the same time d'Andelot, nephew to the constable, was accused of favouring the new doctrines, and of founding protestant churches in Brittany. In consequence of this accusation he was summoned to appear at court; but the king, who was averse from proceeding to extremities against one of the bravest men in his dominions, who was, also, so nearly allied to his friend, Montmorenci, gave secret advice to his brother, the cardinal of Châtillon, of all the questions which he meant to propose to him, in order that he might be prepared with proper answers. The precaution, however, proved of little utility; d'Andelot was a man who aspired to the title formerly enjoyed by the brave Bayard, of *The Knight without Reproach*, and he was resolved not to forfeit his pretensions by the smallest deviation from truth. He attended Henry while he was at supper at Monceaux, a house belonging to Catharine of Medicis, and the king, after reproaching him with his attachment to a turbulent sect, proscribed by the laws of the realm, and reminding him of the favours which he had conferred on him, desired him to declare, before the company, what he thought of the mass. D'Andelot, in reply, expressed his sense of the obligations he was under to his majesty, but observed, that although he had devoted his life to the service of his king, his soul belonged to God alone; that having had the good fortune to be enlightened by the light of the Gospel, and believing that he had discovered the truth in that religion which his majesty persecuted, without knowing what it was, he should think himself unworthy of life were he to betray his conscience and deceive his majesty; that since he was forced to explain himself with regard to the mass, he frankly declared that he considered it as a horrid profanation. He had no sooner pronounced these words, than the king flew into a violent passion, ordered him to be immediately conveyed to prison, and deprived him of the post of colonel-general of the infantry. His imprisonment, however, was of short duration; the king, from friendship to his family, soon ordered him to be released; while the zealous Catholics, finding themselves unsupported by government, resolved to take the task of vengeance into their own hands, in which resolution

tion they were publickly encouraged by some of their fanatical preachers<sup>59</sup>. The parliament, far from being able to repress this licentiousness, were no longer in a condition to enforce the execution of their own sentences: they had condemned Musnier, a magistrate of infamous character, to stand in the pillory, for perjury and subornation of perjury; but he was rescued by the people, (who knew him to be a zealous persecutor of the Calvinists) as the officers of justice were conducting him to the market-place, and he soon after obtained his release. About the same time, a shoemaker, sentenced to be hanged for theft, was rescued by the mob from the hands of the executioners, because he was a *good Catholic*<sup>60</sup>; and a Calvinist, condemned to die for the crime of heresy, was rescued in a similar manner, but from a different motive—that the mob might aggravate his punishment, and become his executioners themselves.

Still the doctrines of Calvin continued to be propagated with great success; the parliament themselves were divided in their sentiments; for while the *Grand Chamber*, presided by Le Maitre, Saint André, and Minart, consigned to the flames almost every heretic that was brought before them, the chamber of the *Tournelle*, presided by Harlai, de Thou, and Seguiet, generally contrived to acquit them, or, at most, made them pay a trifling fine: an event, however, occurred, in the last year of the reign of Henry the Second, which made a great noise, and was productive of much persecution.

Four students of irreproachable character, but firmly attached to the new doctrines, having been sentenced to die by the inferior courts, had appealed to the parliament, though fully resolved never to submit to the disgrace of a retraction. Their friends and relations, dreading the severity of the Grand Chamber, had contrived to have them tried before the chamber of the *Tournelle*. Seguiet, the presiding judge, after having, in private, endeavoured but in vain to extort from the prisoners at least an apparent disavowal, charitably warned them to be reserved and circumspect in their answers: they were at first questioned on various points, on which the doctrines of Calvin differed but little from the Catholic belief; but they were, at last, asked what they thought of the real presence in the sacrament? they acknowledged the real presence, without explaining whether they meant a *carnal presence*, such as the Catholic church admits, or a *symbolic and spiritual presence*, as admitted by the Protestants. Most of the judges appeared satisfied with this answer, but one, more difficult and more bigotted than the rest, insisted on knowing their opinion of the mass, and whether they would attend the celebration of it? Compelled to answer, they simply said that they would not attend it. They were then asked what were their objections, but as it was foreseen that their answer would prove fatal to them, Seguiet, wishing to give them time for reflection, granted them a delay of four-and-twenty hours. Convinced that they could not, without betraying God and their

<sup>59</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvii. p. 501.

<sup>60</sup> Idem, p. 502.



conscience, have recourse to a subterfuge on this fundamental article of their creed, they recalled to their minds all that they had ever read or heard on the subject, and, dividing the labour between them, composed, in that short space of time, one of the most violent invectives that had yet been published against the mass. They fully expected that death would be the consequence of their temerity, but, to their great astonishment, the judges found a means of saving their lives. Laying it down as a principle that the sentence of death pronounced by the laws against all who denied the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, could not be applied to the prisoners, who had publicly acknowledged the real presence, and who were only guilty of having spoke irreverently of the august ceremony of the mass, they only banished them the kingdom, and ordered the doors of their prison to be immediately opened.

This indulgence excited an universal clamour throughout the capital, and the crown-lawyers received instructions to remonstrate with the court on the impropriety of their conduct, and to convene one of those meetings—called *Mercuriales*—at which every member of the parliament was compelled to answer all questions that should be put to him on religious matters. The parliament accordingly met, at the beginning of June, in a great room in the convent of the Augustine friars, when they spoke with so much force and vehemence, that the first president, alarmed at the commotion which prevailed in the court, sent word to the ministers, that the king must either dissolve the assembly, or repair thither in person, in order to preserve a proper decorum. Accordingly, on the tenth of June, at an hour when he was least expected, Henry entered the room, accompanied by the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise; the princes of Montpensier and La Roche-sur-Yon; the dukes of Guise and Montmorenci; and Bertrand, keeper of the seals. As soon as he was seated, he said, that since it had pleased God to grant him a durable peace, he thought he could not make a better use of his time than in endeavouring to put a stop to those dissensions which began to prevail among his subjects with regard to religion: that knowing his parliament had been engaged in this business for some days, he came to investigate the matter, and to confirm, by his presence, the result of their deliberations, which he, therefore, ordered them to continue.

If, on the one side, this sudden appearance of the king, and the number of his guards, who had taken possession of the doors, alarmed the judges; on the other, the serenity of his countenance, the tone of impartiality he had assumed, and more than that, the undoubted right which every member of the court enjoyed to deliver his sentiments without restraint or molestation, encouraged the most timid. Some of those who favoured the Protestants insisted on the necessity of allowing them six months, in order to procure instruction, and to return to the right path, which if they failed to do, they should then be banished the kingdom; while others voted for the convocation of a council, which should be authorized to decide on all points of controversy, and for suspending, till the decisions of the council

council should be known, all prosecutions against those who were improperly called *heretics*, since they had neither been tried nor even heard in their own defence. This last opinion was broached by Lewis Dufaur and Anne Dubourg; the former an eminent lawyer and statesman; the latter a good divine and a pious christian. Dufaur, tracing all civil punishments to their source, and laying it down as a principle that they could only be just and useful so long as they were proportioned to the nature of those disorders which it was the interest of society to repress, desired to know by what subversion of ideas the crimes of homicide and adultery, which sap the very foundations of social order, came to be punished with less rigour in France, and excited public censure in a less degree, than a few speculative opinions, which were almost indifferent to the support and welfare of society? why men, branded with those crimes, were received, and even honoured, both at court and every where else, while Inquisitors were paid, and every species of cruelty exercised, in order to torture a few unhappy men, who injured no one, who practised the precepts of the Gospel, and served God according to the dictates of their own consciences? That, being at a loss to account for this rage, he had asked those who persecuted them with the greatest virulence, what they had to reproach them with; and the only answer he had ever received was, that they were pests to society, though how or in what they had never been able to explain to him. That it might be expected the Calvinists would answer their persecutors, as a prophet formerly answered king Ahab—" *'Tis thou who troublest Israel.*"—After returning thanks to God for having inspired the king with the resolution to enquire into the merits of the question, and to act in conformity to the rules of justice, he observed, that the only mode of forming a just opinion of a thing, was to consider it by itself, laying aside all those collateral circumstances with which prejudice and passion were apt to clog it; that, in pursuing this plan, it would be acknowledged that, for a century past, the church had stood in great need of a reform; that this was evident from the reiterated complaints of the most enlightened companies in the kingdom; the requests of the states general, as often as they had been assembled; the fruitless demands of so many sovereigns, and even the oath which it was usual to exact from the Roman pontiff before his coronation, to assemble a council as soon as possible: that while those who profited by such disorders had recourse to various subterfuges, in order to put off the reform, and the monarchs, intent on other schemes, lost sight of it, certain courageous men had made the attempt, taking for the basis of their proceedings and the rule of their conduct, the word of God, as contained in the scriptures, and enforced by the discipline of the church, in the early ages of Christianity: that such a bold undertaking would deserve the highest commendations, were it certain that it had been faithfully executed; that this, however, it was permitted to doubt, since the reformers themselves had not ventured to assert it, since they neither laid claim to inspiration nor infallibility, and had constantly offered to correct whatever was contrary, either in their writings or their institutions, to the doctrines of the Gospel, and the practice of the primitive church: that it appeared, that such an offer, had it been accepted, must have been productive of great advantage to Christianity, since every body would have profited by what



was useful in their labours, and the faults, which might have escaped them would have been attended with no dangerous consequences : but that, instead of pursuing this prudent plan, attempts had been made, in Germany and some other countries, to check the new doctrine in its birth, by means of proscription and punishments, and lastly by the force of arms, without considering that the Father of all Truth had made the minds of his creatures independant of the will of tyrants, and that an opinion well confirmed could only be removed by the conviction of an opposite truth : that, by the adoption of a similar system, France would become a scene of blood and carnage, and, after all, be compelled to change her mode of proceeding : that his advice, therefore, was to supplicate the king to convene, with all possible expedition, a general council ; or, if it were not in his power to do that, to assemble the most pious and most enlightened men in his dominions, who, dismissing all prejudice, all party-spirit, might labour to promote, subject to his orders, a salutary reform ; and that all prosecutions and executions, for religious concerns, should be suspended for the present ; for it was a matter of no small consequence to consign to the flames numbers of unfortunate men, who had committed no crime, who really believed what they professed, and who, in the midst of torments, invoked the name of God.

The presidents Seguier, Harlai, and de Thou, justified the conduct of the parliament, without entering into the merits of the question : Minart voted for the strict execution of the laws against heretics ; and the first-president, Le Maître, in support of the same opinion, quoted the example of Philip Augustus, who, in one day, had caused six hundred heretics to be burned in his presence, and bestowed the greatest eulogies on the various cruelties which had been exercised, at different times, against the Vaudois<sup>59</sup>.

The king retired, with the princes of the blood and the noblemen who had accompanied him, into an adjoining apartment, where he ordered the list to be brought to him, on which were inscribed the names and opinions of all the judges who had spoken before his arrival. After he had read it he returned to his seat, and said—That it was but too true, though he had hitherto refused to believe it, that there was a great number of heretics in his parliament ; that though he had a right to punish the whole body, for having so long suffered them to remain on the bench, yet he would not confound the innocent with the guilty. The constable, after approaching the throne to receive the king's orders, seized Dufaur and Dubourg, and delivered them over to the captain of the guards, who conducted them to the Bastille : orders were issued for the apprehension of six other judges, who had delivered their opinions with candour and freedom ; three only were taken, Anthony Fumée, Eustache de la Porte, and Paul de Foix : the others, having received timely notice, effected their escape. This violent exertion of power excited an universal alarm ; and though the king had certainly acted a part unworthy of his dignity, the prejudice and hatred against the

<sup>59</sup> Bezé, Hist. Ecclef.—La Poplinière—La Place—De Thou—Registres du Parlem.

Protestants were so strong, that he was loaded with praises and benedictions. The pope was so highly delighted, that he told the French ambassador, that the king his son had justified, in a glorious manner, the tender attachment he had ever entertained for him : that the ardour he had displayed in avenging the cause of God, would draw down the benedictions of heaven upon his head; and he expressed his hope that he would continue to deserve more and more the titles of Most Christian King and Eldest Son of the Church, by aiming his blows at the chiefs of that pestilential race, which would be the only means of purging his dominions of them.

The remedy advised by the pontiff would have proved as inefficacious as it was violent; for at the very time that the Protestant-party was supposed to be entirely crushed, the ministers and deputies of the churches in the isle of France, Normandy, the Orleanois, Aunis, and Poitou, held, at a house in the suburb of Saint Germain, their first national synod, and reduced into forty articles the constitutions which were intended to maintain an union and uniformity of discipline among the different societies which were independant of each other. When they had settled this point, they endeavoured to procure the release of the prisoners, for which purpose they had again recourse to the intercession of the elector palatine and the duke of Wirtemberg; but peace being now concluded, the king was no longer anxious to oblige those princes, and their application only served to encrease his rage. He appointed commissioners, assisted by the bishop of Paris and the inquisitor Démocharés, to try the prisoners, and he swore, in his wrath, that he would himself see them expire in the flames: but death put an end to all his projects of revenge.

Every kind of vice is said to have reigned at the court of Henry the Second<sup>60</sup>, and murders and theft were daily committed in the metropolis; to remedy, in a certain degree, this latter evil, which was generally ascribed to the multiplicity of stout beggars that infested the streets, workhouses were erected, in which such as were able were compelled to earn a subsistence; while the sick and infirm were supported in the hospitals by a poor's-rate, imposed and levied on the inhabitants by the sole authority of the parliament<sup>61</sup>.

Some sumptuary laws were enacted at the commencement of this reign, with a view to check the progress of luxury, but to little purpose, as the vanity of the Parisians appears always to have risen superior to restraint.

The public revenue, in the year 1548, amounted to eight millions, five hundred and forty-seven thousand, five hundred and seventy-seven livres, equal (estimating each livre at ten pence) to three hundred and fifty six thousand, one hundred and forty-nine pounds and ten pence, sterling. The expenditure amounted to nine millions, four hundred and eighty-

<sup>60</sup> Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 138.

<sup>61</sup> Garnier, tom. xxvi. p. 62, 63.



seven thousand livres, or three hundred and ninety-five thousand, two hundred and ninety-one pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence sterling. The deficit was supplied by the new taxes which we have before noticed.

By an edict, published in 1557, at the instigation of the constable Montmorenci, whose son had contracted a marriage, in opposition to the will of his father, it was enacted, that all children of distinction, under the age of thirty, if males, and under twenty-five, if females, who should marry in a clandestine manner, against the will and consent of their parents—excepting only the case in which the father was dead, and the mother married again—should forfeit their inheritance; and it was left at the option of the parents to make any or no provision for them; all such marriages were likewise declared null, unless consummation had taken place.

Another edict, less oppressive in its nature, and more salutary in its effects, though still too rigorous and severe, was published about the same time. Young women and widows, who had sacrificed their honour to the gratification of their passions, in order to conceal their disgrace, not unfrequently delivered themselves in private, and put the wretched offspring of their illicit amours to death as soon as it was born; if they were apprehended and prosecuted, they did not fail to alledge that the infant had given no signs of life, and provided they did not contradict this declaration, when applied to the rack, they were acquitted, and, emboldened by their escape, often repeated the same crime. To remedy this evil, any girl or woman, duly convicted of having concealed her pregnancy and delivery, and who should fail to produce her child, on being summoned so to do, was, by this edict, declared guilty of murder, and punished accordingly.







*Jones Fecit*

CATHARINE OF MEDICIS.

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## FRANCIS THE SECOND.

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A. D. 1559.] HENRY was succeeded by his son, Francis the Second, who, though the eldest of seven children, had but just entered his sixteenth year, when he was called to the throne. His education had been neglected, not from inattention or design, but from necessity; for frequent sickness and an habitual languor rendered him equally unfit for mental exertions, and for those martial exercises which, by invigorating the body, give strength and energy to the mind. His mother, Catharine of Medicis, had remained sterile for a considerable time after her marriage, and she was in danger of being divorced on that account, when the skilful efforts of Fernel, a celebrated physician, effected an alteration in her constitution, and removed the cause of her sterility; but the violent remedies she employed, as well before as during the period of her pregnancy, had a fatal effect on her first offspring, who exhibited, at his birth, every symptom of debility, and never enjoyed more than a passive existence: without desires, without vices, without virtues, pronounced of age by the law, but condemned by nature to a perpetual minority, he was destined to become a blind instrument in the hand of the first person who should take possession of him.

Under these circumstances, Catharine of Medicis might justly urge her superior pretensions to power; but as the times were turbulent and unsettled, requiring uncommon exertions of firmness, prudence and sagacity, she deemed it proper to associate with her, in the administration men of active and vigorous minds, who would take upon themselves the chief burden of the state. Though no friend to the Guises, she preferred their assistance, in the present instance, to that of the princes of the blood, who, having claims independent of her own, might, she thought, be induced to dispute her authority, and of the constable, whose severe and despotic disposition could ill-brook contradiction. No sooner were the eyes of Henry  
closed.



closed by death, than the Guises entered the dauphin's chamber, accompanied by the duke of Ferrara, their brother-in-law, and the duke of Nemours, and hailed him as their sovereign. They then conducted him to his mother's apartment, who was easily persuaded to remove him from the palace of the Tournelles to the Louvre, where he received the deputies from the parliament, to whom he announced his intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands, aided by the advice of his mother, and assisted by the experience of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, to the former of whom he had assigned the military department, and to the latter the finances.

Diana of Poitiers, the successful rival of Catharine of Medicis, did not suffer her pride to be humbled by the loss of her lover; the queen, impatient of revenge, sent to ask her for the jewels of the crown, and the keys of the king's private cabinet. "Friend,"—said Diana, to the man charged with this commission,—“is the king dead?” “No, madam,”—replied the messenger,—“but he cannot live many hours.” “Return then,”—said she—“to those who sent you, and tell them from me, that so long as he lives they have no right to command me; when he is gone they will have time enough to revenge themselves; but then, whatever they may do, will give me but little uneasiness, for after having lost my sovereign good, the only tie which attaches me to life, how trifling will every thing else appear!” Catharine would willingly have persecuted her, but the powerful families to which she was allied, interceded in her behalf, and convinced the queen that the gratification of her resentment would only be productive of disgrace to herself.

Bertrand, the keeper of the seals, was dismissed from his office, and retired to Rome; but the marechal de Saint André, who had amassed an immense fortune during the last reign, courted the friendship of the duke of Guise, and secured it by marrying his only daughter and heiress to one of the duke's younger sons. The constable Montmorenci seemed better entitled to respect, and better calculated to give uneasiness to the new ministry: independent of a property superior to that of almost any subject in France, and the degree of consideration which long services command, he opposed to the Guises, through himself and his numerous relations, a mass of power which it appeared difficult, and infinitely dangerous to attack. Grand master of the household, and constable of France; uncle to the admiral, and to the colonel general of the infantry; he held, either by himself, his children, or his nephews, the four best governments in the kingdom—Languedoc, Provence, Picardy, and the isle of France; the last of which included the capital: twenty regular companies, which formed more than one-half of the national forces, were commanded by himself or relations. Sensible, however, that he must no longer expect to hold the first place in the administration, he determined to raise up a formidable rival to the Guises, whose superior birth and quality would justify his own acceptance of a subordinate station. As soon, therefore, as the king was given over by his physicians, he dispatched a messenger to Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, to offer him his services, and to press him to hasten to court, in order to assume, in the council and in the government, that rank which

which was due to the first prince of the blood ; but before that monarch could be prevailed on to comply with his request, Montmorenci received a visit from the secretary of state, Aubespine, who, in the king's name, desired him to deliver up the *private seal* which Henry had entrusted to his care. Although this message ought clearly to have convinced him that his reign was at an end, yet he could not resist the temptation of having auricular conviction of the king's disposition towards him ; rather chusing, if he found it unfavourable, to take a voluntary leave, than to wait for his dismissal. Having, accordingly, assembled his sons and nephews, he went with them to the palace before the king had risen from table ; Francis took him by the hand, and led him to his closet, whither he was followed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, who never lost sight of him. The constable presenting his family to the king, expressed a wish that his majesty would confirm them in the possession of their places, and continue to favour them with the same special protection with which they had been honoured by his father : as he was proceeding to explain his wishes with regard to himself, the king, who was better tutored than Montmorenci had supposed, suddenly interrupted him, and said—That he was well apprized of the merits and services of those whom he had recommended to his protection, wherefore he confirmed them in the possession of their respective offices, and would certainly employ them, whenever an opportunity should occur, in preference to all others : that being equally sensible of the length and utility of his own services, in the two preceding reigns, and of the perfect confidence reposed in him by his father, he should settle all his salaries and pensions on him for life ; but that wishing to save him for particular occasions, and to release him, in his old age, from the cares of government, he had divided the administration between the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise, to the former of whom he had entrusted the management of the revenue, and to the latter the military department : that all he had to request of him was, that he would assist him with his knowledge, and attend, as often as he could, at the council, where he should preserve his ancient rank.

To this the constable replied, that the favour his majesty had voluntarily offered, of releasing him from the cares of state, he had come purposely to solicit ; but that, as his great age rendered it absolutely necessary that he should be wholly unmolested in his retirement, he must farther request that his majesty would dispense with his attendance at the council. He then quitted the king, and repaired to the apartment of the queen-mother, in order to inform her of what had passed. Catharine, considering the disdain with which the constable refused the seat that had been reserved for him at the council board as an affront offered to the king and to herself, advised him to act with more caution and prudence ; and, in a transport of passion, reproached him with the artifices he had employed in order to deprive her of her husband's confidence, and particularly with one expression, so imprudent, that it is inconceivable how a man of Montmorenci's sagacity could have suffered it to escape him : he had asked the king how it happened that none of his children resembled him except Diana, his natural daughter, who was widow to the duke of Castres, and had afterwards married the constable's eldest son. Montmorenci, however, strongly denied the fact, and

begged



begged the queen to recollect that he had a great number of enemies, who were the more anxious to promote his ruin, as they flattered themselves with the hope of dividing his fortune among them—" *But that,*" said he, "*will be a more difficult matter than they may imagine.*"

Mortified with the reception he had experienced, the constable hastened to complete the preparations for Henry's funeral, and after he had attended the corpse of his late sovereign to the royal vault at Saint Denis, he followed the court to Saint Germain, still uncertain whether he should pursue the advice of Catharine of Medicis, or adhere to his first resolution; but here his mortification was encreased, for the young monarch did not even deign to speak to him. Enraged at a treatment to which he had been so little accustomed, he resolved to retire without farther delay; and that the foreign ambassadors who had witnessed the insult might be convinced that though his credit was lost at court, his influence with the nobility remained undiminished, he set out from Saint Germain with such a numerous train of friends as gave to his retreat the appearance of a triumph, and left the court almost wholly deserted that day.

The queen-mother was highly displeased with the constable's retreat, for although he was no favourite of her's, she could have wished to keep him in the council, in order to restrain and balance the authority of the Guises. She began to be apprehensive that the power which she had been compelled to entrust to those princes, might be turned against herself; and that, supported by their niece, Mary Stuart, whose sweetness of temper and personal charms had given her a perfect ascendancy over her husband, they might be tempted to deprive her of the share which she had reserved in the administration: she thought, therefore, that the surest mode of removing such temptation would be to introduce a rival of consequence into the council, who would be always ready to replace them. Considering, moreover, that the state was already divided into factions, she could have wished to keep terms with all parties, and to insinuate herself into the confidence of the different leaders, were no other advantage to be reaped from thence than the discovery of their designs, which would always exempt her from the danger of being taken by surprise. As she had lost the constable, she had recourse to his nephews, the Châtillons, whose dispositions, more conciliating than that of their uncle, sympathized better with her own, and who possessed too great talents and consequence to be neglected by any party, and not to hold a superior station in that which they espoused. The Châtillons joyfully consented to a plan of which they were to reap the whole advantage, because they knew Catharine much better than she knew them. As to the Guises, they were well pleased at being rid of the constable, who could not but have restrained or retarded their operations; and, in order to render his seat at the council more disagreeable to him, in case he should be induced to change his resolution, they recalled the cardinal Tournon from Italy, the confidential minister of Francis the First, who had been sacrificed to the jealousy of Montmorenci, on the accession of Henry the Second.

Of the Guises, who acted such a conspicuous part during this reign, there were six brothers—the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Aumale, the marquis of Elbeuf, the cardinal of Guise, and the grand prior—but the two first only appear in the foreground of the political picture. The duke had secured the attachment of the troops, by the repeated proofs he had given of his skill and courage in the field; while his liberality, magnificence, and courtesy endeared him to the people. The cardinal was chiefly indebted for the extent of his influence to the strength of his oratorical talents, and the orthodoxy of his religious principles: his authority over the clergy was unbounded, for they considered him as the champion of their faith against the attacks of the heretics, and the defender of their property against the encroachments of the civil power. The dispositions of the two brothers, however, were very different; the duke was moderate, equitable, and intrepid in the hour of danger; the cardinal choleric, vindictive and enterprising, too readily elated by success, and too easily depressed by defeat<sup>1</sup>.

The Guises having succeeded in removing the constable, next directed their attention to the princes of the blood, who, though long accustomed to humiliation, might now reasonably be expected to stand forward as candidates for power, and assert the superiority of their claims. In order to keep them at a distance from the court, the most honourable commissions were assigned them: Lewis, prince of Condé, the most formidable of them all, was sent to the Low Countries, to be present when the king of Spain swore to observe the last treaty of peace: the duke of Montpensier was appointed to carry Philip the collar of the order of Saint Michael; and the cardinal of Bourbon, and the prince of la Roche-sur-Yon, were fixed on to conduct the princess Elizabeth, who was betrothed to Philip, to the frontiers of Spain.

Still the king of Navarre remained, and, as the first prince of the blood, he was indisputably entitled to the first seat at the council, and, in case the king were incapable of holding the reins of government in his own hands, he might have preferred well-founded pretensions to the high post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The constable, aware of this, had offered him his support; but Anthony, considering him as a sworn enemy to the princes of the blood, doubted his sincerity, and paid no attention to his proposal. Naturally timid and irresolute, he was long at a loss how to act; but finding the Guises aimed at a monopoly of power, he, at length, determined to repair to court. The news of his departure excited a general commotion in all the southern provinces: men of the first families mounted their horses, and attended by their neighbours, their relations and friends, met him on the road, and offered to accompany him. But they soon became so numerous, that, through fear of alarming the Guises, he was compelled to reject their offers, at the same time thanking them for their zeal, and requesting them to reserve it for a

<sup>1</sup> Mezerai, tom. vii. p. 152, 153.



future opportunity. The reformed, who, soon after this period, began to be distinguished by the appellation of *Hugonots*, and who already formed a powerful body in the state, regarding Anthony as their guardian angel, because he frequented their assemblies, and had often promised them his protection, sent to him their principal ministers, who pointed out the obligations he was under to God, and the designs of Providence, which having destined him, from all eternity, to make the purity of the Gospel triumph over the profanations of the Romish church, had miraculously raised him from the state of oppression under which he had long laboured, in order to entrust him with the exercise of the sovereign power; exhorting him to fortify his bosom with a degree of firmness and courage worthy the cause he was called upon to defend, lest the Almighty, who rejects all lukewarm votaries, should punish him for having made an ill-use of his gifts. Then telling him he might dispose of them, and of those who sent them, without reserve, they required, as a confirmation of their union, that he would begin by abolishing the mass and other remains of idolatry and superstition which were still practised at his house, since it was not proper to bargain with God, nor to set a scandalous example to his neighbour; they also demanded, that he would procure the extinction of the piles, which had been burning for forty years, by obtaining an edict, which would allow the free exercise of the reformed religion.

Anthony complied with the second article, which was the most essential point, but the execution of which by no means depended on himself: with regard to the first, he declared that, had he only listened to the dictates of his zeal, he should have prevented their remonstrances, by forbidding the celebration of mass, and all other papistical ceremonies in his palace; but that it had ever appeared to him that the interest of the Protestant church rendered it necessary for him to dissemble some time longer, because the reasons he meant to alledge in the council, in order to obtain the edict they desired, would have much greater weight if he appeared to be solely actuated by motives of justice, and a concern for the welfare of the state, than if every body were convinced that he was pleading his own cause.

Anthony had appointed a general rendezvous of all who were discontented with the present government at Vendôme, the chief city of his appanage. They accordingly attended on the appointed day, except the constable, who sent Dardois, his confidential agent, to represent him. As soon as the king of Navarre proposed the subject for deliberation, every body agreed in considering the domination of the Guises, whom they called foreigners, as an insult not only to the princes of the blood, but to the whole order of French nobility, whose honour and whose privileges were materially affected thereby; but though they were unanimous on this point, they differed essentially as to the means of repressing the usurpation of which they complained. The most violent, such as the prince of Condé, d'Andelot, and the count of La Rochefoucaud, observed that, there were but two means established by nature for one man to obtain of another the  
object

object of his desires—persuasion and force;—the first of which ought undoubtedly to be preferred, and always to be tried, whenever you had to deal with men who were just and enlightened; but, that with men of a different disposition, such a mode of proceeding would only be productive of shame, ridicule, and contempt: were the mode of persuasion to be adopted, they asked to whom were they to apply:—certainly either to the Guises themselves, to the king, or to the queen-mother: could any one suppose then, that by proving clearly to the Guises that they were usurpers, he could persuade them to resign that authority which they had disputed with so much violence during the preceding reign, and which they had just taken such pains to secure? By applying immediately to the king, the risk of degradation would be avoided, but another inconvenience would be incurred: every body knew that more weak in mind than body, his own senses lay dormant, and he could neither see nor hear but by the eyes and ears of the Guises; that they only imparted to him what they thought proper, and dictated all his answers: it was therefore to be expected either that their request would not be delivered to the king, or else be delivered together with the comments of the parties interested in its rejection, who would not fail to treat it as a defamatory libel: that the queen mother, who had joined the Guises in their persecution of the princes of the blood, would take to herself every reflection that might be cast on her associates; that all that could be expected from her, would be a declaration of her willingness to enter into an explanation; and that, conformably to the genius of her nation, she would amuse them by insidious negotiations, and conclude by sowing dissention among them: that, on the contrary, by having recourse to force, and suddenly arming, as they were incontestably authorized to do, since the same laws which called the head of the family to the throne, likewise called his nearest relations to take upon them the management of public affairs, when that head was notoriously incapable of governing himself, one of two things must happen—either the Guises, thrown into consternation by an unexpected attack, would enter into an accommodation, and resign one half of their power in order to preserve the other, or else would attempt to oppose force by force: in the first instance, they would become subordinate, and, in a short time, subjected to the princes of the blood, who would be able to diminish, and, finally, to annihilate the authority of their rivals: in the second, they would be under the necessity of summoning the nobility to their aid, and, excepting a very small number indeed, who had been seduced by pensions or places, the whole order would not fail to declare, in favour of the princes of the blood, against foreigners, and would, at least, demand the convocation of the states-general, which the Guises would never accord so long as their conduct exposed them to the censure of the nation: that, above all, it should be remembered that the success of all great undertakings generally depended on the manner in which they were begun: that celerity was essentially requisite, and that they should be particularly careful not to suffer the first ardour of their adherents to cool; that if the principal leaders appeared uncertain how to act, or allowed themselves to be amused by negotiations, discouragement and mistrust would take possession



sion of their followers, for every man would be anxious to negotiate after their example, or else would abandon the enterprize.

In opposition to these arguments it was urged by the admiral and Dardois, that celerity was not more requisite in the execution of a great undertaking; than prudence and deliberation in the formation of a scheme: that those who had just advised them to fly immediately to arms, evidently acted on two suppositions, which appeared; at least, doubtful:—first, that the Guises would be taken by surprize; secondly, that almost the whole order of nobility would espouse the quarrel of the princes with the same ardour by which they themselves were actuated: that, by this calculation, they ran an evident risk of being deceived both as to their friends and their enemies: that all who knew the Guises had a right to complain of their pride, their ambition, and injustice; but they could not reproach them with neglect, imprudence, or incapacity: that they might be assured, that, in a matter which affected them so nearly, they had compared the attacks to which they were exposed, with their means of defence: that the king's household troops, alone, of which they had the sovereign command, would suffice to disconcert any project that could then be attempted against them: that the princes could not possibly assemble their friends without their being immediately informed of it, and three hours would be sufficient for the court to repair to Paris, where they would have nothing to fear: that they had at their disposal disciplined troops, fortified towns, artillery, and ammunition, and that, deranged as the finances indisputably were, they would still be able to procure money enough to carry on the war for two or three years; whereas the princes and their friends, by their utmost exertions, would be unable to procure the necessary sum for raising and maintaining a body of ten thousand men during three months: that they ought to consider that the majority of them possessed but a moderate fortune, part of which consisted in salaries or pensions, paid out of the royal treasury, of which a simple suspension of payment would deprive them, and the remainder in estates, which might, by a sentence of the parliament, be confiscated to the king; that the greater part of the nation, exhausted by preceding wars, and sighing for repose, far from espousing their quarrel, as they seemed to flatter themselves, would not easily forgive them for re-engaging them in a civil war, on account of private interests by which they were but indirectly affected: that there were, at present, only two classes of men in the kingdom who were anxious to promote troubles; first, military men who had no property, and were accustomed to the licentiousness of camps; and secondly, all those who, professing the reformed religion, experienced in the midst of peace all the horrors of war: that the former, to whom all parties were alike, and whose only object was pay, would give the preference to the Guises, who had the treasury at their disposal: that the latter most cordially hated the Guises, who had placed themselves at the head of their persecutors, and would willingly sacrifice one part of their fortune in order to preserve the other; but as they only required the cessation of barbarous punishments, and the liberty of serving God according to their consciences, the moment they obtained these two points, they would lay down their arms, and it was not

not to be presumed that government, if reduced to extremities, would refuse them that gratification: that, under these circumstances, it appeared to them that the consequence of flying immediately to arms, would be inevitable destruction; and that as force, therefore, could be productive of no possible advantage, recourse should be had to the mode of persuasion, which was by no means so desperate as had been represented, provided it was used with patience and address: that the Guises, all audacious as they were, had not dared to deprive the princes of the blood of their seats in the council, nor of the rank they were destined to hold there: that there was nothing, then, to prevent the king of Navarre from taking his seat, and from presiding in the king's absence: that whatever pains might have been taken to exclude from the council all who were hostile to the Guises, yet Anthony would still find the great officers of the crown, and other secret partisans, by whose means he would be enabled to form a party: that by opposing all the violent and destructive projects that would be proposed, he would render the present administration unpopular, and would himself secure the esteem of the people, who would soon begin to consider him as their protector: that should he succeed in gaining over to his side the queen-mother, her assistance would alone turn the scale in his favour, and smooth every difficulty: that they saw no reason why she should not be gained; the displeasure she had shewn at the constable's retreat, and the advances she had made to his nephews, proved that she had not influenced, as much as was supposed, the choice of the new ministers, at least that she did not repose an entire confidence in them: that, in short, it was the more adviseable to try this plan, as, after it had failed, it would still be time enough to have recourse to more violent methods: that, in the mean time, they might sound their friends, watch their enemies, and avail themselves of all the faults that might escape them.

This last opinion met the approbation of the king of Navarre, inasmuch as it corresponded to his natural indecision, and differed but little from the advice he had previously received from his own ministers: he accordingly repaired to Saint-Germain, where the court then was, but having received the most pointed insults, as well from the Guises as from the king himself, he did not dare to take his seat at the council, but departed, with precipitation, for the capital. In concert with the prince of Condé, and others of the same party, he there endeavoured to secure the parliament in his favour, but their attachment to the religion of their ancestors prevented some of the judges, while the severities exercised against the protestants, towards the conclusion of the late reign, deterred others from acceding to their proposals. The Guises, meanwhile, apprized of their attempts, perceived the necessity of sending the princes from the capital, as soon as possible; they therefore hastened the preparations for the king's coronation, which ceremony was performed at Rheims on the twelfth of October, by the cardinal of Lorraine. Emboldened by the presence of the great officers of the crown, the king of Navarre now ventured to take his seat at the council; and his suggestions began to meet with at-  
tention.



tention, when an artifice of the Guises again made him change his resolution. They read, in his presence, a letter from Philip the Second to Francis, in which that prince offered, in consequence of the information he had received that some turbulent men had formed a plan for overthrowing the administration which had been so happily established, and for encroaching on the authority of the king, although he was of age, and perfectly in a condition to govern his kingdom, to send him, as his friend and brother-in-law, an army of forty thousand men, which he might dispose of at his pleasure for the purpose of reducing the insurgents to obedience. Anthony, hearing, at the same time, that Philip, after settling his affairs in the Low Countries, intended to embark for Spain, began to tremble for his principality of Bearn: resigning all his projects of grandeur, he only sought for an honourable pretext for retiring; and this his adversaries were careful to afford him, by proposing that he should, himself, execute the commission which had been entrusted to his brother the cardinal of Bourbon, and his cousin the prince de la Rochefur-Yon, and conduct the princess Elizabeth to the frontiers of Spain. He was afterwards detained in Bearn, with the vain hope of recovering his former dominions by a negotiation, with which he was amused by the queen-mother and the duke of Alva.

But though the Guises succeeded in their attempt to degrade the king of Navarre in the eyes of his own party, yet had they little reason to triumph, since, in lieu of a chief, negligent, pusillanimous, and irresolute, they had now to deal with one who was active, vigilant, and intrepid, and the more dangerous from having little to lose<sup>2</sup>. Lewis of Bourbon, prince of Condé, whom Anthony, at his departure, had appointed his substitute, concealed, beneath an ungraceful and diminutive form, and beneath an appearance of gaiety, thoughtlessness and dissipation, a mind deep, ardent and aspiring, which no difficulties could intimidate nor misfortunes depress. From his earliest youth he had been accustomed to court all the dangers of war, and his prowess in the field had been repeatedly displayed at the head of a troop of light-horse, but more frequently as a simple volunteer; yet his high and determined courage had passed unrewarded, and, in common with the other princes of the blood, he had been constantly excluded by the ministry from that rank and promotion to which his birth and his services afforded him so fair a title. In vain had he courted the favour of the constable by marrying Eleanor de Roye, niece to the admiral; the only post he had hitherto been able to procure was that of colonel of the Piedmontese bands, an inferior post, which he only accepted that he might not be totally destitute of employment in the state. The Guises, indeed, had entrusted him with an honourable commission at the court of Spain, but their only object in that appointment was to remove him from court, where his presence embarrassed them. Their

<sup>2</sup> La Planché—La Poplinière—Brantôme—De Thou.

conduct, indeed, in this very instance, sufficiently explained the motives by which they were actuated; for knowing the extreme narrowness of the prince's income, they ought either not to have given him an appointment that must necessarily be attended with very considerable expence, or else have supplied him with money sufficient to enable him to make such an appearance as his birth required: yet the cardinal of Lorraine, under pretence that the treasury was exhausted, had only given him a thousand crowns, by which means he had reduced him to the cruel necessity, either of rendering himself contemptible in the eyes of foreigners, or of contracting fresh debts. If, after this, the prince could have entertained any doubts as to the sentiments of the Guises with regard to himself, another transaction which occurred about the same time must totally have dispelled them.

While the court were at Rheims, the duke of Guise, in a private conversation which he had with the admiral, told him in confidence that a man, whose name he would not mention, but who passed for a friend of Coligni's, wished to deprive him of the government of Picardy, by representing that the incessant care and attention which the administration and defence of a frontier province required, were wholly incompatible with the duties of an admiral. Coligni could not mistake the person to whom the duke alluded, because the prince of Condé had been his competitor for the post, and he alone could form pretensions to an office which had been successively holden by his father and elder brother; he therefore entered into an explanation with the prince on the subject, and after expressing his concern, in the most affectionate manner, at his having applied to any other than himself, in order to obtain what he was justly entitled to, he offered to give up the government to him immediately. Condé protested, with great truth, that he had no concern whatever in the business, nor could he easily forgive the admiral for having thought him capable of an action so dark and treacherous. Coligni, however, still persisted in his determination to resign his post; for considering that he should be unable to keep the frontier towns in a proper state of defence, if the cardinal of Lorraine, who had the sole management of the finances, should refuse him the necessary supplies for that purpose; and that he should thereby run the risk of receiving an affront, either from the enemy in case of a war, or from the king himself, on his visit to the provinces, he rather chose to anticipate his adversaries, than to wait till they chose to dismiss him. He therefore gave in his resignation, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the queen-mother, and strongly recommended the prince of Condé as his successor, whose pretensions to that office were, he said, anterior to his own, and whom he never would have consented to deprive of it, but for the deference which he owed to the commands of the late king. But his recommendations were disregarded, and the government of Picardy was conferred on the marechal de Brissac; while the duke of Guise succeeded to the office of master of the household, which the constable was persuaded, by the promise of an adequate compensation to his son, to relinquish.



The prince of Condé was justly offended at the preference given, under such circumstances, to a private gentleman over a prince of the blood: and his resentment on this account probably induced him to pay greater attention to the suggestions of his mother-in-law, the lady of Royé, and to his wife, the princess of Condé, who being strongly attached to the new doctrines, and surrounded by enthusiastic ministers, had long exhorted him to open his ears to instruction, and to take under his immediate protection the numbers of unhappy men who were persecuted on account of their religious principles. The prince not only adopted the creed of the reformers, but publicly professed it, refusing to take any of those precautions, which the king of Navarre, from irresolution, and the admiral, from prudence, had thought it necessary to observe. Impatient to ascertain what were the real views of the reformed, what they expected from him, and what he might expect from them, he appointed a meeting of the principal Hugonots at his estate at Ferté, in Champagne.

This party was in a very different situation from that to which it had been reduced but a few years before: it no longer consisted of a few fortuitous assemblies of obscure individuals, whom the publication of an ordonnance, or the sight of a commissary, put to flight, and frequently dispersed never more to meet: it now formed an immense corporation of citizens of all ranks and conditions, who held assemblies *political* and religious<sup>3</sup>, and who began to calculate their strength: From Boulogne to Bayonne, from Brest to Metz, France was crowded with churches, whose enthusiastic ministers, long accustomed to brave the dangers of imprisonment and torture, inspired their proselytes with the same degree of audacity, and the same resolution; connected together by one common danger, they maintained a close correspondence with Calvin, and through his means, with some of the Swiss cantons, the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Hesse, who having embraced the same religion, thought themselves interested in procuring its solid establishment in a neighbouring kingdom. If, notwithstanding these advantages, the Hugonots still continued to keep themselves concealed, and to hold their assemblies in the night, even in those places where they were nearly as numerous as the Catholics, indignant at the restraint imposed on them, they took proper precautions for repelling any violence that might be offered them, and clearly evinced, by their conduct, that they only waited for a leader to make them act in concert with each other, in order to extort a toleration which they regarded as their right, but which they knew would never be voluntarily granted. The prince of Condé, who enjoyed but little credit at court and in the council, naturally inclined to the adoption of violent measures, but to this mode of proceeding an obstacle occurred, which, at first, they knew not how to surmount. Calvin, whose decisions were generally holden sacred, wishing to exempt himself from the

<sup>3</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 58.

reproach he had frequently incurred, of sowing anarchy and rebellion wherever his doctrine prevailed, had declared, in express terms, that every Christian owed a passive obedience to the magistrates assigned him by Providence, even when they made an ill use of their authority, by encouraging extortion, injustice and cruelty; and, in support of this declaration, he quoted the example of the early Christians, who had, without a murmur, obeyed a Caligula, a Nero, and a Domitian<sup>4</sup>: The synod, or national council, which had lately assembled in France, laid down the same principle as a fundamental point of their confession of faith: Calvin, too; and his principal disciples, agreed in considering any error in matters of faith as a capital crime, and enjoined the magistrates to punish with death such heretics as should refuse to renounce their errors. It was therefore supposed that Calvin, in conformity with his own principles, would never countenance subjects in taking up arms against their sovereign; or even, admitting that his zeal for the propagation of his doctrine would make him overlook so glaring an inconsistency, it was dreaded that some one of the numerous ministers who governed the different churches in France, might exclaim against a prevarication thus manifest, and disconcert

<sup>4</sup> The reproach urged against Calvin was indisputably founded in justice; and though, at Geneva, where he had sufficiently established his sway, and where, of course, he had but little opposition to dread, he might be induced to publish such a *pacific* declaration, in order to take off a part of that odium which his followers had incurred by their violence, it is certain that his disciples, in other countries, paid no obedience to it, and that he himself was never anxious to enforce it; where it could tend to check the propagation of his doctrine, or to repress that spirit of intolerance and persecution, political and religious, by which the Calvinists were, in general, distinguished. In Scotland, Knox, the friend and pupil of Calvin, so far from seeking to enforce respect for the laws, and obedience to his superiors, publicly preached, from the pulpit, SEDITION, REBELLION, and REGICIDE. (See Keith, p. 422.) In consequence of this, the people began openly to entertain doubts, whether they were bound to pay any civil or political obedience to the queen, whom he called an idolater. Nor were these infamous attempts confined to Knox alone; “inferior preachers”—says Dr. Stuart—“adopting the sentiments and language of this reformer, circulated them over the kingdom, and kept up and increased the ferments and dissatisfaction of her subjects.” (Knox, p. 315. Keith, p. 197—202.) In short, “*The rebellious turbulence, and the sacrilegious violence of the Reformed*” in Scotland, are justly represented by Mr. Whitaker, (Vol. III. p. 54.) as having greatly contributed to retard the progress of the reformation; and indeed the disgust and indignation which their conduct must naturally have excited in all moderate and rational minds, could scarcely have failed to produce such an effect. “They broke through all engagements. They trampled upon all honour. They set all Christendom and Heaven at defiance. And they established the reformation in Scotland with such a profligate contempt of God and man, as must make the cheek of an honest Protestant to burn with shame, and the heart of a real Christian to tremble with abhorrence.” Id. 478.

Bayle, in his Dictionary, speaking of *Buchanan*, who was a rank Calvinist, says, “I have heard a Scotch lord say, that when Buchanan was asked on his death-bed, whether he did not repent of what he had written *against Kings*, and, in particular against the honour of Mary, queen of Scots, he answered, I am going to a place where there are no kings.” This anecdote, indeed, is a forgery, but unless the character of Buchanan had justified its application, it would never have been framed. Baxter, a man of much greater honesty than Buchanan, but entertaining the same sentiments on particular points, is said to have made a new version of the Lord’s Prayer in part, and to have altered the passage—“Thy KINGDOM come,” into this—“Thy COMMONWEALTH come!”—which has properly been termed, The last Extreme of Republican Insanity!



the enterprize at the moment of execution: and, having a superior force to contend with, no success could be expected, without the most strict union, and the most inviolable secrecy among the confederates. As the utmost address and discretion were requisite in their conduct to the members of the reformed church in France, so was it equally necessary to consult the scruples and delicacy of those foreign powers, who had embraced the same communion with themselves, in order that they might not have to reproach themselves with engaging in a contest which their conscience reprobated: these considerations clearly proved, that the interests of religion, notwithstanding their vast influence over the minds of the multitude, could not be alledged as the direct and principal cause of an insurrection, and that, if they pretended to make use of them, it was only with the view to support a political reason, drawn from the laws and constitution of the realm<sup>s</sup>. No better could be found than the usurpation and tyranny of the Guises: some were of opinion that those ministers should immediately be declared enemies to the state; but others, observing that an assembly consisting only of twelve or fifteen persons, without any public character or any specific powers, was wholly incompetent to publish a similar declaration, proposed a mode of proceeding, which, though it would occasion a greater delay, was certainly more legal, and more respectable: this was to write down a certain number of questions to be submitted to the examination of the most profound divines and the most celebrated lawyers, as well natives as foreigners, in order that, if their decision should prove uniform, and such as they expected it would, it might be used to fascinate the eyes of the multitude, and to make them consider the leaders of the enterprize as the avengers of the laws, and the saviours of their country.

It was first asked—Whether, when a sovereign, either from extreme youth, or any other natural defect, was rendered incapable of governing, it did not belong to the nation to form a council of administration? and whether they who, without consulting the nation, had, by stratagem, taken possession of the supreme authority, and meant to maintain it by force, might not be regarded as usurpers and plunderers?

II. Whether the principal nobility of the kingdom, headed by one or more of the princes of the blood, had not a right to demand a convocation of the states-general, and to procure from the three orders, by lawful means, the liberty of assembling? What were the means which it was lawful to employ for that purpose, as well with regard to the sovereign, as to the other orders of the state?

III. Whether, if convinced that their humble request and their just complaints could not reach the ears of the king, without exciting the rage and provoking the resentment

<sup>s</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 62.

of those violent men who surrounded his throne, and imposed on his youth and inexperience, and without exposing the lives of their deputies to extreme danger, they would not be authorized in sending with them an escort of armed men, not for the purpose of attacking nor even of threatening any one, but merely to guard their deputies from all violence, as well on the road, as during their residence at court?

IV. Whether the provisional regulations which this assembly might be induced to adopt, would not have the force of law until the assembly of the states-general should meet, when they should be duly examined?

V. In what manner they ought to conduct themselves towards the oppressors of public liberty, and whether it was permitted to kill them, in case they could not seize their persons and bring them to a formal trial?

Such were the principal questions which the Hugonots wished to be propounded, before they proceeded to the execution of their plan. The prince of Condé was appointed their leader; and John de Barri, lord of La Renaudie, of an ancient family in the Perigord, but of a ruined fortune, was chosen for his lieutenant and representative. This man had been cast in a law-suit, and thrown into prison at Dijon for having produced fictitious titles; and, but for the protection of the duke of Guise, governor of the province, who favoured his escape, he would have been subjected to the degradation of corporal punishment. He then retired to Switzerland, where he imbibed the doctrines of the reformation; and, among his exiled countrymen, acquired an high and just character for intrepidity, eloquence, sagacity, and that spirit of enterprize so peculiarly requisite in the leader of a conspiracy. He became the general agent of the party: under the feigned name of Laforêt, and, in disguise, he traversed the different provinces of France, exploring the hopes and inflaming the resentments of those who professed the same religious principles with himself, and preparing their minds for a revolution. It was, probably, to the efforts of this sectary that Granvelle alluded, when, in a conference with the cardinal of Lorraine, in the preceding reign, he had told that prelate that his master would soon have to sustain both a civil and foreign war at the same time. The death of Henry, far from producing any alteration in the projects and designs of La Renaudie, increased the strength of his hopes, and the activity of his endeavours. Author of the plan which had been just adopted by the Hugonots, he was entrusted with the execution of it, the assembly only appointing six adjuncts, whose advice he was to take as often as he could.

The Guises knew nothing of this transaction; content with watching the king of Navarre and the constable, and thinking themselves rid of them, at least for a time, they laboured, in concert with the chancellor Olivier, to repair the disorders which had crept



into the administration, and to rescue the state from the ruin which seemed to threaten it. Though the treasury was exhausted, the nation considerably in debt, and demands were daily encreasing, yet the dreadful situation to which the farmers and peasants were reduced, rendered a considerable diminution of the taxes a matter of necessity. This being the case, it became of course necessary to diminish the expenditure in proportion: a matter not easy to accomplish, and the more disagreeable to the Guises as it could not fail to encrease the number of malecontents, as well as of their personal enemies.

They began by reducing the interests of the sums which had been borrowed of the bankers, as well in France as in other countries, during the late reign; and those bankers were compelled either to reimburse, or carry to account, all the money they had received above the rate of interest as now arbitrarily settled<sup>6</sup>. This measure was both unjust and impolitic: unjust, as it violated, without the consent of one of the parties, an engagement voluntarily contracted and solemnly confirmed: and impolitic, since it shut up those sources to which the nation had been accustomed to apply in the hour of distress.

They next proceeded to reduce the king's household, by suppressing all such places as were not absolutely necessary; those who held them received a pension, amounting, in some instances, to a third, in others to one half of their salary. After this suppression, money was still wanted to pay the few officers who were retained, because the domain of the crown, which had been originally destined for that purpose, was reduced almost to nothing by the numerous alienations by sale, and indiscreet liberalities of Francis the First and Henry the Second. The king, therefore, published an edict, by which he revoked all the concessions and gifts of his predecessors, excepting only the appanages of the princes of the blood, and the dowers of the princesses. Great numbers of the courtiers, whom this edict deprived of a considerable part of their fortune, vowed an eternal enmity to the Guises, although those ministers represented that they were not themselves exempted from the general law; it was, nevertheless, suspected either that the restitutions they made were fictitious, or that they had some secret means of making themselves amends for such a sacrifice. The constable, who had a great deal to lose, demanded an exemption on the plea of long services, and of his dignity as first officer of the crown: he entrusted this negotiation to the cardinal of Châtillon, his nephew, a prelate of insinuating manners, who was, at that time, regarded as the favourite of Catherine of Medicis. Whatever repugnance the cardinal experienced at soliciting an exception which he thought unjust, if the law were general, and odious if the constable's fortune were considered, he knew, on the other hand, that all his remonstrances would have no effect on the mind of his uncle, and that he must even serve him according to

<sup>6</sup> Piquerre—Lâ Planche—Villars—La Poplinière—Manuscrits de Fontanieu—Ordon. de Fontanon.

his will: he succeeded in his application through the credit of the queen-mother, who would sometimes insist on attention being paid to her advice and recommendation.

One half of the officers of finance were suppressed, and the other half were compelled to reimburse them the money they had paid for their places, which sums they were to repay themselves by *imperceptible degrees*<sup>7</sup>. With regard to the masters of requests, presidents, and inferior judges, in all the courts throughout the kingdom, an edict was published, by which the king declared, that on the death of the present possessors they should be reduced to the ancient number, that is, to the number which subsisted on the accession of Francis the First to the throne. By this edict the benefit of survivorship, with regard to such places, was destroyed. About the same time, an edict appeared, forbidding any person to carry fire arms, or to wear any dress favourable to the concealment of such weapons; a prohibition which had become absolutely necessary; for the high roads were filled with thieves; and robberies and assassinations were committed, in broad day, at the very gates of the capital.

But the most difficult, and not the least necessary task, yet remained to be accomplished; viz. The reduction of the army. It had been resolved in the council, after the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, to reduce the national forces to fifteen hundred lances, and six or seven thousand infantry; but many obstacles occurred to the execution of this plan. During the war, which had continued for nearly thirty years, a new generation of men had been formed, who knew no other profession than that of a soldier, and no other patrimony than their pay, and the contributions they levied: by suddenly depriving them of their situation in life, without affording them any other means of subsistence, the government would almost reduce them to the necessity of living by plunder. Nor was the situation of the officers much better than that of the soldiers: most of them were gentlemen, born with ambition, who had abandoned the care of their domestic concerns, and sacrificed the greater part of their fortune, in order to obtain promotion in the service, and to procure rank or pensions. These were not only debarred any kind of recompence for the loss they sustained by the reform, but were even deprived of their salaries for several quarters that were due to them: this violent and unjust plan had been adopted towards the conclusion of the last reign, and was pursued under the present. The commissioners appointed to superintend its execution had been exposed to the greatest danger: in order to get rid of the soldiers, they had divided them into different corps, arming those who were retained against those who were disbanded, and cutting to pieces such companies as were most untractable: numbers of them entered on board the fleet which Philip was

<sup>7</sup> Garnier.



fitting out against the states of Barbary. The officers insisted on being treated with greater delicacy and respect; and it was not possible to call in question their right to make a direct application to the king and his ministers, in order to solicit what was lawfully due to them: they accordingly repaired in crowds to Fontainebleau, where the court then resided. The duke of Guise, to whom they addressed themselves, listened to their remonstrances with all the respect and attention to which they were entitled; and as he had no money to give them, he did justice to their valour and their services, promised to recommend them to the king, and pledged himself that they should not be forgotten; but he begged them to consider that the finances were so far exhausted, and the king's revenue so deeply mortgaged, that his majesty was frequently in want of common necessaries; he exhorted them, therefore, to have patience, till such time as an opportunity should occur for making them ample amends, and for giving them employment. The cardinal of Lorraine, less affable in his disposition, and more easily alarmed than his brother, avoided them as much as possible, and refused to enter into any explanation: frightened at the number of claimants that presented themselves, and fearful lest they should assume a different tone from that of supplication, he adopted a resolution so strange, that one should be tempted to doubt its existence, were it not attested by several contemporary historians<sup>8</sup>. He caused gibbets to be erected before the gates of the palace, and a proclamation to be read in the streets, in the king's name, containing an absolute order to all persons who had not places at court, or were not inhabitants of Fontainebleau, to leave the town that very day, under pain of death.

As this tyrannical conduct could not fail to convert the disappointment of the military into rage and indignation, the duke of Guise, in order to avert its bad effects, resolved to provide for the officers, by sending an army into Scotland, which, about this time, he formed the vain project of uniting, irrevocably, to the crown of France<sup>9</sup>. The kingdom of Scotland was, by the furious zeal of the Calvinists, now reduced to a state of anarchy and confusion the most dreadful. The Scottish congregation, under the influence and management of that arch-rebel, John Knox, had persecuted, with wanton cruelty and malignant virulence, all who professed the established faith of the realm: the churches were pillaged, the monasteries ransacked, and the priests exposed to the most imminent danger: at length, the queen-regent, a woman of moderate principles, was induced to sign a capitulation, in which she granted them a toleration of their religion, while, on their side, they engaged to commit no farther depredations on the churches. But the rebels soon shewed by what principles they were actuated, for when they proclaimed the articles of agreement, they were careful only to publish such of them as were favourable to themselves, and had even the audacity to insert one article which was not to be found in the treaty<sup>10</sup>. This was one of the first samples of those infamous forgeries and impostures.

<sup>8</sup> La Planche—De Thou—Brantome.

<sup>9</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 85.

<sup>10</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 31.

which continued to mark the conduct of these fanatical traitors during the long contest which they maintained with their lawful sovereign. Things were in this situation when the Guises resolved to send an army to Scotland; it consisted of from six to seven thousand infantry, with a small body of light-horse: the chief command was entrusted to La Brosse, who was followed by Nicholas de Pellevé, bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, well-stored with syllogisms, authorities, citations, and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers.

Though the enemies of the Guises were already sufficiently numerous, yet do they seem to have studied the means of encreasing their number. Anne Dubourg, one of the members of the parliament, who had been committed to prison by Henry for delivering his sentiments with freedom on the subject of religion, was now proceeded against with the utmost rigour: in vain did he protest against the irregularity of the proceeding, against the competency of the court to try him, and against the admission of men who were his avowed enemies to sit as his judges; all his remonstrances were disregarded, and after a trial, which, from the injustice and partiality that marked it, could scarcely be called a trial, he was sentenced to be hanged: he was accordingly executed at Paris, and died with the same firmness and fortitude that had distinguished his conduct through life: the other magistrates who had been imprisoned at the same time were released, on making an apology for their imprudence.

During the trial of Dubourg the president Minart, one of his principal enemies, who had taken an active part in the business, was assassinated, one evening, on his return from the parliament, within a few doors of his own house. A great number of persons were arrested on suspicion of having committed the murder, but, after a strict examination, they were all released, except one Robert Stuart, a Scotchman, who, merely from the similarity of his name with that of the queen, had the presumption to claim a relationship with Mary. He had been often seen walking round the prison in which Dubourg was confined, and had had frequent conferences with that magistrate, who—it is worthy of observation—had warned Minart to desist from his persecutions, or he must not expect to see the end of the trial. The presumptions appeared so strong against Stuart, who was, moreover, *known to be a man of a determined spirit, and peculiarly fit for any act of desperation*, that he was applied to the rack: his resolution, superior to pain, baffled every effort to extort a confession; but as he was justly deemed a dangerous character, the cardinal of Lorraine thought proper to confine him in the castle of Vincennes<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>11</sup>Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 123, 129.—This Stuart was the same man who was afterwards employed by our profligate queen Elizabeth, and her no less profligate minister Cecil, in carrying on, in conjunction with the Scottish rebels, those infernal machinations which ended in the murder of the *virtuous* and the persecuted Mary. He effected his escape from prison in May, 1560.

Meanwhile



Meanwhile the assemblies of the Hugonots became more frequent, and a number of satires and libels, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, and to excite an insurrection, was distributed, by their emissaries, throughout the capital<sup>12</sup>. The Guises, on their part, not content with renewing the ancient ordonnances, and with encouraging informers, by the hope of reward, caused a new edict to be published, by which it was ordained that, all the houses in which such assemblies should be holden, should be razed to the very foundation, without even excepting those which belonged to religious communities, or to proprietors settled in the country, who, in this instance, were made responsible for the conduct of their tenants.

A goldsmith of Paris, named Ruffange, who had been expelled, for theft, from the congregation of the reformed, encouraged by the prospect of gain, and farther stimulated by the desire of revenge, entered into an association with two men of characters as infamous as his own; and these three determined to enrich themselves by informing against the Hugonots, not doubting but that they must make a rapid fortune, since it would be in their power to substantiate any accusation they should prefer, one of them standing forward as the informer, and the other two appearing as witnesses. In pursuit of this plan, they drew up a list of the names and places of residence of the principal citizens who frequented the assemblies, which they first presented to the president St. André, and the Inquisitor Démocharès, and through them, to the cardinal of Lorraine. The cardinal sent the list to the magistrates of the Châtelet, enjoining the greatest secrecy, and recommending them to take their measures with such caution that not a single soul should escape. They accordingly armed their serjeants, and having procured proper assistance, propagated a report, in order that the Hugonots might have no suspicions of their designs, that a gang of thieves had taken up their abode in the capital; and they paraded the different quarters of the town for several successive days, without entering any of the houses that had been pointed out to them, and even without approaching the suburb of Saint Germain, which, from being the chief resort of the Hugonots, was called *Little Geneva*; but when every thing was ready for the execution of their project, they suddenly entered that suburb, and invested the house of a person named Vicomte, who kept an hotel that was frequented by the most opulent Protestants, and by the deputies from Switzerland and Geneva. Friday was the day fixed on for this expedition, about dinner time, in order that the Hugonots might be surprised in the act of eating meat: in fact, there were fifteen or sixteen persons at table at the time, who, hearing a noise in the court before the house, looked out of the window, and perceived what was the matter. Most of them ran out of the back-door, and jumped over the garden wall; four only remained, of whom two were gentlemen of Anjou, brothers, of the name of Soucelles; these, drawing their swords, rushed into the midst of their enemies, wounded, in a dangerous

<sup>12</sup> La Planche—La Place—La Poplinière—De Thou—Bezé.

manner, ten or twelve serjeants, put Bragelonne, a magistrate who headed the troops, and his four commissaries, to flight, and opened themselves a passage into the street. The master of the house, with his wife, children, and father, were immediately seized, and dragged to prison, amidst the shouts of an immense multitude, attracted by the novelty of the sight; for, before the prisoners, were carried in triumph a roast capon, and several legs of mutton, destined to serve as evidence on the trial<sup>13</sup>.

Several other magistrates belonging to the Châtelet made similar attacks in different parts of Paris; breaking open the doors of all the houses inscribed on their list, most of which they found forsaken; because the most prudent of the Hugonots, having taken the alarm, rather chose to give up their furniture and effects, than to risk the loss of their liberty, and even of their lives. The officers of justice were attended by a crowd of thieves, who regarding the goods of the fugitives as public property, plundered the houses, and exposed the furniture to sale in the open streets and squares of the capital; while a multitude of children, too young to accompany their parents in their flight, were left to perish in the streets, with cold and hunger, no one daring to afford them assistance, through fear of incurring the suspicion of the government, and of subjecting themselves to similar persecutions.

The report of these horrors having reached the ears of the queen-mother, that princess called the cardinal to an account for so flagrant an abuse of authority; the prelate replied, that he had only advised the magistrates to enforce a rigid execution of the laws, which he deemed necessary for the preservation of tranquillity, and for the safety of the citizens; he then presented her with some papers which he said had been taken out of the pockets of one of the Hugonots, containing a number of satirical verses, and some remonstrances to the king on the abuses which prevailed in the government, and begged her to read an information which he held in his hand, of such a nature as to justify all the severities which had been exercised.

Two young apprentices, the one a painter, and the other a musical instrument-maker, had been initiated, by their masters, into the doctrines of Calvin, and taken to those nocturnal assemblies at which the Hugonots received the sacrament. Being afterwards driven, on account of their misconduct, from their master's houses, they returned home, and, going to confession, were sent, by the director of their consciences, to the president Saint-André, and the inquisitor Démocharés, who, after bestowing on them many caresses, took their deposition, in which they swore, that they had frequently attended the assemblies of the Calvinists, in the Place Maubert, at the house of an advocate, named Trouillas, who had a wife, and two daughters grown up: that, at a numerous assembly hol-

<sup>13</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 119.



den on the night of Holy Thursday ; after the service was over, the lights were extinguished, where each man laid hold of a woman, and that one of them had one of the advocate's daughters whom he knew very well, notwithstanding it was dark, and with whom he passed the remainder of the night. Catharine, enraged at the perusal of this deposition, acknowledged the justice of the cardinal's proceedings, and meeting, just after, with some of her maids of honour, whom she knew to be attached to the Hugonots, she repeated to them what she had read, and declared, that if ever they attended those assemblies, she herself would inform against them, and abandon them to all the rigour of the laws. Unable to contradict assertions so positive, the ladies contented themselves with expressing their doubts of the veracity of the deponents, and entreated the queen either to interrogate them herself, or to allow them to see them, and to endeavour to investigate the mystery. The cardinal had taken the precaution to bring the apprentices to Saint Germain, where they were examined, at the request of the queen-mother, by the chancellor Olivier, before whom they persisted in the same story they had already told ; but the maids of honour, more artful, and better adapted to the task, since they were not, like the chancellor, obliged to submit to the restraints of juridical forms, proposed questions to them which they were not prepared to answer, and by that means betrayed them into contradictions, which made people suspend their judgment till the business should have been farther investigated. The advocate and his unfortunate family were among the number of those who had abandoned their houses on the approach of the officers of justice: apprized, by public report, of the infamous attack made by the tongue of calumny on the reputation of his children, he yielded, after a long struggle between paternal affection and the dictates of honour, to the desperate resolution which his daughters had formed, of surrendering themselves to their persecutors, and submitting to those juridical proofs established by the civil law for ascertaining disputed virginity. They accordingly repaired to the prison of the Châtelet, accompanied by their mother, who immediately presented a petition, desiring that her daughters might be examined, and that she herself might be permitted to prosecute the calumniators of her childrens' honour. Her prayer was granted; but although the report of the matrons appointed by the court to inspect her daughters persons was as favourable as she could wish it, she could neither obtain redress for the injuries they had sustained, nor even permission to quit the prison to which they had voluntarily surrendered themselves.

The people of Paris, whose bigotted rage was increased by the prospect of pillage, and inflamed by the violent exhortations of certain enthusiastic monks, persecuted, without mercy, a sect they were taught to consider as enemies both of God and man. Among other means that were prescribed for the detection of such as endeavoured to conceal their sentiments, the following was deemed the most efficacious: as the Hugonots were known to abominate the worship of images, they placed at the corners of streets and the doors of the most spacious houses little statues of the Virgin, and of different saints, at the foot of which they placed a table in the form of an altar, decorated with lighted torches. If any person

person passed by without kneeling, or, at least, saluting the image with great devotion, some men, who were concealed in the neighbouring shops, ran after him, and either compelled him to comply with this ceremony, or else dragged him before a commissary. In order to defray the expence of these lights, they made a box, which they called *tirelire*, which they presented to the passengers, and whoever refused to put some money into it was insulted, beaten, and even exposed to the danger of assassination. These insolent marauders even broke open the doors of the houses, and visited every room, under the pretence of searching after heretics. It often happened that good Catholics, who had the misfortune to be rich, received the same treatment as the Hugonots; their debtors watched their motions, laid wait for them in retired places, and by dint of threats or blows procured a receipt in full: many of them were even massacred, and their houses pillaged<sup>14</sup>.

A. D. 1560.] At the commencement of this year, the king, whose general debility was greatly encreased, and in whose face several reddish spots had lately appeared, was advised by his physicians to repair to Blois, where the air was more salubrious and temperate than at Saint-Germain, and there prepare himself, by moderate exercise, for the use of the aromatic baths. Some evil-designing persons, apprized of his intentions, had spread a report that the king was afflicted with the leprosy, and that the only remedy which could be of service to him was to bathe in the blood of young children. A number of emissaries had visited all the villages within twenty leagues of Blois; and while some, without entering into any explanation, took an exact list of the most healthy and beautiful children; others, who followed them at some distance, revealed the secret, and promised the parents, for a trifling reward, to procure the erasure of their children's names from the fatal list. By this abominable manœuvre, the report, absurd as it was, obtained such credit with the common people, that, instead of the acclamations of joy with which they were wont to hail their sovereigns, alarm, sorrow and desolation marked the progress of the court. Most of the towns and villages were abandoned, while such as had courage to remain in their houses, had strongly barricaded the doors, and did not even dare to look through the windows: troops of peasants, carrying off their children, were descried in the fields, at a distance from the high roads; and when pursued, they fell on their knees, and in the most piteous accents implored mercy for their children. The king, at this unusual spectacle, burst into tears, and insisted, with such eagerness, on knowing the cause of it, that his attendants were under the necessity of telling him the truth; he endeavoured to dispel the fears of the wretched fugitives, and ordered the strictest search to be made after the authors of such an infamous report; but they had all disappeared except one, who was apprehended at Loches. This man, when applied to the rack, had

<sup>14</sup> Garaier, tom. xxviii. p. 141.



the audacity to maintain that he had only acted in obedience to the orders of the cardinal of Lorraine; and the Hugonots, taking advantage of his confession, circulated a number of libels, in which they asserted, that the Guises, claiming a descent from the kings of the second race, and intending to expel the descendants of Hugh Capet from the throne, had maliciously spread this injurious report against the reigning family, in order to render them objects of contempt, and to prepare the minds of the people for a revolution: that, having already supplanted the princes of the house of Bourbon, they had now nothing more to do, than to rid themselves of four defenceless children, who were entirely left to their discretion. Although it was grossly absurd to suppose that the Guises, uncles and first ministers to the king, would conspire against his life, on which their power and greatness depended, and aspire to a throne whence they were excluded, not only by the king's three brothers, who were all in perfect health, but by four or five other princes of the blood, who had children themselves, yet this accusation obtained great credit.

The cardinal, on the other hand, maintained, with greater probability, that this detestable plot had been conceived in those nocturnal assemblies, in which the Calvinists were less employed in religious exercises, than in machinations against the state: that, having long since planned the destruction of the established religion, but despairing to accomplish their purpose so long as it was supported by royal authority, the sectaries had turned their hatred and their efforts against their lawful sovereign, aiming at nothing less than the total abolition of royalty in France, and the formation of a number of small republics, on the ruins of the ancient monarchy, after the model of Geneva and Berne: and that it was both the interest and the duty of all who were sincerely attached to the religion of their ancestors, and who loved their king and country, to unite their endeavours for defending the state against such pernicious innovations. Having easily persuaded the king of the truth of his assertions, he procured the publication of an edict, still more rigorous than the preceding one, against conventicles, where, it was said, many infamous attacks on the reputation of his majesty were encouraged, in order to excite the people to acts of sedition and revolt.

During these transactions, the queen of England had concluded a treaty with the Scottish rebels, and prepared a manifesto in justification of her conduct. In vain did the bishop of Valence and the chevalier Seurre, the French residents at the court of London, to whom she had given a copy of her intended proclamation, represent to her that a publication so replete with personal invectives, rather represented a satire than a manifesto, beseeching her to omit every thing that was foreign from the cause she had undertaken to defend; better informed than they of what was then passing in France, and of the necessity to which the Guises would be speedily reduced of renouncing their designs upon Scotland, in order to provide for their own safety, she refused to make any alteration;

teration; and having published her manifesto, she sent several copies of it to her secret partizans on the continent.

The court, during their residence at Blois, were kept in a continual state of anxiety and alarm: a courier, charged with some important intelligence for the king, was murdered and stripped at the very gates of the town: and Julian Formé, messenger to the Inquisition, as he was carrying dispatches from the inquisitor Démocharés to the cardinal of Lorraine, experienced a similar fate, a few days after. Advice, too, was received from Spain, the Low Countries, and some of the German courts, that a dangerous conspiracy was formed in the kingdom<sup>15</sup>. The duke of Savoy gave some indications less vague, but still insufficient to point out the nature or the authors of the plot: placed in the vicinity of the Swiss and the Genevese, who, in concert with Francis the First, had dispossessed him of a part of his inheritance, and interested in keeping a number of spies among them to give him intelligence of what passed in their assemblies, he sent the king word that there was a general commotion among the French refugees established in those countries, who were buying horses and arms wherever they could be met with, in expectation of a revolution that would enable them to return in triumph to their own country.

In fact, La Renaudie, immediately after the meeting of the principal Hugonots at La Ferté, had visited Geneva and Lausanne, where, it is highly probable, the famous consultation, in consequence of the questions proposed by that meeting, was drawn up by Francis Hotman, son to a councillor of the parliament of Paris, and one of the most celebrated lawyers of the age; by Spifame, formerly a magistrate belonging to the same court, afterwards bishop of Nevers, and lastly minister at Geneva; by Theodore de Bezé, the best writer of the party; and by Calvin himself, although he afterwards declared that he had taken no direct part in the business<sup>16</sup>. He then traversed Switzerland and a part of Germany, as well to procure signatures, as to engage the refugees to contribute, as far as their fortune would permit, to the expences of an enterprize, the object of which was to restore them to their country and their families. It is not to be wondered at that these unfortunate exiles, who were tempted by so flattering a prospect, and who thought themselves safe in the midst of men who professed the same religious principles with themselves, should give vent to their feelings, and be less reserved than those Hugonots who remained in France, where they were continually surrounded by informers and spies; nor that the duke of Savoy should be better informed than the Guises. As soon as La Renaudie had obtained all the signatures he could, he returned to Lyons, where he had appointed a meeting of the persons who formed his council. It was there agreed, that each of the conspirators should be supplied with a tennis-ball, half-white and half-black, by means of

<sup>15</sup> Bezé, Hist. Eccles.—La Planche—Relation imprimée—De Thou—Calv. Epist.—Le Frere de Laval—D'Aubigné.

<sup>16</sup> Garnier.



which they might be known to the party, and that a fresh assembly should be appointed, for the first of February, to consist of a great number of representatives from all the provinces in the kingdom. The city of Nantz was fixed on for the rendezvous, as a place at which the collection of a great concourse of people would be least observed, as well on account of its flourishing commerce, which continually drew thither a multitude of foreigners, as because it was the seat of a parliament, and that numbers of the nobility were expected there, about this time, to attend the celebration of a marriage. On the appointed day the Hugonots entered the city, in various disguises, and in the evening they met at the house of La Garaye, a gentleman of Brittany.

La Renaudie, in a long speech, declared the purpose of their meeting; expatiated on the tyranny of the Guises, and on the persecutions to which the Protestants had been exposed during their administration; explained the result of his applications to foreign princes and republics, and read the opinions of the most celebrated lawyers and divines (as contained in the consultation above-mentioned), in answer to the questions which he had been ordered to propose to them by the private meeting at La Ferté.

After dwelling, at considerable length, on these subjects, he thus concluded his speech:

“ You are now acquainted with the true object of our meeting, and with the points on which you are to deliberate. Chosen by the nobility of all the provinces in the kingdom, members and protectors of the reformed church; convened, in short, under the authority of a prince of the blood; you represent, as far as circumstances will permit, the states-general of the kingdom, and you have a right to form provisional regulations, which will have the force of law, until such time as the real states-general shall be assembled. According to the opinions which I have read to you, it would be lawful for you to bring the Guises to trial, and to give some one of us a commission to bring them before you alive or dead: but let us avoid every thing that has an appearance of violence, and respect to the last that authority which is abused to our prejudice. It is my opinion, therefore, that we should begin by electing, in the principal churches in the kingdom, a certain number of deputies to present a petition to the king, in which, after explaining the horrid oppressions to which we have been exposed, we should demand either the free exercise of our religion, or a convocation of the states-general; and that, considering the danger of executing such a commission, an escort should be provided for the deputies, capable of protecting them from insult. If the Guises should refuse them access to the throne, let them be immediately seized, and reserved for condign punishment; if they should put themselves in a state of defence, and by that means render it impossible for us to proceed according to the usual forms, let their lives instantaneously pay the forfeit of their crimes, that we may, at least, have the satisfaction of delivering our country from her tyrants. But in order that the rectitude of our intentions may never be called in question, let us now protest, and reduce our protest to

“ writing,

“ writing, that nothing shall be undertaken or attempted against the sacred person of the king, against the two queens, nor against the children of France.”

This protest being signed by all present, it was decreed that La Renaudie should assemble, in the name and under the authority of their chief (alluding to the prince of Condé, whose name, however, was never mentioned during the whole of the business) as an escort to their deputies, five hundred gentlemen well mounted, and armed at all points, not for the purpose of attack but for that of defence, and a thousand or twelve hundred infantry, to be raised in the different provinces of France, and to be commanded by thirty experienced captains, who should so regulate their march, that they might all arrive on the same day, the tenth of March, in the environs of Blois. The different provinces were then divided among the principal gentlemen of the party: Gascony was assigned to the baron de Castelnau; Bearn, to Mazeres; Perigord and the Limosin to Mesmi; Poitou to Vaillibrezé; Saintonge to Mirebeau; Brittany to Montejean; Maine and Anjou to la Chesnaie; Normandy to Sainte-Marie; Picardy to Coqueville; Champagne, Brie, and the isle of France, to Ferriere Maligni; Provence and Dauphiné to Mouvens; and Languedoc to Château-Neuf. It was agreed that each of these gentlemen should, in his absence, appoint one or two lieutenants, who, after the period appointed for the execution of their plot, should arm the people of his department, and, where they were sufficiently strong, should take possession of the different towns, seize all the money belonging to the king, and so contrive that the Guises should neither receive money nor troops. After interchanging vows of fidelity, the company parted in order to prepare for their projected enterprise.

The preparations were carried on with rapidity, and the Guises, notwithstanding their numerous spies, and notwithstanding the advice they had received from foreign courts, would have been taken by surprise, if the man who was most interested in the success of the scheme had not himself betrayed the secret<sup>17</sup>. La Renaudie, who had assumed the name of Le Forêt, went to Paris, in order to inform the prince of Condé of what had passed at Nantes, and to confer with Chandieu, the minister, and the elders of the reformed church in the capital, on the subject of the contributions they were to supply on the present important occasion. He took up his residence at a house in the suburb of Saint Germain, belonging to one Peter des Avenelles, an advocate, who secretly professed the reformed religion. This man perceiving, from the numbers of people that visited La Renaudie at all hours of the day and night, from the anxiety visible in their countenances, and from certain expressions which escaped them, that some great enterprise was in agitation, reproached him with his want of confidence in a person who was so firmly attached to the party, and by that means extorted from him a confession of all the resolutions adopted by the assembly

<sup>17</sup> La Planche—La Poplinière—De Thou—Memoires de Condé—Davila.



at Nantes. But though Avenelles had solemnly sworn to observe the most inviolable secrecy, either the dread of punishment or the hope of reward operated so powerfully on his mind, that, as soon as La Renaudie had left his house, he went to de Vouze, a master of requests, and Millet, secretary to the duke of Guise, to whom he revealed the whole secret. The Guises immediately communicated the matter to Catharine of Medicis, who, in the midst of her alarms, recollecting a letter she had received two months before from the ministers of the reformed church at Paris, in which they warned her of the danger to which the government would be exposed, should they persist in persecuting the Hugonots, could not forbear observing that those sectaries were men of their words. The chancellor Olivier, deeply affected at the news, reproached, with great bitterness, the Guises, for having neglected to follow his advice, for the violence of their administration, the tone of authority, and the threats, which, in spite of his remonstrances, they had substituted for the language of confidence and affection, so proper to proceed from the mouth of a king of France, and a monarch of sixteen; and he declared, that to their own obstinacy alone they ought to ascribe the dreadful situation to which they were now reduced.

As the town of Blois was destitute of fortifications, it was thought proper to remove the king to the castle of Amboise, which was more capable of sustaining an attack. Thither, accordingly, the court repaired, under the pretence of enjoying the amusements of the chace. At the first council that was holden after their arrival at this fortress, the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise differed in their opinions, as to the measures to be adopted on the present emergency. The cardinal, whose fears magnified every danger, insisted that all the disciplined troops, stationed in the frontier-towns, should be immediately ordered to join the king; that orders should be sent to all the seneschals and governors, to assemble the ban and arriere-ban, and to attack all persons who should be found passing through the provinces in military accoutrements; that the mayors and aldermen of the different towns should be summoned to arm the citizens; and that all these measures should be rendered as public as possible, for the cardinal observed that, as the conspirators had relied on taking them by surprise, it would infallibly happen, either that they would desist from their enterprize as soon as they found their intentions were known, or if any of them were daring enough to persist, that they would be cut in pieces before they could possibly reach the place appointed for their junction.

The duke of Guise admitted, that by adopting this plan the conspirators would infallibly abandon their enterprize; but he observed, first—That they would boldly maintain, and it would not be possible to prove the contrary, that they had not the smallest idea of committing the crime imputed to them, and that it was a new invention of their enemies, in order to justify, in the eyes of the multitude, the cruelties that were exercised against them: secondly, that it would be impossible to arm the nation, without affording an opportunity for the destructive gratification of private hatred and animosity, and for the commission of murders, theft, and every species of depredation, the whole odium of which would,

as usual, fall upon government: thirdly, that by seeking to repel the disorder, they would lose all hopes of effecting a cure, since the dangerous leaven which was driven back into the body would continue to ferment, and would contract a greater degree of malignity: that, in fact, the leaders and chief instigators of the enterprize, rather warned than discouraged, would take their measures better another time, and not afford them an opportunity of preparing for their defence; whereas, by leaving them at full liberty to manifest their pernicious designs, there was almost a certainty of catching them in their own snares, and of giving a mortal blow to the party, by depriving them of their leaders; and even, should those leaders escape, they would at least have the advantage of knowing *who* they had to deal with; and the hypocrites, being once exposed, would no longer be able to deceive any one, but, on the contrary, would become objects of execration to all Europe: that it, therefore, appeared to him that there was no room for hesitation as to the best mode of proceeding, provided the plan he proposed did not expose the king's person to any real danger; and it was evident, he said, that men who had neither camps nor ammunition, could never force the castle of Amboise, which was well supplied with artillery, and the approaches to which were difficult, even were it defended only by the household troops: that there was nothing, however, to prevent them from sending for a few regular companies that were quartered in the vicinity; and from inviting such of the neighbouring gentlemen, on whose fidelity they could rely, to attend the king without delay: that according to the calculations he had made, the Hugonots could not possibly arrive at Amboise in less than three weeks, a much longer time than was necessary to put the place in a proper state of defence: that the only thing to be dreaded was the loss of time, which appeared to him inevitable, in observing the judicial forms, and in proceeding according to the usual mode in all ordinary cases; that it therefore seemed indispensably necessary that the king should arm some one of his subjects with the whole of his authority—as was customary on urgent occasions—by declaring him lieutenant-general, with supreme power in all cases, civil and military; and, should his majesty's choice fall upon him, he would take upon himself to answer for the event.

The strength of these reasons, the assurance with which they were delivered, and still more the proofs of prudence, courage, and skill which the duke had exhibited in conjunctures not less embarrassing than the present, induced the council to adopt his proposals. Catharine, though she preferred the expedient suggested by the cardinal, as the safest, at length yielded to the majority, and soon after the commission of lieutenant-general was given to the duke of Guise. Olivier, who thought that the authority of the Guises was already too extensive, refused, at first, to affix the seal to the commission; and when the king's orders obliged him to comply, he added restrictions by which the exorbitant power thus granted to a subject was limited to the time that the conspiracy which had given rise to it should last.

But while the duke of Guise endeavoured to inspire others with confidence, he was not without inquietude himself: knowing the talents of the three Châtillons, and particularly



of the admiral, formerly his comrade in the field, but now his most inveterate enemy, he foresaw that if they were the conductors of the enterprize, they must have taken their measures so well that he should not be able to foil them without great difficulty and considerable danger. In order to learn whether this was the case, he had recourse to Catharine of Medicis, who preserved an appearance of intimacy and confidence with them. The queen-mother accordingly wrote to request their immediate attendance at court, as she wished to have their advice on a matter of the utmost importance. Although it does not seem probable that the three brothers, who were avowed partizans of the new religion, and inseparable friends of the prince of Condé, should not have been apprized of the conspiracy, yet the whole of their conduct tends to demonstrate that they had taken no immediate part in it, that they had not attended any of the assemblies at which the plot was formed, and that, following the example of the king of Navarre and the constable, they had determined to wait the issue of the business before they declared themselves. They obeyed the summons from Catharine without the smallest hesitation, and that princess having conducted them to her closet, where they found the chancellor, informed them of the discovery that had been made, and conjured them, by the friendship they bore her, not to abandon her at such a dreadful conjuncture: then addressing herself to the admiral, she desired him to declare, with that frankness and candour which she had ever remarked in him, whence the evil proceeded, and what remedy should be applied.

Coligni, after assuring her that he and his brothers would never forsake her, but would shed the last drop of their blood in her defence, were such a sacrifice necessary, observed that the only cause of the insurrection was the excessive rigour with which all who professed to live according to the purity of the Gospel were persecuted, without being permitted to justify themselves, or without any attention being paid to the offers they had so repeatedly made, of submitting to the decisions of a council, either general or national: that it was infinitely dangerous to reduce a great number of men to the necessity of chusing between the service which, in their opinion, they owed to God, and the obedience and duty they owed to the king; but that this danger was much greater at a time when every body knew that the king, from the weakness of his age, was incapable of holding the reins of government, and entrusted them, not to the princes of the blood, but to two foreigners, who, though highly deserving in many other respects, had not the same claims to the respect and confidence of the people. That she must have learned from experience, that punishments and all acts of violence were better calculated to augment the disgust of his majesty's subjects than to bring them back to the right way: that the number of those who professed the new doctrines was so great, and included men of such high rank, that it was not to be expected they would any longer submit to the same treatment which they had experienced under the last reign: that he was, therefore, of opinion, that the only efficacious remedy that could be applied to this alarming evil, was the publication of an edict, by which the king should put a stop to all proceedings commenced against a number of unhappy men, whose only crime was an excessive attachment

tachment to opinions which they believed to be just; permit his subjects to live according to their consciences, and prevent any person from being molested on account of his religion, till all power of controversy should have been explained and decided by a council: he added, that if this edict should come too late to avert the storm with which the government was threatened, it would at least prevent its bad consequences, which were infinitely more to be dreaded than the tumult itself, since, by depriving the leaders of the conspiracy of the only pretence they had employed for exciting the people to revolt, they would speedily reduce them to the necessity either of returning to their duty, or of submitting to a voluntary exile.

This opinion was discussed in the council, and was so strongly supported, that the Guises did not dare to oppose it; but they took care, under pretence of preserving the royal authority from encroachment, so to word the edict, as to render it wholly inadequate to the purpose it was intended to promote. The king was made to declare, that, on his accession to the throne, having found several provinces of his kingdom already infected with the poison of heresy, as well through a crowd of preachers imported from Geneva, as from a profusion of dangerous publications read without precaution, he had thought it his duty to have recourse to exertions of vigour in order to check the progress of the contagion: but that having since discovered, by informations and depositions, taken in the different tribunals, that the greater part of those who followed the doctrines and frequented the assemblies of the Hugonots, were artisans and tradesmen, credulous women, simple girls, and inexperienced young men, who had been led astray rather by curiosity than malice; and that, by giving them up to the severity of the laws, he should have the mortification to see the first year of his reign distinguished in history by a dreadful effusion of his subjects' blood: that, unable to support this idea, and wishing, after the example of the heavenly Father, to show mercy, and to try what effect exertions of mildness and clemency would produce on the hearts of his children, he decreed and ordained that all proceedings begun on account of religion should be annihilated, excepting only from the general pardon the preachers, and those who, under pretext of religion, conspired against himself, the two queens, his brothers or other princes of the blood, or his principal ministers; and those who had, by violent means, taken prisoners from the hands of justice, or who had assassinated his couriers, and carried off their dispatches. As if these restrictions had not been sufficient, the order for the parliament to register this edict was accompanied by private letters from the king, the queen-mother, and the Guises, exhorting them to insert in their secret registers all the modifications they should think necessary, and in the execution of the edict never to lose sight of such modifications; but not to suffer this part of their conduct to transpire.

The edict was published at Paris on the eleventh of March; and on the preceding day the principal conspirators had assembled, according to agreement, at the castle of



Fredonniere, situated at a small distance from Blois<sup>18</sup>. From the sudden removal of the court, and various other circumstances, they had no longer any doubt but that their secret was discovered, and that they should find their enemies prepared to receive them: but considering that they had advanced too far to retreat, and that it was better to perish sword in hand, than to die by the hands of the executioner, they resolved to defer the accomplishment of their project for a few days, in order to reconnoitre the weakest parts of the castle of Amboise, and to give time to the troops that were still on their march to arrive. The prince of Condé, faithful to his engagements, had just reached Amboise with his gentlemen, among whom was young Ferriere-Maligni, who, leaving his lieutenants to conduct the militia of Champagne and the isle of France, had undertaken to introduce sixty determined soldiers into the town of Amboise, and thirty into the castle, intending to conceal them in the cellars and garrets of the house in which the prince was to reside, and, on the arrival of their friends, to place himself at their head, massacre the duke of Guise, and open the gates to the troops. By the manner in which Condé was received on entering the town, and by the extreme vigilance with which the castle gates were guarded, he knew that the conspiracy had been discovered, and that he himself was suspected. Certain, however, as far as a man could be in such a case, that he had not been personally accused, and ascribing the embarrassment and inquietude which his presence occasioned to his known attachment to the reformed religion, he endeavoured to efface these dangerous impressions, by appearing more enraged than the rest of the courtiers at the traitors who had dared to conspire against the king. He offered to cut them in pieces if they would suffer him to fall forth with two or three companies of light-horse, not aware that this excess of zeal, so far from removing, must naturally tend to confirm the suspicions of the Guises.

The duke of Guise, whose preparations were all made, began to fear that they had either given him a false alarm, or that the conspirators had lost their courage on finding their plans discovered, when he received advice from the count of Sancerre that the baron de Castelnau had passed through Tours with a party of troops; and this news was speedily confirmed by similar intelligence from other quarters. Among the conspirators whom Avenelles had denounced, was a gentleman named Linieres, whose brothers belonged to the household of Catharine of Medicis. The Guises, through their means, promised him not only a free pardon, but a considerable reward, if he would inform them of all the resolutions and proceedings of the conspirators. To this Linieres consented, and he accordingly continued to attend their meetings, and as soon as he had learned their last resolutions, he secretly retired to court, and revealed the whole to the minister. In consequence of this intelligence, the duke of Guise ordered the park gate, by which the

<sup>18</sup> La Planche—La Place—La Poplinière—De Thou—Davila—Castelnau—Belleforêt—Brantome—Memoires de Condé.

Hugonots intended to make their principal attack, to be blocked up; he then placed corps-de-garde in proper situations, and pointed out to his officers the posts they had to defend. As he could not avoid employing the prince of Condé, he gave him as an associate his own brother, the grand prior of France, with some other officers, who had orders to pay greater attention to the motions of the prince than to those of the enemy: he likewise took the same precautions with regard to the Châtillons. The rest of the troops were divided into bands, under the command of experienced captains, to whom the duke pointed out the different roads they were to pursue, and the places where they were to lay in wait for the enemy. The duke of Nemours, leaving Amboise in the night with a company of light-horse, took post near the castle of Noizai, where the troops from Gascony and Bearn were stationed. He surprized and carried off captains Raunai and Mazeres, as they were walking in one of the avenues, while the baron de Castelnau was left to defend the fortress. Nemours, leaving the greater part of his company before the gates of the castle, to prevent the garrison from escaping, conducted his two prisoners to Amboise. Castelnau ought to have taken this opportunity to have cut his way through the enemy; but as the castle of Noizai was one of the principal magazines for arms and ammunition in the possession of the conspirators, and as the loss of it would have rendered useless a great number of soldiers, who were to repair thither unarmed, in order to escape observation, he was loth to abandon it, and, therefore, contented himself with sending several messengers to La Renaudie, to advise him of the capture of his two companions, and of the danger which threatened him, unless he were speedily relieved. Nemours, however, soon returned with such a superior force, that Castelnau, finding his men totally disheartened, and deprived of all means of escape, at length consented to a conference. Nemours asked them what was the object of their taking arms, and whether they wished to rob the French of *the glory* they had ever enjoyed, of being *more faithful to their sovereign* than any other people upon earth?

Castelnau replied, that so far from renouncing that glory, they were labouring, in imitation of their ancestors, to deserve it; that informed of the danger to which the king was exposed, they were going to present a petition to him, and to expose the perfidious machinations of two foreigners, who had already usurped his authority, and who carried their pretensions still farther:—"Ought subjects," said Nemours, "to present a petition to their sovereign sword in hand?" "These swords," returned Castelnau, "were only destined to open us a passage to the throne; our petition would have been presented on our knees, in the posture of supplication." "If that be all you desire," returned Nemours, "you may speedily be satisfied; give up your arms to me, and I pledge myself to conduct you, in safety, to the foot of the throne, where you shall have full liberty to prefer your complaints." The duke's proposal being accepted, the soldiers delivered up their arms, and were conducted to Amboise, where they were all thrown into prison. The other captains, employed by the duke of Guise, were equally successful with Nemours;



mours; laying concealed in ravines and among the bushes, in places by which the conspirators were to pass, they carried them off with little resistance, and conducted them, in bands, to the town of Amboise. The most distinguished were put in prison; but the subalterns and privates were proceeded against in a summary manner, and hanged, either on the parapets, or else on long poles, fixed in the walls of the castle.

La Renaudie, informed of this disaster, made incredible efforts to assemble the scattered forces of the Hugonots. As he was riding about the country for this purpose, he was one day met in the forest of Château-Renard, by a body of two hundred horse, under the command of his cousin the young baron de Pardaillon<sup>19</sup>, who immediately fired a pistol at him; but Renaudie, jumping from his horse, attacked the baron sword in hand, and soon laid him dead at his feet; he was himself killed, however, at the same instant, by a musquet-ball. His secretary, La Bigne, was taken alive. La Renaudie's body was publicly exposed on a lofty gibbet, on the bridge of Amboise, with this inscription—*La Renaudie, otherwise La Forêt, Chief of the Rebels.*

After a blow thus decisive, it was presumed that the conspirators would speedily return, provided a passage was left open for them. The chancellor Olivier, already deeply afflicted at the sight of so many executions, and perceiving that the town was still crowded with a multitude of unfortunate men, whose only crime was the too easy belief they had paid to some of their ministers, who had really persuaded them that it was only intended to present a supplicatory address to the king, remonstrated with great energy on the injustice of treating them as criminals, and on the danger of reducing them to a state of desperation. He desired that the king would grant fresh letters of remission to all who should return peaceably to their homes, and even promise to lend a favourable ear to their complaints and remonstrances, when preferred with becoming humility. The Guises the more readily acquiesced in this proposal, as they were unwilling to take upon themselves all the odium that would accrue from the adoption of a different line of conduct, and as they were not perfectly at ease with regard to the secret disposition of the queen-mother, and of the king himself; for the former continued to repose the most implicit confidence in the Châtillons, whom they suspected of having been the agents or instigators of the conspiracy; and the king, notwithstanding his usual devotion to their will, appeared restless and unhappy. In a transport of grief, he had one day shed tears, and exclaimed, with acrimony, in presence of the cardinal; “*What injury have I done to my people, that they should seek my life? I am willing to hear their complaints, and to render them justice: I no longer know what to think, but I am told that you*

<sup>19</sup> Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 132.

*"are the only object of their resentment; I wish you were absent for a time, that I might know whether 'tis against you, or against me, that their rage is directed."*

Such an edict as the chancellor required was accordingly published, and the Guises, willing to see whether it would have the desired effect, dispersed, in the neighbouring towns and villages, most of the troops they had assembled for the defence of Amboise, which was now supposed to be no longer in danger. But this premature security had nearly proved fatal to them: four captains, La Motte, Champs, Cocqueville, and Bertrand Chandieu (brother to the minister of that name) who commanded the militia of the churches in the Isle of France, Champagne, and Picardy, being informed that there were but few soldiers and very little provision left in the castle, and that eighty or a hundred of the conspirators had found means to introduce themselves into the town, formed a plan for taking it by attacking it in the night, in three or four different places at the same time; but having ill-calculated the time of their march, they did not arrive till sun-rise, when they were immediately discovered, and found the garrison prepared to receive them: Chandieu alone, at the head of his company, penetrated into the suburbs, and advanced as far as one of the gates, which was ably defended: exposed to the fire of the artillery from the castle, and seeing no one advance to second him, he ordered his men to discharge their pieces at the troops who manned the walls, and then retreated in good order. The Guises, deeming themselves dispensed, by this act of violence, from observing the late edict, sent fresh companies of cavalry into the environs of Amboise, with orders to put to death every person they should find in arms, and to give no quarter. The town was full of prisoners, and the court began to fear that the sight of so many executions would inspire the people with horror; all those, therefore, who, having only come to present a petition to the king, might be wholly ignorant of the real designs of the conspirators, were separated from the rest, and were suffered to enjoy the benefit of the edict; and Catharine, ever anxious to encrease the number of her friends, gave them money, to enable them to return peaceably home. The soldiers who were taken in arms underwent a short examination, after which they were either hanged, or thrown into the Loire with their hands and feet tied. The captains, and persons of distinction, were reserved for the rack, in the hope of extorting from them the names of the real leaders, and secret instigators of the plot; for they were the people whom it was of the greatest consequence to discover. While the cardinal directed his whole attention to this object, he was informed of the escape of his most dangerous enemy.

Young Ferriere-Maligni, knowing that La Bigne was a prisoner, and not doubting but that he would reveal the whole mystery, chose the best horse in the prince of Condé's stable, and with the assistance of Desvaux, the prince's equerry, who accompanied him for four or five leagues, left Amboise and took the road to Lyons. La Bigne, in fact, thinking himself released from his oath, by the death of the person at whose request he had taken it, decyphered all the manuscripts that had been found in his possession, declared



clared that the prince of Condé was the secret leader of the conspiracy, and that La Renaudie was only his lieutenant. He neither concealed the project for seizing or massacring the Guises, nor any of the measures which had been adopted for the execution of that design. He even added—either because such was the fact, or because he wished to please those on whom his life depended, and who were deeply interested in not appearing to have been the real objects of the conspiracy—that it was intended, during the tumult, to massacre the king, his brothers, and the two queens; and then to reduce France into cantons, after the model of Switzerland; or, should such a plan be preferred by the majority, to elect another king, who, being indebted to them for the crown, would begin by abolishing the Catholic religion in France, publish such edicts as they should prescribe, and suffer his authority to be so limited, that he must ever remain in a state of dependence upon them.

Although this deposition, of a man perfectly well informed of the whole business, precise in all its circumstances, and exactly conformable to all those which had been before taken, was deemed of great weight, yet it did not appear sufficient to justify the prosecution of a prince of the blood. La Renaudie was himself a man of bad character, and might, without any authority, have made use of the prince's name, to serve his own purposes. These considerations induced the duke of Guise to wish that no notice might be taken of the deposition, and that no attempt might be made to seek for farther proofs; but the cardinal, more inveterate, was of a contrary opinion, and, in compliance with his suggestions, the king sent an order the next morning to the prince to attend his levee, accompanied by a prohibition to leave Amboise: at the same time the grand-provost arrested Desvaux, the prince's equerry, who, being interrogated on the subject of Maligni's escape, replied that, as that gentleman had the honour to live on terms of friendship with his master, who even acknowledged him for his relation, he had not thought it necessary to apply for *permission* to let him have a horse, and to accompany him as far on the road as he wished.

The prince, in obedience to the order he had received, attended the king's levee, when Francis told him, with an air of severity, that several of the conspirators had made oath that he was their leader; and should that prove to be the case he would teach him how dangerous it was to attack a king of France. The prince, without betraying any symptoms of fear or surprize, replied, that he had already learned from public report what his majesty had just revealed to him; that he only requested he would assemble that very day the members of his council, such of the princes of the blood, and of the knights of the order of Saint-Michael, as were then at court, and all the foreign ministers and ambassadors, since finding himself publicly defamed by the malice of his enemies, he wished his justification to be equally publick. While the prince was at the levee, the grand provost went, by the king's orders, to search his house, where it was said a vast quantity

of arms were concealed, and to examine his papers. No arms, however, were found, and the provost declared, that the papers contained nothing that could substantiate the accusation. The residence and papers of the king of Navarre's secretary were likewise searched and examined, by command of the cardinal of Lorraine, but with no better effect.

The prince of Condé went to the castle a few minutes before the council had assembled, and paid a visit to the queen-mother, with whom he found the cardinal of Lorraine, Catharine, deeply affected at the sight of the prince, told him that she did not believe a syllable of what she had heard to his prejudice, and that were a hundred witnesses to swear the contrary, she never would be persuaded that a prince of the blood, emulous of glory, and deeply interested in the preservation of the monarchy, could, without any apparent motive, have violated at once his honour and his duty: that what had happened ought to convince him of the danger of opening his doors to persons of doubtful characters: that these dangerous hypocrites had only courted his protection in order to seduce him from his duty, and to destroy his reputation. The cardinal of Lorraine, affecting to be interested in the prince's welfare, confirmed all that the queen had said, adding, that it was but too true, that the wretches had accused him of that crime, and concurred in their declarations that they would never have embarked in such an enterprize, if they had not been persuaded that he would appear at their head: that if he had the smallest doubt of his veracity on this point, he need only conceal himself behind the tapestry, and suffer some of the prisoners to be sent for, when he might hear what they said of him. Condé, casting a look of contempt on the cardinal, observed that he was neither of the rank nor disposition of those who liked to conceal themselves; but that if the cardinal chose to adopt the plan he had recommended to him, and send for the prisoners, he would then have an opportunity of hearing what they said of him and his brother.

As soon as the council was assembled, the prince entered the apartment, and in a manly speech justified himself from the accusations that had been preferred against him by men of suspicious characters, stimulated, no doubt, by the suggestions of his secret enemies, or intimidated by the threats of torture; if, he said, there were one man in the whole world who would accuse him, not by indirect means, but in an open manner, of having shaken the fidelity of the people, of having urged towns to revolt, or of having either said or done any thing which could tend to excite a sedition, he would throw off his quality of prince of the blood to fight him on equal terms, till he should extort from him a confession that he was a liar and a coward. The duke of Guise, to whom this challenge seemed to be directed, although he had vehemently opposed the present proceeding, the event of which he foresaw, artfully observed, that the king ought not to suffer the reputation of a prince, so nearly related to the throne, to be affected, in the smallest degree, by the interested accusations of a few miserable wretches, who sought to diminish their own crime by transferring the principal guilt to persons of high distinction. That the judges, indeed, could not refuse to take the



depositions exactly as they were made by the criminals; but that they were too enlightened not to distinguish such as had some solid foundation, from those which were wholly destitute of probability: that, for his part, he was so fully convinced of his innocence, that he was ready to be his second against any antagonist. The prince was dismissed for the present, but the cardinal of Lorraine resolved to renew his perquisitions, and to procure, by some means or other, the proofs he wanted.

Captain Raunai, being applied to the rack, confessed that the prince of Condé was the leader of the enterprize, and that he was not to appear till the moment of execution. Mazeres confirmed this account, adding, that he himself was one of the persons who had undertaken to kill the duke of Guise. The baron de Castelnau-Chalosse, the most distinguished personage of the whole party, as well by his birth as his personal merit, was the last whose fate remained to be decided: he claimed the performance of the solemn promise which had been made as well to himself as to his companions, that he should be conducted in safety to the foot of the throne, and have full liberty to present his petition. The duke of Nemours acknowledged that he had made such an engagement, but the Guises, by a tyrannical abuse of authority, had taken upon themselves to break it; and, in order to save the honour of their friend, they assembled a council of war, presided by the unprincipled mareschal de Saint André, in which it was decided that the duke of Nemours ought not to have treated with rebels, in the same manner as with foreign enemies; and that as he had only headed that expedition in the capacity of a captain of light-horse, he had no authority to contract an engagement that could bind the government. This decision was read to Castelnau, who treated it with the contempt it deserved. Being called upon to answer the questions that were put to him, and threatened with the rack, he appeared confused, and, for an instant, remained silent; upon which the duke of Guise told him that he seemed to be frightened. "I do not deny it," replied Castelnau, "for what man, who was not totally deprived of sensation, could say that he was exempt from fear, when surrendered to the discretion of enemies implacable in their hatred, and thirsting for his blood? But give me my arms again, and then dare to repeat the same expression; or suppose yourself in my place, and then candidly tell me whether you would not tremble in every limb? The fear, however, with which you reproach me, will not, I hope, deprive me of the judgment and presence of mind necessary to ensure my justification."

The judges represented to him, that having been taken in arms, and openly professing the reformed religion, the only possible means of escaping death, was to throw himself on the king's mercy, and to merit a pardon by the discovery of his accomplices. To this proposal the baron replied, that he well knew his judges, among whom he perceived his most inveterate enemies, had the power of taking away his life, and all the art which was necessary for cloathing, with the forms of law, the unjust sentence with which he was threatened: if, then, he preferred life to his honour and conscience, he should not  
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hesitate a moment in adopting the plan of defence which they had suggested; but having, at a very early period, been taught to detest falsehood, he should tell them, with a strict regard to truth, not, perhaps, what they wished to hear, but what it was of great importance to them to be informed of: that it was absurd to suppose they had taken up arms against the king, because no one who was not a perfect stranger to the kingdom could ever suspect the French nobility of failing in their fidelity and attachment to their sovereign: besides, what could they have to reproach him with? they all knew, that the weakness of his age, joined to the debility of his constitution, rendered him incapable of governing his kingdom himself; and that beset by two jealous and mistrustful ministers, who had taken the precaution to sequester him from the princes of the blood, and from all who had a right to approach the throne, he was condemned to a perpetual ignorance of what was passing around him, or else forced to deplore in silence the evils he was unable to prevent: that their only design had been to deliver him from such an odious tyranny, and to open his eyes, as well to the abuses committed in his name, as to the danger to which his sacred person was exposed, from the machinations of two foreigners, who, after tyrannizing over the nation, probably extended their views much farther: that, for this purpose, they had framed a petition, in which their principal grievances were specified, and which they intended to present on their knees, for, born Frenchmen, and most of them brought up near the throne, they were not to be taught in what manner it was their duty to approach the king: that the laws gave every private citizen, much more the nobility, the right of claiming justice, in all cases whatever, from the king himself, and of laying their complaints before him: that the only offence, therefore, with which they could be charged, was the having sent an armed escort with their deputies, to defend them against all violence on the road: but that before such a precaution should be condemned, it would be necessary to enquire into the motives which had superinduced its adoption, and to know whether it was not absolutely indispensable; for although there were laws to forbid the carrying fire arms, no tribunal would condemn a peaceable traveller who, having a wood infested with thieves to traverse, should carry pistols, or procure an armed escort to accompany him: he desired the judges themselves to consider, whether, at a time when a magistrate was punished with death for having, in discharge of his duty, given such advice as appeared to him salutary; when citizens, whose only crime was that of serving God according to their conscience, were ignominiously dragged to prison; and when the spoils of those unfortunate men were ensured, by edicts, to those who informed against them; whether, at such a time, the ministers of the reformed churches could have traversed the kingdom with impunity, would have been allowed to denounce their persecutors to the king, and to demand of his majesty the convocation of a council, or of the states-general? that, if it were not denied that the attempt would not only have been dangerous but impracticable, it must then be admitted, of course, that they must either have suffered a million of citizens to be quietly massacred, or else have adopted those innocent measures which were now im-



puted to them as a crime: that, in order to shew how far they were from entertaining those criminal designs which had been gratuitously ascribed to them, he should only cite two facts: first, the solemn protest which they had all signed and sworn to observe, against making any attempt on the sacred person of his majesty; and secondly, the promptitude with which his companions and himself had laid down their arms the moment a prince, whom they believed to be a man of honour, pledged his word that he would conduct them in safety to the foot of the throne: that if, notwithstanding these facts, they chose to consider the late transaction, not as a simple association of a part of the nobility, to procure, by lawful means, the re-establishment of the laws, but as a plot formed against the royal authority, in which the minister laboured to include the princes of the blood, and all who had the misfortune to give them umbrage, he charitably warned them that they were in pursuit of a phantom, and that this new instance of persecution could not fail to ensure credit to the report which began to prevail, that they only wanted a pretext for destroying the royal family, and opening for themselves a way to the throne: that they might make what use they pleased of this caution: that he had a great respect for the princes of the blood, but that, for many years past, he had avoided all intercourse with them, and did not fear to say, that the patience with which they suffered the many personal affronts that had been offered them, and the cold indifference with which they regarded the evils of the state, were ill-calculated to give them consequence: that, for his part, he would not suffer them to partake the glory which was reserved for those brave and generous citizens who had voluntarily devoted themselves to the salvation of their country.

Although it would have been infinitely dangerous to admit, on any pretence, the legality of presenting a petition with a number of armed men, yet the judges, unable to reply to the arguments of the prisoner, appear not to have persisted in their objections to such a measure; but as through the whole course of this business, by a strange perversion of justice, they acted as council for the prosecution, they shifted the ground of their interrogatories, and attacked Castelnau in a part where they expected to find him wholly defenceless. Being known to have passed the greater part of his life at court or in the field, they could not imagine that he was in the least qualified for theological disputations. But here they were again disappointed, for in the questions which were put to him with regard to his religion, his answers were so apposite, and his replies so pointed, that his adversaries were completely foiled. The chancellor astonished, could not forbear the exclamation, that it was easy to perceive the baron had well studied his lesson. "Yes Sir," replied Castelnau, "I have studied it well; you would be authorized to despise me, and I should think myself truly despicable, if I had embarked in a cause, in the event of which the salvation of my soul and the happiness of my country were interested, without previously satisfying all my scruples."—"But how happens it," said Olivier, "that you have thus suddenly become such an experienced theologian; for at the time that you frequented the court, you did not pay much attention to those controversies?"

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“ That’s true,”—returned the baron—“ but does it become you to put such a question to me? Recollect the visit I paid you at your estate at Leuville; you then asked me how I had passed my time in prison; and when I answered, in studying the scriptures in order to understand the merits of those disputes which made so much noise, you expressed your approbation of my labours, and dispelled the few doubts that still remained on my mind: if my memory do not fail me, we then perfectly agreed in our sentiments: how happens it that in so short a space of time, one of us has so far changed his opinion, that we no longer understand each other? but you was then in disgrace, and really spoke what you thought: wretched slave to courtly favour, how dare you, merely to please a man by whom you are, probably, despised, thus betray God and your conscience?”

As Olivier betrayed the most unequivocal marks of confusion at this reproof, the cardinal of Lorraine came to his assistance, anxious to confound a man who appeared so firmly fixed in his principles; but, contrary to his expectation, he suffered an acknowledgment to be extorted from him, which Castelnau called on the duke of Guise to witness. The duke replied, that it was not consistent with his profession to enter into disputes of that nature, and that he gloried in his ignorance on religious concerns. “ I am sorry for that,”—returned Castelnau—“ for I have so good an opinion of you, that I durst swear that were you as well informed as your brother in these matters, you would make a better use of your knowledge.”

The presence of mind, the determined courage and unshaken firmness which Castelnau displayed during his trial, had fixed the eyes of the whole court upon him; and great as was the danger of appearing his friend at such a conjuncture, three noblemen of the first rank, the duke of Longueville, the admiral Coligni, and the duke of Aumale himself, who, though a strong Catholic, bore not that hatred to the Hugonots which his brothers did, ventured to intercede in his favour; and Catharine of Medicis joined in the same petition; but the young monarch, tutored no doubt by the Guises, displayed a pertinacity unnatural at his age, and, remaining inflexible to their entreaties, confirmed the sentence. When that sentence was read to Castelnau, by which he was declared guilty of *lèse-majesty*, he exclaimed—“ I call my judges to witness that the declaration is false; unless to have opposed the tyranny of the Guises to the utmost of my power, be deemed an act of *lèse-majesty*; but, in that case, they should have begun, by declaring them kings.” He suffered decapitation, and met his fate with coolness and intrepidity: Raunai and Mazeris experienced a similar punishment: Briquemaut de Villemongis, another of the conspirators, when brought to the scaffold, dipped his hands in the blood of his associates, and raising his eyes towards heaven, exclaimed—“ *Heavenly Father, behold the blood of your children, which thou wilt revenge.*”



The royal family, and the whole court, attended these executions, which were performed in the castle yard. Anne of Est, duchess of Guise, was the only person who expressed any horror at the sight: pale and trembling, she uttered a loud shriek, then quitting the place, ran to her apartment. The queen-mother having paid her a visit, and found her in tears, desired to know the cause of her grief: when the duchess replied—“Alas! madam, never had a mother greater cause for affliction: what a dreadful storm of hatred, blood, and revenge, is now suspending over the heads of my unhappy children!” The prince of Condé, hurried away towards the place of execution by some pretended friends, who had undertaken to watch his words and motions, was not sufficient master of himself to conceal his emotions; being reproached with this, he replied, “I freely confess, that I feel for the fate of those brave officers who have done such signal service to the state under the two last reigns: I will even acknowledge that I am at a loss to conceive why none of the ministers should have represented to the king the prejudice which the state would sustain by such a loss: for if it should be attacked by any foreign power, they will probably repent the having deprived him of its best defenders.” These expressions were carefully repeated to the cardinal of Lorraine, who never forgot them: but the grief of the chancellor, who had been compelled, by his station, to become an instrument of vengeance to the Guises, was excessive: inconsolable, at having neglected to oppose, with sufficient vigour, the violent administration of the cardinal of Lorraine, he felt more deeply the reproaches of his own conscience, than those of the unfortunate victims whom he had consigned to execution: the acuteness of his feelings brought on a deep melancholy, attended with the loss of sleep, and followed by a burning fever, which, in a few days, reduced him to the brink of the grave. The cardinal, apprized of his situation, went to pay him a last visit, but Olivier, tired of constraint, turned his back on the minister, and in a few moments breathed his last.

On the demise of Olivier, the queen-mother proposed to give the seals to Michael de l'Hôpital, president of the chamber of accounts; and the Guises the more readily acquiesced in her proposal, as that magistrate was, in some measure, indebted to them for his past promotion, and had evinced his gratitude by celebrating their fame in some Latin poems, which were then much talked of, but which have since been consigned to merited oblivion. Catharine, however, took care to inform the new chancellor, that having secured him a preference over all his competitors, she expected he would forget all past engagements, to attach himself solely to her and her children<sup>20</sup>.

A few days after that which had been fixed for the seizure of the Guises at Amboise, Elizabeth's manifesto appeared, containing a defence of the princes of the blood against

<sup>20</sup> La Place—La Planché—La Poplinière—Matthieu—Belcarius.

the princes of Lorraine: the contents of the manifesto, as well as the period of its publication, served fully to convince the cardinal and his brother of the truth of one part of La Bigne's evidence, in which he swore that the conspirators had obliged themselves, after having massacred the Guises, to give up the young queen, Mary Stuart, to Elizabeth<sup>21</sup>. Thus early had the English princess formed her nefarious designs against the liberty of her unfortunate kinswoman.

Some fresh commotions which still prevailed in Normandy, whither the admiral had been sent to calm the minds of the people, and reduce them to obedience; in Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc, determined the Guises to send orders to the different parliaments to release all the prisoners, confined on account of religion. From this general pardon, however, was excepted a certain number of persons confined in the prisons of Blois and Tours, because they were rather considered as leaders of a faction than as simple heretics: but those of Blois effected their escape through a window in the night. The prisoners at Tours were young Soucelle, who having cut his way through the officers of justice that had been sent to apprehend him at Paris, afterwards presented himself at the king's levee, and claimed the restitution of the effects which had been taken from him on that occasion; Stuart, the Scotchman, suspected of having assassinated the president Minart; and the bailiff of Saint-Aignan, on whom had been found a number of libels on the administration of the Guises. The cardinal, who had at first sent them to the castle of Vincennes, not thinking them sufficiently secure in a place of which the constable was governor, ordered them to be removed to Tours, where he intended to examine them himself; and he had sent Desvaux, the prince of Condé's equerry, to accompany them. They all found means, however, to escape, except the bailiff, who, having broken his thigh in the attempt, was brought back to prison. The other three wrote the following note to the cardinal—"We have been informed of the escape of your prisoners from Blois; and as we have no doubt that you experience great uneasiness on the occasion, we have resolved to follow them: give yourself no farther trouble about the matter, for we will soon bring them back, and in good company."

The removal of the court to Tours, gave an opportunity to the prince of Condé to leave Amboise, and, notwithstanding the insidious attempts of the cardinal of Lorraine again to allure him to court, and his secret orders to arrest him on the road, he effected his escape into Gascony. The kingdom, meanwhile, was thrown into a state of anarchy and confusion: the Hugonots, in different places, seized on the churches and convents, and in contempt of the prohibitory edicts, publicly celebrated divine service: at Nîmes they drove the priests from the church of Saint Stephen, during the celebration of mass,

<sup>21</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 245.



broke the images, and trod the consecrated wafer under foot: in Guienne, Poitou, Touraine, Anjou and Normandy, the fermentation was general, and as it was found impossible to send sufficient troops to keep those provinces in awe, the cardinal of Lorraine had recourse to another means of ensuring obedience: viz. by the establishment of the inquisition, or rather, by the confirmation and extension of the jurisdiction of that tribunal, which had been lawfully established in the preceding reign. It was the intention of the cardinal to put the inquisition in France exactly on the same footing with those of Spain and Portugal; but this being opposed by the new chancellor, an edict was published in its stead, by which it was ordained—That the ecclesiastical tribunals should, in future, have sole cognizance of the crime of heresy; that all those who frequented conventicles or secret assemblies should be declared guilty of high treason; that the *presidial* throughout the kingdom should be authorized to try them in the last resort, and to enforce the immediate execution of their sentence; and that a reward of five hundred crowns should be paid to any person who should give information of such assemblies. Such were the principal articles of the edict of Romorentin, which was equally censured by both parties. The Protestants, who, after they had obtained two successive letters of remission which they had not solicited, thought themselves exempt from farther persecution, and expected, at least, to be tolerated, were enraged that the minister should presume either to treat them as criminals, or compel them to renounce the exercise of their religion. The Catholics were vexed, that to an evil which preyed upon the vitals of the state, they only applied illusive remedies, the inefficacy whereof experience had sufficiently demonstrated. The parliament long refused to register this edict, but all their remonstrances being disregarded by the court, they were at length obliged to comply with the king's positive orders.

The enmity entertained by the Hugonots against the Guises seemed daily to acquire fresh strength: satires and libels were distributed in great abundance, and one, in particular, against the cardinal of Lorraine, attracted the public attention; it was entitled the *Tiger*, and contained a list of the acts of cruelty and perfidy perpetrated by that prelate, together with a scandalous account of his amours with a lady of distinction, his near relation, who, according to Brantome, had nearly died of grief in consequence of this publication. The publisher of the libel was seized, but the author could never be discovered; as the officers of justice were conducting the former to prison, the people attempted to take him from them, with the view of becoming his executioners themselves; a tradesman of Rouen, passing by at the time, interfered in his favour, and this act of humanity displeasing the mob, the cry of "Hugonot!" resounded from all quarters, and the Norman was himself seized and thrown into prison. Although it was proved that he had never seen the bookseller before, and no crime whatever could be alledged against him, yet, in order to gratify the cardinal's revenge, they were both sentenced to die, and were accordingly hanged on the same gallows.

The intelligence which the Guises continued to receive from the different provinces, where the minds of the people seemed ripe for revolt, and the adverse state of affairs in Scotland, induced them to renounce all the projects they had formed upon that kingdom, and to recall, with all possible expedition, the troops they had sent thither, whose presence in France had now become necessary to their own defence.

The appearance of the English fleet in the Frith had disconcerted the operations of the French army, who were then employed in ravaging the county of Fife, and compelled them to retire with precipitation to Leith, there to wait the arrival of a fleet they expected from France, under the command of the marquis of Elbeuf. Invested by the combined armies of England and Scotland, they made a most gallant resistance, and protracted the siege to a considerable length. After disputing with great obstinacy the approaches to the town, they made a general sally on the fifteenth of April, destroyed a part of the enemy's works, and spiked several pieces of cannon: on the thirtieth they repelled a most vigorous attack, and forced the enemy to retreat in disorder: on the seventh of May, the besiegers having received considerable reinforcements, made a fresh assault on the town, when they were again repulsed with great loss: discouraged, at length, by the failure of all their attacks, they prudently changed their plan of operations, and converted the siege into a blockade. The garrison were soon reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions: the marquis of Elbeuf, whose fleet had been dispersed in a storm, had disarmed the few vessels which he had been able to conduct into the ports of Normandy: the Guises sent him money to refit them, and at the same time gave orders to their younger brother, the grand-prior, to collect what vessels he could in the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, and to effect a junction, on the Norman coast, with the marquis's fleet: but as these preparations would necessarily take up a considerable time, they appointed Montluc, bishop of Valence, and Charles de la Rochefoucauld, lord of Randan, to act as the king's plenipotentiaries in Scotland, and either to retard the progress of the enemy by negotiations, which they might protract to what length they chose, or to conclude a treaty on the best terms they could procure, provided that should prove the only means of saving the garrison of Leith<sup>22</sup>.

The proposals of these ministers for opening a negotiation being acceded to by the English, it was agreed to hold the conferences at Edinburgh on the first of July; and a truce was immediately signed, to continue till such time as the conferences should be broken off. During this interval, Mary of Lorraine, regent of Scotland, a princess of good capacity and moderate principles, fell a victim to the ambition of her brothers, who afterwards repented their own obstinacy in refusing to follow her advice. But this event, far from delaying, rather tended to accelerate the conclusion of a peace; for the Guises now

<sup>22</sup> Garnier.



losing all hopes of accomplishing their ambitious plans, thought the best thing they could do for their niece, was to restore by degrees the affections of her subjects, by depriving them of all pretext for claiming the protection of a foreign power. Elizabeth insisted that the duke of Chatelleraud, and the other chiefs of the Scottish rebels who had entered into a league with her, should be included, by name, in the treaty, and that the stipulations accorded them should be guaranteed by herself: but the French plenipotentiaries, whose principal object was to dissolve that very league, and to leave no bond of connection between the two nations, absolutely refused to insert, in a treaty of peace, which always implies an equality between the contracting parties, any clause with regard to the Scotch; offering, however, to accord them, as a matter of *favour*, not only an amnesty for the past, but every kind of security for the preservation of their liberties. At length, after much debate, it was agreed, that a clause should be inserted in the treaty with Elizabeth, importing that the king and queen of France should perform the promises made, in their name, by the ministers plenipotentiary, to their Scottish subjects. The promises were these, that the French troops should leave Scotland within the space of twenty days, and return to France in vessels which Elizabeth engaged to supply; that France should only leave sixty soldiers in the town of Leith; that the king and queen should grant a general amnesty, and convene a meeting of the Scottish parliament in the course of the following month, when the form of administration to be observed during their absence should be regulated <sup>23</sup>.

By the treaty of peace, concluded with Elizabeth, it was stipulated, that the king and queen of France and Scotland should henceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom: that all titles and public acts in which that title had been employed, should either be altered or abrogated; that the farther reparation demanded by Elizabeth for the injury she had sustained in that particular should be referred to the decision of commissioners, to be appointed at a future period; and, lastly, that the king and queen should perform the promises they had made to their subjects in Scotland.

The day after the treaty was concluded the French forces embarked for their native country, the general amnesty was published, and the states were appointed to assemble in the following month; but when the English ambassadors demanded of Francis his ratification of the treaty concluded with their sovereign, that prince refused to ratify it, on account of the last clause which regarded the Scotch, which, it was pretended, he could not confirm without admitting Elizabeth as a judge between him and his subjects, and without giving her rights over Scotland which she only claimed in virtue of

<sup>23</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 342, 343.

an association with rebels<sup>24</sup>. This refusal though it grievously offended that revengeful prince, caused no present rupture between the two crowns.

The troops which had been drawn from Scotland were stationed in the sea-ports on the coasts of Normandy, in order to awe the people of that province, who began to exhibit unequivocal symptoms of discontent. Important as this re-inforcement undoubtedly was, the Guises were still sensible of its insufficiency, in the present conjuncture: It would, indeed, have been easy for them to levy as many troops as they chose, but they were at a loss for the means of providing for their subsistence. After all the reductions that had been made in the king's household, the revenue of the state was still inadequate to defray its expences; all credit was destroyed, commerce depressed, and, in many provinces, the culture of the earth wholly neglected. Any attempt, under these circumstances, to impose fresh burdens upon the people, would, it was feared produce an insurrection. To obviate these inconveniencies, and to provide a remedy for the evil which threatened them, the Guises, at length, resolved to engage the king and the queen-mother to convoke, at Fontainebleau, not the states-general, nor even an assembly of notables, but an extraordinary council, which the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, the state-counsellors, knights of the order of Saint-Michael, and masters of requests, should be summoned to attend, in order that those persons who were most interested in the welfare of the state, should concur, if possible, in the adoption of some efficacious means for the restoration of public tranquillity, and in the determination to enforce the execution of such measures as they should deem necessary for that purpose. The Guises, however, apprehensive that the princes of the blood might repair to the assembly so well accompanied as to become absolute masters of the government, took care to station a number of regular troops in the environs of Fontainebleau, and to allow so short an interval between the date of the summons and the day of the meeting that they should have no time to make preparations: the summons was accordingly dated the last of July, and the assembly was appointed for the twelfth of August.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, convinced that this measure was only adopted for the purpose of bringing them to court and securing their persons, wished to have the advice of the constable; they accordingly sent a messenger to him to say, that as all their captains were engaged in an expedition against Lyons, which they had every reason to expect would prove successful, they thought it would be dangerous to accept the king's invitation. The constable exhorted them to desist from their projected attempt upon Lyons, advised them rather to direct their efforts against the towns of Limoges and Poitiers, which would serve to cover the provinces in their possession, and might be defended with greater ease and convenience; but, he observed, that they should

<sup>24</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 344.



not have recourse to this violent proceeding until all other means had failed : he conjured them to attend the assembly, and to send word to their partizans to meet them on the road ; at all events, he said, they would find their friends at Fontainebleau so well-attended that nobody would dare to molest them. This advice, however, was rejected by the king of Navarre, from the conviction that, if the Guises intended to secure their persons, they would take care to prevent them from reaching Fontainebleau ; the two princes, therefore, sent a courier with letters to the king and queen-mother, to excuse, on account of the shortness of the notice, and the length of the journey, their attendance at the council.

The council, however, met on the appointed day, when the debates were warm and animated : the admiral Coligni, presented a petition from the Hugonots of Normandy, professing their attachment to the king, and demanding a toleration of their religion ; this petition, defended with zeal and ability by Coligni, was opposed with violence by the cardinal of Lorraine, who, in the course of his speech, observed that the king could not comply with the request of the Hugonots, without risking the salvation of his soul, and incurring the guilt of perjury : the final result of this meeting was the distribution of two circular letters ; the first was addressed to the seneschals and bailiffs, who were ordered by the king to assemble without delay the provincial assemblies, for the purpose of electing deputies to the states-general, which were appointed to meet at Meaux, on the tenth of December ; the second, to the bishops, enjoining immediate residence, and commanding them to meet at Paris on the twentieth of January to hold a national council, unless the pope should, in the interval, be induced to convoke, agreeably to the promise he had made the king, a general council.

While the assembly were sitting at Fontainebleau, an agent of the king of Navarre's, named La Sague, who had been sent with some letters from the prince of Condé to his friends, was seized<sup>25</sup> ; and in his pockets were found letters from the constable, the admiral and the vidame of Chartres, to the prince. Those from the two former contained only general expressions of attachment, and of regret at not meeting the prince at Fontainebleau ; but that from the vidame was more particular ; it assured the prince of his readiness to serve him with his sword and fortune against all persons whatever, excepting the king, the queens, and the children of France. The Guises, enraged at this discovery, sent orders to arrest the vidame, who was detained at Paris by ill health ; and that nobleman having accordingly been thrown into the Bastille, was there examined : in answer to the questions put to him by the judge, he replied, that he had been a friend to the Guises so long as he conceived their intentions to be upright, and so long as they paid a proper attention to their equals, and a proper respect to the princes of the blood ;

<sup>25</sup> La Planche—La Place—La Poplinière—De Thou.

but that since he found that, imposing no restraints on their ambition, they had usurped the honours reserved for their superiors, the functions of the grand officers of the crown, the patrimony of the first families, and betrayed an anxiety to depress and to degrade the nobility of France, he conceived the rank which he held in the kingdom, would not permit him to view with an eye of indifference this insult offered to the nation : that the prince of Condé having called upon him, as his relation, to espouse his quarrel, he did not hesitate in obeying the summons, since the dispute in question by no means affected the state, and might be settled in the same manner as all other disputes which occur between gentlemen ; it was a dispute, in short, between the houses of Bourbon and Lorraine, in which no one had a right to prevent his interference. As his letter contained nothing which contradicted this explanation of the business, it became necessary to suspend the proceedings, till some farther proof of criminality could be adduced.

This event, and the news received about the same time of a fruitless attempt upon Lyons, by the Hugonots, under the command of Ferriere-Maligni, determined the Guises to exert their utmost endeavours for getting the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé into their power ; and with this view, Francis was induced to write a pressing letter to the former, urging the necessity of his attendance at court. Meanwhile, from the treachery of some of the party, important discoveries were made and commissions seized for raising troops in the name of the prince of Condé<sup>26</sup>. La Sague, being threatened with the rack, declared that by dipping the sheet of paper, in which the vidame's letter was enclosed, in a basin of water, the minister would learn what he was so anxious to know : the experiment was accordingly tried, and the paper when wet appeared to contain a letter from Dardois, the constable's confidential agent, to the prince of Condé, in which he observed to the prince that notwithstanding what might be said to the contrary, he might be assured that nobody was more sensible than the constable of the necessity of changing the administration and removing the Guises ; that he was of opinion the princes, when summoned to appear at court, should take care to be well accompanied to profit by any opportunity, that might occur on the road. This last expression appearing ambiguous, La Sague was interrogated on the subject ; and he replied, that the princes, under pretence of coming to court, were to approach the Loire, followed at some distance by the principal forces of Guienne and Gascony : That D'Amville, the constable's second son, was to join them, with a re-inforcement of troops, at Poitiers, which town they were immediately to secure, and then to proceed to Tours, and Orleans ; that at this last place they meant to convene the states-general, in order to bring the Guises to trial, and to take possession of the supreme authority, until the king should have completed his twenty-second year ; that the constable's son, who was governor of Paris and the isle of France, had promised to secure the suffrages of the people in those places ;

<sup>26</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 476.



that the admiral had made the same assurances with regard to Normandy, while the duke of Etampes answered for Brittany, the count of Tendé for Provence and Senarpont, and Bouchavannes for Picardy; that the princes themselves having secured the southern provinces, they would thus dispose of the representatives of the nation at their pleasure, and procure the adoption of such regulations as would best suit their own purposes.

The Guises, observing the most profound secrecy, with regard to this important discovery, and not even daring to arrest D'ardois, through fear of alarming the constable, contented themselves for the present with the formation of two camps: one at Pontoise, the other at Meulan, in which they stationed the veteran troops, recently arrived from Scotland, as well as those which they had ordered, some time before, from Piedmont. All the king's household-troops received orders to assemble at an early period; and Francis, under pretence of reviewing them, left Fontainebleau, where he was not secure from attack, and took up his residence at Saint-Germain, in the vicinity of the constable, and between the two camps.

The meanest and most dishonest artifices were now employed by the Guises to get the prince of Condé into their power; and in this attempt they were seconded by Catharine of Medicis, who exerted all those arts of hypocrisy in which she was so eminently versed<sup>27</sup>. At length they succeeded in extorting from the king Navarre and the prince of Condé a promise to repair to court, attended only by their usual retinue; and as the violent measures they meant to pursue would naturally excite great discontent among the nobility, they sought to secure their friendship, by the distribution of honours and rewards: the government of Touraine, Anjou, the Blaisois and Vendomois, was conferred on the duke of Montpensier; and that of the Orleanois, the Chartrain and Berry, on the prince of la Roche-sur-Yon: eighteen new knights of the order of Saint-Michael were created at the same time, and for the same purpose; and from this Era may be dated the decline of that illustrious order, which had subsisted, with great glory, for a whole century.

About the middle of October, the king, with an army of ten thousand disciplined troops, repaired to Orleans, and struck terror and consternation into the inhabitants of that town, who were strongly attached to the Hugonots. Meanwhile the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé set out on their journey, and Francis issued orders to the Catholic gentlemen who resided in the provinces through which they were to pass, to levy troops, disperse all assemblies, political or religious, and kill, without mercy or discrimination, all who should attend them. In the course of their journey, the princes received intimations of the most alarming nature, and each day added some new proof of the impetuous counsels of the Guises, and of the too ready acquiescence of the easy mo-

<sup>27</sup> La Planche—La Place—La Poplinière—D'Aubigné—Caftelnau—Ezès—Memoires de Condé.

march; but they had now advanced too far to recede, different parties had been stationed on the road behind to intercept their retreat or flight; and, with a slender train, but undaunted countenance, they at length entered the city of Orleans.

On entering the royal presence they were received with coldness by the king, whom they found seated between the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine; Francis then conducted them to the apartment of the queen-mother, who, on their appearance, shrieked and burst into tears; he there reproached the prince of Condé with his seditious conduct, telling him that he was accused of forming plots, as well against the state as against the life of his sovereign, and that it was necessary to justify himself from such accusations. Condé replied, that the accusations were false and calumnious, and that if his majesty would confront him with his accusers he could easily convict them of imposture.—“*It is but just,*”—said the king—“*that you should be heard in your defence.*”—As soon as he had pronounced these words he left the room, and gave orders to Chavigni and Brezé, captains of his guards, to arrest the prince, who was immediately conducted to a house, previously prepared for his reception. At the same time orders were issued for apprehending Grosnot, bailiff of Orleans; the lady of Roze, sister to the Châtillons, and mother-in-law to Condé; Dardois, secretary to the constable; and Bouchard, chancellor to the king of Navarre. Anthony, whose easy credulity had greatly contributed to reduce his brother to this situation, repeatedly called on the queen-mother to declare whether she had not solemnly pledged her word that neither he nor his brother should meet with the least molestation; but that artful and perfidious princess refused to answer him.

Notwithstanding the prayers and solicitations of the princess of Condé, who threw herself at the king's feet, and implored his mercy in favour of her husband, Francis, with an unfeeling perseverance, unnatural at his age, pursued the necessary measures for bringing the prince to trial. A commission, composed of Christopher de Thou, president of the parliament of Paris; of James Viole and Bartholomew Faye, judges of the same court; Bourdin, attorney-general: and the secretary du Tillet, was appointed to interrogate him in prison; but the prince protested against the competency of the subservient tribunal, and appealed to the king *in parliament*. The appeal, however, was rejected by Francis; and the chancellor, with some members of the council, and all the knights of Saint-Michael and masters of requests who were then at Orleans, being added to the commission, the trial was pursued, and the prince, being found guilty of *lèse-majesty*, was sentenced to lose his head. The count of Sancerre, one of his judges, peremptorily refused to sign the sentence, and, when pressed to it by the king, replied, that any other command from his majesty should meet with instant compliance from him, but that he would rather lose his own head, than transmit to his children the shame of reading their father's name annexed to a sentence of death pronounced against a prince, whose descendants might possibly become their sovereigns. But the refusal of this honourable old man made no impression on the king, who confirmed the sentence, and appointed the



tenth of December, the day on which the states general were to meet, for the execution of the prince.

The prospect of approaching death had but little effect on the magnanimous mind of Condé ; a priest having been sent to say mass in his apartment, he dismissed him with observing that he had come to Orleans on the king's invitation, not to hear mass, but to make his majesty hear his justification : a gentleman whom he had formerly distinguished by his favour, but who had since courted the protection of the Guises, having obtained admission to the prince, made some proposals for an accommodation with his enemies ; but Condé, after extorting a confession that he had been sent thither by the Guises, desired he would tell them, that the only accommodation he should ever enter into with them was written on the point of his lance.

But the proud princes of Lorraine were not long suffered to rejoice in the humiliation of their rival, and the success of their plans ; while the fate of the gallant Condé appeared inevitable, the Sovereign Arbiter of the world, who baffles the presumptuous hopes of aspiring mortals, and speaks comfort to despair, had otherwise ordained. On the nineteenth of November, Francis, as he was attending vespers at the Jacobins, fainted in the church, whence he was conveyed senseless and motionless to his apartment ; on the recovery of his senses, he complained of a violent pain in his ear, which was speedily followed by a burning fever, attended with symptoms of the most alarming nature. The Guises, thrown into the utmost consternation by this unexpected event, assembled their friends, some of whom were of opinion that they should extort from the king an order for the immediate execution of the prince of Condé, and the imprisonment of the king of Navarre, as the best means of securing a preponderance to their own party, but this advice was overruled by the cardinal of Tournon, not on the plea of justice or humanity, but from considerations of policy, as he observed that the constable and his family would still remain to head the opposite faction, and that they would infallibly be seconded by the whole order of nobility, (who would be incensed at the persecution of the princes of the blood) and probably by the majority of the people.

The king of Navarre, meanwhile, embraced the opportunity to court a reconciliation with the queen-mother, who, at the instigation of the duchess of Montpensier and the chancellor, concluded an accommodation with that prince, and consented to receive him and his brother into favour, on condition that he should renounce all pretensions to the regency in the event of the king's demise, and submit to a reconciliation with the Guises, who she assured him, had been nowise instrumental to the imprisonment of his brother ; false as this assurance incontestibly was, she promised Anthony that he should hear it confirmed by the king himself. He was accordingly conducted to the royal apartment, where the feeble Francis, docile to the last, declared, in the presence of several witnesses, *that he had caused*

*the*

*the prince of Condé to be imprisoned of his own accord, and contrary to the advice of his uncles, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine*<sup>23</sup>.

The king's disorder proved to be an abscess in the head, which, bursting, put an end to his existence on the fifth of December, in the eighteenth year of his age and the second of his reign. Little can be said of the character of this prince; weak both in body and mind, he possessed no energy of soul, and appeared wholly inadequate to the station he was destined to fulfil; born without passions, alike destitute of virtue and of vice, he became a passive instrument in the hands of his ambitious uncles, who directed his opinions at their pleasure, and even gave to his propensities that turn which best suited their own interested views. Francis certainly exhibited but few qualifications that can entitle him to praise; but candour prompts and justice warrants the assertion, that malignity alone could ascribe the defects of a prince thus circumstanced to depravity of heart.

The king's death, though fully expected, threw the whole court into confusion; the Guises, placing but little reliance on the reconciliation extorted from the king of Navarre, shut themselves up in their houses, and prepared to sustain an attack; while the queen-mother, alarmed at her present situation, and still more uneasy with regard to the future, had wholly neglected the necessary preparations for the interment of the royal corpse; and on examination the treasury was found not to contain money sufficient to discharge the expences of the funeral: the body of the deceased monarch was privately conveyed to the royal vault at Saint Denis, attended only by Lansac and La Brosse, who had been his governors.

<sup>23</sup> Gacrier, tom. xxviii. p. 583.



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## CHARLES THE NINTH.

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A. D. 1560, 1561.] THE transactions of the reign of Charles the Ninth are more deeply obscured by the prejudices of party writers than those of any other reign in the History of France. Civil contests are generally more destructive than foreign wars; but those in particular which arise from a difference of religious opinions are invariably marked by animosity the most virulent, by hatred the most inveterate; and the malignant influence of these uncharitable sentiments is unhappily extended to all who are, even remotely, interested in the event of the conflict, giving a different hue to the same objects, assigning to the same occurrences motives and appearances not only different but opposite, even converting matters of fact into subjects for dispute, and thus foully polluting the pure stream of history. Amidst such a chaos of contradictory accounts, it is no easy matter to distinguish reality from fiction: but, exempt from the passions whence such confusion has arisen, equally free from the bigotry and predilections of either sect, we shall pursue, with steady perseverance, our search after truth, and endeavour to steer clear of the shoals and quicksands of prejudice and misrepresentation.

On the death of Francis the crown devolved on his next brother Charles, then only in the eleventh year of his age, who accordingly received the oaths of the magistrates and great officers of the court, whom he confirmed in the possession of their places and privileges. The early age of the infant monarch incapacitating him from holding the reins of government, his mother, Catharine of Medicis, at first, assumed the authority, though not the title, of Regent, but after a short time she was compelled to relinquish a considerable portion of her power to the king of Navarre, who was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom.



*J. J. J. J.*

CHARLES IX.

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The states-general, summoned by Francis to assemble at Orleans on the thirteenth of December, were suffered, in consequence of a decision *that the king never died*, to meet on the appointed day<sup>1</sup>. Catharine, indeed, apprehensive lest the representatives of the people might deprive her of that power which, during the minority of their sovereigns, they claimed a right to confer on whomsoever they pleased, would willingly have prevented their meeting, but the nation was reduced to such a deplorable state, with regard to the public revenue, that the application of an immediate remedy had become an object of indispensable necessity.

In the present temper of the kingdom it could not be supposed that an assembly so numerous, composed of members of different sects, would act with concord, uniformity, and effect: the gratification of private resentment rose superior to concern for the public welfare; and party contentions, with all their base concomitants of hasty accusations and petulant invective, were permitted to disgrace the proceedings of a convention assembled for the noblest purpose—to rescue the nation from distress, by giving strength and stability to the laws, and happiness and relief to the people. The Hugonots complained of the injuries they had sustained, the persecutions they had experienced, and the hardships to which they were exposed; demanded a repeal of all the penal laws passed in the preceding reigns, and claimed a free and perfect toleration of their religion. The clergy of the established church were not less loud in their complaints, nor less urgent in their applications for redress; they accused the sectaries of misrepresenting their conduct, of defaming their characters, and of sowing dissensions between the pastors and their flocks: they reproached them with exerting their superiority, in those places where they were strongest, to compel the Catholics to attend their meetings, to beat and mutilate the priests, to take forcible possession of the churches, to overturn the altars, to profane the sacred vases, and to inspire such terror into the regular clergy, that they did not dare to appear in public with any of the external marks of their profession. To redress these grievances, it was required, that all the penal laws against heretics should be rigidly enforced: that a *religious test* should be imposed, as an indispensable qualification for holding any office judicial, municipal, or political: and that the introduction of the money and inhabitants of *Geneva* into the kingdom should be strictly prohibited.

It was impossible to reconcile sentiments thus different, and claims thus opposite; and as the states evinced a disposition to consume their time in disputes of this nature, the queen mother deemed it necessary to remind them of the primary object of their meeting, and, after making all possible retrenchments in the king's household, reducing the pensions, and retrenching one quarter of the salaries of all officers whatever for the ensuing year, she submitted to the deputies an exact account of the debts and expences of the

<sup>1</sup> Légende du Cardinal de Lorraine.—La Planche.—Histoire Manuscrite de Francois II.—De Thou.



state; by which it appeared, that the former amounted to forty-three million, four hundred and eighty-three thousand livres, of which fifteen million, nine hundred and twenty-six thousand livres had been borrowed, at an usurious interest, of different banks; fourteen million, nine hundred and sixty-one thousand had been raised by alienations of the domain of the crown, of the aids and gabelles; five million, five hundred and eighty thousand had been appropriated to the purpose of paying the dowers of the king's aunt, and his two sisters; and two million, three hundred and twelve thousand, six hundred livres had been borrowed of persons who were to be repaid out of the revenue of the current year. The whole revenue, including all the taxes then established, was estimated at twelve millions, two hundred and fifty-nine thousand, eight hundred and twenty-nine livres: (about five hundred and ten thousand, eight hundred and twenty-six pounds sterling) and the expenditure at twelve million, two hundred and sixty thousand, a few pounds more than the revenue. But a considerable part of the revenue of the present year being pledged, it was evident that government, far from meliorating the situation of the people as they wished to do, would be wholly incapable of meeting the ordinary expences, or of having recourse to fresh loans, since no lenders could be met with.

But these considerations, weighty as they were, had no effect on the states, who pleaded their inability to make any provisions with regard to the revenue, without the express commands of their constituents; they therefore desired that the provincial states might again be convened, in order that they might obtain fresh instructions. Catharine finding they persevered in this resolution, at length determined to put an end to the session; and accordingly, on the last day of January, the king went to the assembly for that purpose. The chancellor, in his speech, observed; that the three orders had agreed in demanding the suppression of a multitude of newly-created offices, to which the want of money had alone given birth: that the king was as sensible as they were of the inconvenience of suffering them to subsist, but that they ought to be as sensible as the king was of the iniquity of dispossessing the present holders, without reimbursing them the money they had advanced, which the states had not supplied him with the means of doing. He begged them to consider, that Charles, being a minor, and not having been instrumental to the contracting that immense debt, of which they complained, ought not to become responsible for it: that the evil which preyed upon the state would daily encrease, and, by deferring the application of a proper remedy, they ran a risk of rendering it incurable: that it was evident, from the accounts which had been laid before them, that the state owed upwards of forty-three million of livres, and that the revenue was wholly insufficient to discharge any part of the interest due *on that enormous sum*: that the king, after examining the matter in his council, was of opinion, that the clergy should take upon themselves to redeem the alienated domain of the crown, and the produce of the aids and gabelles, pledged for the payment of about fifteen million of livres, within the term of six years: that the nobility, having, in the late wars, not only lavished their blood, but

mortgaged.

mortgaged their possessions for the service of the state, ought to be exempted from any immediate contribution, in lieu whereof, they should establish a duty on some article of general consumption, such as fifteen livres on every hogshhead of salt, which being divided among the three orders, would scarcely be felt by the nobility : that the third estate should submit either to an encrease of the present taxes, or to a fresh duty upon liquors. This last object of taxation, the chancellor remarked, was not rendered so productive in France as it might be, if an opinion could be formed from the customs of other countries : since at Venice, the duty upon wine produced the republic an annual revenue of two millions of ducats : that these taxes, or any other which the states might chuse to establish in their stead, should only continue for six years, or even a shorter time, if the national debt should be sooner discharged : that, in order to prevent the possibility of misapplication, the states might themselves authorize the municipal officers in the principal towns to collect the taxes, and apply the produce ; and, that not the shadow of a doubt might remain as to the real intentions of government, the king would bind himself by a solemn promise, and the queen-mother and the princes of the blood by their oaths, that as soon as the debt should be discharged, he would keep his household on the produce of his domains, and would require, for defraying all the other expences of the state, only the same subsidies as had been granted during the reign of Lewis the Twelfth.

“ Such,” said the chancellor, “ is the object which his majesty wished you to discuss before your dissolution : but since you are of opinion that you cannot proceed in a business of this nature without being formally authorized by the provincial states, the king will again convene them, not, as before, by bailiwicks, (for, in the present distress, it is proper to save the expence which those numerous assemblies occasion) but by *governments* : it will be sufficient for each of the great governments to send three deputies, one of each order, who must meet at Melun on the first of May.”

During the interval between the dissolution of the states and the meeting of the new convention, the kingdom was alike agitated by religious disputes and political intrigues. The queen-mother, anxious to secure the attachment of the Hugonots, caused letters-patent to be issued, by which the king forbade all his subjects, under the severest penalties, to insult each other on account of religion, and ordered all those to be released from prison whose only crime was that of having attended the conventicles, or complied with the other forms of the new religion, exacting only from such persons a promise to live *Catholiquement* in future ; and in case they should refuse to make that promise, they were still to be released, but on condition that they should leave the kingdom within a given time : the parliament was enjoined to re-publish the edict of Romorentin, without any restrictions whatever.



The parliament, however, refused to pay obedience to the commands of the king, and even when forced to compliance by more positive orders, they were so far influenced by a spirit of bigotry and persecution, that, four days after they had registered the letters, they issued an *arrêt*, forbidding, *under pain of death*, all persons, of whatever rank or condition, to hold conventicles or unlawful assemblies; to print or expose to sale any book on religion or the scriptures, without the permission of the court, and the previous approbation of two doctors of divinity. The parliament caused this *arrêt* to be published, by sound of trumpet, in the most public parts of Paris, as well as at Mons, Angers, Poitiers, Tours, Saumur, La Flèche, and, in short, at every town of any importance within their jurisdiction.

The Hugonots, meanwhile, held a synod at Poitiers, where they decided, that as the king was a minor, the states could take no measures for paying his debts, nor contracting any valid engagement whatever with him, until a council, chosen by the states lawfully assembled, should have been appointed to assist him with their advice: that those who now called themselves members of the council, had no right to assume that dignity, since their commission had expired with the monarch from whom they received it, and could not be renewed either by the new king, who was a minor, or by the queen-mother, to whom the law gave no such authority: that the chancellor himself should be warned to abstain from the exercise of his functions, as he did not hold his office either with the approbation of the states, or the consent of the princes of the blood: that, if government should refuse to comply with these demands, the deputies should abstain from all discussion whatever, and prefer an appeal to the future states-general, lawfully assembled.

This decision gave fresh vigour and energy to the intrigues of the court, where the partisans of either religion endeavoured to acquire a superiority; the arrival of the prince of Condé, at this critical period, seemed to turn the scale in favour of the Hugonots: that nobleman had refused to leave the place of his confinement until the Guises were removed from court, but the cardinal of Lorraine having voluntarily retired to his diocese of Rheims, and the duke of Guise consenting to express his disapprobation of the violent proceedings against the prince, and his belief of his innocence, Condé repaired to Fontainebleau, where he was publicly justified from the charges which had been preferred against him, by a decree of the council; and he afterwards obtained a decision of the parliament of Paris, sanctioning that decree<sup>2</sup>.

It had ever been the policy of Catharine of Medicis to profit by the animosity of the two parties, for the augmentation of her own power, and so to hold the scales between

<sup>2</sup> Memoires de Condé—La Planche—La Poplinière—De Thou.

them as to prevent either from securing a preponderance. Finding her authority questioned by the Hugonots, she thought it prudent to secure the attachment of their leaders; and as Coligni, from rank, station, and principle, was justly considered as entitled to great weight with his party, to him she now applied. Unambitious of honours, and negligent of rewards, all that the admiral required of her, was the promulgation of edicts favourable to the religion he professed; in return for which he undertook, not only to furnish an easy means for paying off the national debt, but also to restore the whole kingdom to a perfect state of tranquillity. By calculating the rapid progress which the new doctrines had hitherto made in the midst of the most cruel persecutions, he had fully persuaded himself that, under the influence of toleration, they would thrive so fast, that the whole nation would, in a few years, be induced to adopt them, without constraint, and without the necessity of shedding a single drop of blood; that, then, the immense riches of the Romish clergy might be employed, without any opposition, to paying the debts of the state, and for securing a comfortable subsistence for the ministers of the reformed church<sup>3</sup>. These plans of pacification, toleration, and reform, so perfectly coincided with the views of the chancellor, L'Hôpital, that an intimacy immediately took place between him and the admiral, which, though sometimes interrupted by subsequent events, was never dissolved. They had little difficulty in persuading Catharine of Medicis, who was more anxious to preserve her rank, and to liquidate the public debt, than to maintain the established religion, to second their measures. She was sensible, however, that previous to the publication of such edicts as the admiral required, it would be necessary to prepare the minds of the public for their reception; and as, in every state, the example of the sovereign has a vast influence over the people, it was deemed prudent first to try the docility of the court, that they might thence judge what they had to expect from the nation at large. Though it was now the season of Lent, butchers were allowed to keep their shops open, and meat was served at almost every table. Such of the princes and nobility as professed the new religion, had hitherto kept a chaplain among their other domestics, and had deemed it an indulgence to be allowed to attend divine worship, at some private house, at a distance from the palace; but their ministers were now allowed to preach at court, in public opposition to the Catholic priests.

Though Catharine did not dare to attend the sermons of the Hugonots, yet she allowed John de Montluc, bishop of Valence, who had imbibed the principles of the Calvinists, to hold daily conferences with them on controverted points, in the king's antichamber, at which she always contrived to be present, accompanied by all the ladies of her household. Attracted by this novelty, the whole court soon followed the example of the queen-mother; but the constable, ever hostile to the reformed, unless when his

<sup>3</sup> Garnier, tom. xxviii. p. 226, 227.



interest led him to approve their political plans, and grown petulant from age, vented his rage on the minister in the most indecent terms.

The marechal de Saint-André, a man of loose principles and ruined fortune, attached to the Guises more from interest than principle, eagerly embraced the opportunity afforded by the constable's discontent at the present conduct of Catharine, to promote a reconciliation between that nobleman and the princes of Lorraine: though a breach with his own family must be the necessary consequence of such an alliance, yet Montmorenci suffered that consideration to be outweighed by the suggestion that the Hugonots had publicly expressed their opinion of the propriety of reducing the national debt by revoking the many excessive grants bestowed by Henry the Second on his ministers and favourites: a league was accordingly formed between the duke of Guise, the constable, and the marechal de Saint-André, which was distinguished by the appellation of *The Triumvirate*. The object of this league was, to secure their own power and possessions, by a systematic opposition to the measures of their enemies, both religious and political: soon after it was concluded, the constable repaired to Chantilli, to attend the celebration of the nuptials of Thoré, his fourth son, with the rich heiress of the house of Humières, and the duke of Guise withdrew from the council, and retired to his seat at Nanteuil.

The admiral profited by the retreat of the triumvirs, to complain to the council of the conduct of the parliament of Paris, which, not content with having disobeyed the king's commands, by adding modifications to the edict of Romorentin, which totally destroyed its effect, had, on the twenty-eighth of March, passed an *arrêt*, by which they declared all those guilty of high treason who should attend conventicles at which any doctrine was preached contrary to that of the Romish church; and ordered the houses, in which such assemblies should be holden, to be razed to the ground. As the palace at Fontainebleau came within this description, the admiral was justified in representing these *arrêts* as so many attacks on the sovereign authority. A deputation from the parliament were accordingly ordered to wait on the king; and, after receiving a severe reprimand from the council, the deputies were told that it was his majesty's wish that, with regard to all orders that might be addressed to them on matters of government, they should confine themselves to implicit obedience, without venturing on any latitude of interpretation or imposition of restraint: that, on any difficult points, he should be happy to hear their remonstrances, but he forbade them to affix any kind of modification to his edicts and ordinances at the time of registering them.

A tumult which happened about this time at Beauvais, tended to widen the breach that subsisted between the Hugonots and Catholics. Fournier, a doctor of divinity, had in his sermons denounced the Châtillons to the citizens of Paris, as publick enemies, who were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to expel them from their habitations.

tions. The cardinal de Châtillon had, on the approach of Easter, retired to Beauvais, but instead of attending the ceremonies of the church, at the head of his clergy, he shut himself up in his episcopal palace, with some ecclesiastics of the same persuasion with himself. Emboldened by his example, the Hugonots insulted a procession, and being pursued by the mob, one of them was killed in the court-yard of the palace. The cardinal, uncertain whether he was the object of their rage, caused his doors to be barricaded, and made his appearance at a balcony, arrayed in his pontifical robes, which he had for some years disdained to wear, but which now served to calm the minds of the multitude. The queen, apprized of this transaction, sent orders to the mareschal de Montmorenci to hasten to Beauvais with a body of troops, and inflict an exemplary punishment on the insurgents. Finding, however, after a strict examination, that the tumult was the effect of a momentary impulse of popular resentment, and not the consequence of any fixed plan, the mareschal contented himself with hanging two of the principal offenders, and committing a few others to prison<sup>4</sup>.

The conjuncture appeared favourable for the promulgation of an edict that had been some time projected by the council; in which the king forbade all his subjects, under pain of death, without any hope of pardon, to insult each other by using the injurious appellations of *Papists* and *Hugonots*: or to violate the safety which every individual ought to enjoy in his own house, under pretence that unlawful assemblies were holden there; it ordained, that all prisoners confined on account of religion should be released; and that all exiles and fugitives should be permitted to return to France, where no one should be suffered to molest them, either in their persons or property, so long as they lived *Catholiquement*, and without giving offence; and if they violated these conditions, they should then be allowed to sell their effects, and retire wheresoever they pleased. The chancellor, knowing the disposition of the parliament of Paris, foresaw that they would oppose the registering of the edict; and in order to obviate this difficulty, he addressed it immediately to the magistrates of the inferior courts, who, by the edict of Romorentin, were appointed judges in dernier resort in all similar cases. The parliament were greatly incensed at this conduct, and, after protesting against such an irregular mode of proceeding, attacked, with greater violence than justice, the edict itself, and maintained the propriety of acting with vigour against the Hugonots, and of promoting their extirpation by encouraging informers<sup>5</sup>.

The remonstrances of the parliament were treated with contempt, and the edict, though wanting the requisite formality to give it the force of a law, was published in every part of the kingdom, except the metropolis: the consequence of its publication

<sup>4</sup> Bezé—De Thou—La Place—La Poplinière.

<sup>5</sup> Reg. du Parl.—Mem. de Condé—La Poplinière.



was a general commotion; even at Paris the meetings of the Hugonots daily encreased, and divine service began to be regularly performed. The place of greatest resort was the house of Gaillard, lord of Long-jumeau, situated in the suburb of Saint-Germain, near the *Pré-aux-Clercs*. A troop of scholars, accompanied by a body of citizens, affecting to consider these assemblies as insults to the publick, made a furious attack upon the house, but they were repelled by a number of gentlemen who had met there, who killed a few, and put the rest to flight: the next day the attack was renewed with greater fury, and many were slain on both sides. Gaillard, apprized that a criminal process had been instituted against him in the Châtelet, appealed to the parliament, and produced, in his defence, a copy of the last edict. The judges, unwilling to act in opposition to the will of the king, thus openly declared, and moreover at a loss how to apprehend a man who was surrounded by two or three hundred gentlemen, sent two members of the court to engage him to retire peaceably to his estate at Long-jumeau, offering, on that condition, to provide him with a guard, and to put his house under the immediate protection of the king,

In the midst of these disorders Charles repaired to Rheims, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed, on the fifteenth of May, by the cardinal of Lorraine<sup>6</sup>; who, availing himself of the opportunity when the king had just sworn, on the altar, to maintain the Catholic religion, and preserve the privileges of the clergy, represented to the queen-mother, in energetic terms, the state of oppression to which the church was reduced, and the necessity of immediately extricating her from a situation which foreboded her speedy ruin: for, in several places, the priests could not mount the pulpit and deliver their sermons, without being interrupted in the midst of them, and exposed to the grossest insults; the people even refused to pay tythe, and, what was still more alarming, the citizens, in various towns, had taken up arms against each other, and only waited for the signal of assassination. At an extraordinary council, holden at Rheims, on this subject, it was unanimously agreed that the best mode of providing a remedy for the evil complained of, would be to appoint an assembly of the prelates, to correct all the abuses which had crept into the Gallican church; and to admit, into such assembly, the most celebrated divines of the new sect, who should be at full liberty to defend their doctrine against the attacks of the Catholic theologians, in presence of the king himself.

But as it would be some time before this measure could be accomplished, it was deemed prudent to pass an edict that might, in the interval, keep the sectaries within bounds. One was accordingly issued—distinguished in history, by the appellation of *The July Edict*—by which all assemblies, public or private, at which sermons were preached, and the sacrament was administered, in a manner contrary to the rites of the Romish church, were prohibited, under

<sup>6</sup> De Thou.—La Poplinière.

pain of confiscation of property, to all who should attend them; and the crime of heresy was left to the sole cognizance of the bishops, on condition that the criminals whom they should resign over to the secular power, should experience no severer punishment than that of banishment. This edict, so different from the last, far from being adapted to the prevention of disorders, was calculated to promote them<sup>7</sup>.

On the twentieth of July, the prelates, in obedience to the summons they had received, assembled at Poissy, and soon after ten protestant ministers arrived at Saint-Germain, attended by two of the most celebrated divines of that age—Peter Martyr and Theodore de Bezé or Beza. The first had been a regular canon in the Romish church, then a professor at Strasburgh, where he married a nun; under the reign of Edward the Sixth, he was invited to England, whence he was banished on the accession of Mary; after which he returned to Germany, and was, at this time, first pastor of the church of Zurich. Bezé was by birth a Frenchman, of a noble family in Burgundy; being designed for the church, his parents had procured for him, at a very early age, two valuable livings: but his taste for the pleasures of the world was but ill-suited to the profession he had been led to embrace: his poetical talents introduced him to the acquaintance of the wits of the age; and he celebrated his amours with all the delicacy of Catullus and the licentiousness of Petronius<sup>8</sup>. At the age of thirty-two, satiated with voluptuous gratifications, and roused by a dangerous fit of sickness, he aspired to a different kind of celebrity, and openly espoused the doctrines of the reformed, which he had secretly imbibed at an early period of his life.

Having disposed of his livings, he retired to Geneva, where he became the friend and confident of Calvin, who employed him in various negotiations with foreign powers, in the management of which Bezé displayed the most acute penetration, and the most consummate skill. He equally distinguished himself in the theological disputations which now took place at Poissy, in which he excelled his adversary, the cardinal of Lorraine, as much in affability of manners, courtesy of address, and politeness of conduct.

<sup>7</sup> Bezé—La Planche—La Poplinière—De Thou—Lettres de Pasquier—Le Laboureur.

<sup>8</sup> Besides his Latin Poems, Bezé wrote several polemical works, most of which have long since been consigned to oblivion. The only one of these, which has been much noticed in later times, is his Treatise, *De Hæreticis a Magistratu Punien-dis*, written on account of the execution of Michael Servet, a physician, who, in 1553, was condemned by the magistrates of Geneva, at the instigation of Calvin, to be burnt, for having written a book against the Trinity. The Calvinists, who could bestow commendation on the founder of their sect, for having procured the execution of a man, who differed from himself in one point of religion, could surely have no right to complain of the persecutions they experienced from the Catholics on the same account.



as in strength of argument, depth of erudition, and splendour of eloquence. The conference, however, was productive of no good effect; and it soon appeared that neither party was open to conviction: the public disputations accordingly ceased, and a few of the most moderate of either sect met at a private house in the town of Saint-Germain, in order, if possible, to concert a formule agreeable to both religions. After various attempts, one was at length framed, containing nearly all the expressions used in the Romish church, but restrained by certain incident propositions, to the sense by which they were received by the reformers<sup>9</sup>. In this state it was delivered to the queen-mother, who referred it to the cardinal of Lorraine; and that prelate, after he had read it twice, protested that it perfectly coincided with his sentiments, and that he had never thought otherwise. It was then sent to the assembly at Poissy; the members whereof agreed with the cardinal; but, mistrusting their own judgment, they submitted the formule to the examination of the faculty of divinity, who were more accustomed to polemical disquisitions. These ingenious gentlemen soon discovered the deception, and boldly condemned the formule as *heretical, captious, and insufficient*, thus tacitly pronouncing the cardinal, and all the prelates, to be arrant blockheads! By this curious decision an end was put to the conferences.

While the clergy were assembled at Poissy, the two other orders of the state had met at Pontoise, and, after various debates, on the subject of the revenue, it was at length settled, that the clergy should pay sixteen hundred thousand livres a year, till such time as the redemption of the king's domains, which were pledged for fifteen millions, should be completed. The admiral and d'Andelot experienced much greater difficulty in persuading the nobility and the commons to consent to an adequate contribution: at last, however, by representing how important it was to all those who were interested in the progress of the reformation not to alienate, by a refusal, the mind of the queen, who, anxious to favour them, had promised to abrogate the *July Edict*, to grant the free exercise of the new religion throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, and speedily to make the necessary arrangements for bringing up the king, and her other children in that persuasion, they brought them to consent to the establishment of a new duty upon liquors, for six years, the annual produce whereof was estimated at twelve hundred thousand livres.

Thus, in order to accomplish her designs, Catharine made no scruple to contract two contradictory engagements in her son's name, at the same time; but, from her conduct at this period, it would appear that the last was that which she really meant to fulfil<sup>10</sup>. She retained Bezé and his companions near her person, and suffered them to preach within the precincts of the palace of Saint-Germain, whither an immense concourse of peo-

<sup>9</sup> Garnier, tom. xxix. p. 375.

<sup>10</sup> Brantôme—Lettres de Chantonnai—Lettres de Pasquier.

ple flocked to hear them. She appointed the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, who secretly favoured the new doctrines, to the office of superintendant of the king's education; and that nobleman encouraged Charles and his brothers to read books published by the Hugonots, and not only to be present at indecent farces, in which the ceremonies of the church of Rome were turned into ridicule, but to play parts in such exhibitions themselves.

The July-Edict, as might easily have been foreseen, encreased the disorder it was intended to remedy, for while it betrayed the disposition of the heads of the Catholic church, the neglect to enforce it encouraged the Hugonots to exert their power. In all towns where their superiority was manifest and decisive, the reformed had seized the principal churches, overthrown the altars, mutilated the statues, broken the sacred vases, and constrained the clergy either to fly, or to put arms in the hands of the Catholics in order to secure them from the danger of a surprize during the celebration of divine service. Requests were daily presented to the council, either from Catholics demanding the restitution of their churches, or from Hugonots complaining of some outrage or plot, real or imaginary.

As things could not possibly remain in this violent situation, it was determined, in the council, to begin by disarming indiscriminately all the citizens in the principal towns, and then to convene a certain number of deputies from the different parliaments, who, conjointly with the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, and other councillors of state, should devise, for the prevention of insurrections, some means alike applicable to all the provinces. The prince of La Roche-sur-Yon was ordered to enforce the execution of the letters-patent, by which the Parisians were ordered to carry their arms either to the Hotel de Ville, or to the arsenal; and the only resistance he experienced was on the part of the Hugonots, who being objects of aversion to the inhabitants, and greatly inferior to their adversaries in number, expressed a reluctance to rely for protection on the faith of the public. But assured that their safety would be effectually provided for by other means, they at length complied, and their example was followed by the citizens of Lyons, and some other places.

The Guises, averse from these measures, and having no means of preventing them, since they were debarred all access to the king of Navarre, and since the queen-mother was entirely devoted to their enemies, once more resolved to retire from court: but their departure was attended with a circumstance which furnished their adversaries with arms against them, and left a strong impression on the mind of Catharine<sup>11</sup>. James of

<sup>11</sup> Mem. de Condé—La Poplinière—Bezé—Brantôme.



Savoy, duke of Nemours, the inseparable companion of the Guises, had, for some time past, been extremely assiduous in his attention to Monsieur, the king's brother: on the eve of his departure from court, he had a long conversation with the young prince, in which, after expressing his own discontent at the measures of the ministry, he asked him whether he was not disgusted at the constraint and odious captivity in which he was kept, and whether he would not be glad to pass two or three months with relations and friends who would consider it as their duty, and make it their pleasure, to procure for him all the amusements suitable to his age? Mistaking the prince's silence for a proof of his assent to the proposal which the question implied, he pointed out the means of escaping from his attendants that very night, and engaged to carry him off: Monsieur, however, absolutely refused to accompany him, and the duke left the court, alone, the next morning. This mysterious conversation having been noticed by some of the attendants, they extorted the secret from the prince, and communicated it to the queen-mother, who was greatly incensed at the duke's conduct. Though the partizans of the Guises affected to consider the proposal as a mere joke, it was generally believed that the duke of Nemours had formed a plan for conveying Monsieur to Paris, with a view to excite, in concert with the Guises, an insurrection of the citizens, and to place him at the head of the Catholic party, under pretence that the ministers were bringing up the king in the principles of the reformed religion. This belief was farther sanctioned by the circumstance of the duke's repairing to Nanteuil, the seat of the duke of Guise, instead of going to Savoy, where his presence was required for the settlement of some family affairs; and by his refusal to obey the king, who sent him an order to return to Saint-Germain. The duke, however, sent Lignerolles, a confidential friend, to court, with submissive letters to Charles and his mother; but Catharine threw his messenger into prison, and complained so bitterly of the duke of Nemours to the duke of Savoy, that that prince forbade his kinsman to approach his court, until he had entirely cleared himself from the accusation that had been preferred against him.

The sermons of the Catholic clergy at Paris were, at this time, filled with invectives against government, and with other inflammatory remarks, that strongly tended to the fuscitation of discord, the priests inveighed, in particular, against the patience of the citizens, in suffering the municipal guard, which was paid by themselves, to be employed in escorting the Hugohots, whom they represented as alike enemies to God and man<sup>12</sup>. The most violent of these fanatics, a monk, named John de Han, preacher of the church of Saint-Bartholomew, was seized in his convent during the night, by an order from the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, but the citizens, having assembled in a tumultuous manner, hastened to Saint-Germain, and compelled the king to release him.

<sup>12</sup> Lettres de Pasquier—Felibien—Histoire de Paris—Registres du Parlement.

Nor were the Hugonots themselves less violent; two thousand of them, in consequence of a dispute occasioned by ringing the bells for vespers, in the vicinity of their meeting, attacked the parish church of Saint-Marceau, on the twenty-sixth of December, beat and drove away the catholics, collected there for the celebration of divine service, and committed their usual depredations on the altars, crosses, statues, and sacred vases.

A. D. 1562.] While the minds of the people were in this state of fermentation, the deputies from the different parliaments assembled at Saint-Germain, when the chancellor, in a long and able speech, remarkable for moderation of sentiment, and admirably calculated for the purpose of conciliation, explained the object of the convention: "You must not forget,"—said that magistrate—"that you are not met to examine which of the two religions is best, but to ensure the public tranquillity, by removing the usual pretext for tumults. Ought the exercise of the new religion to be tolerated agreeably to the requests of the nobility and commons, at the states of Pontoise? Or are we to regard, as a thing impossible, that men of different persuasions may live in peace with each other, and that a heretic can fulfil the duties of a citizen? These are the questions on which you are to decide."

After many debates, in the course of which no new arguments were employed, the queen-mother made a proposal, which was adopted by both parties: she declared that it was both her son's intention and her own, to live and die in the profession of the established faith, and not to suffer any attack to be made on it: that the king, therefore, meant that wherever the partizans of the new religion had seized upon the churches, they should restore them to the Catholics, without being permitted to build any others for their own use; that in consideration, however, of the offer they had constantly made of submitting to the decisions of a general council, and from a wish to give them time for reflection, he would consent that they should assemble unarmed, and in a peaceable manner, without the walls of the towns, in order to perform divine worship, under the immediate inspection of a magistrate: that this permission should only remain in force until the publication of the decrees of a general council, which should be considered as laws for all his subjects. The Catholics, inferior in numbers at this assembly, acceded to Catharine's proposal, in order to avoid a greater evil; and the reformed acquiesced, in order to acquire a civil existence, which, though restrained for the present, they hoped soon to be able to extend.

In consequence of this determination, the famous ordonnance, known by the appellation of the *January Edict*, was published<sup>13</sup>, to the great discontent both of the Catho-

<sup>13</sup> Recueil d'Edits de Charles IX.—Bezé, Hist. Eccles.—La Poplinière—D'Aubigné—Memoires de Condé.



lics and the Hugonots. The former considered it as a sanction to the establishment of a new religion in France, and ascribed to mere political motives the small degree of respect which Catharine still preserved for the established faith: while the latter, after the transactions of the last six months, having been led to expect a perfect freedom in religious matters, disdained a toleration accompanied by such humiliating restrictions. The principal ministers of the reformed, who still remained at Saint-Germain, where they now acted as the general agents of the party, deliberated among themselves whether or not they should accept the edict in its present state, and demanded a private conference on this subject with the chancellor L'Hopital. They had every reason to be satisfied with that magistrate's replies, since in the circular letter which they wrote to their churches, on sending them a copy of the edict, they exhorted their brethren to submit to it, not purely and simply, but agreeably to the interpretations which they, of their own authority, had given to many of the articles; observing, that in the present disposition of the king, the queen-mother, and the leading members of the council, this first indulgence would speedily be followed by others of greater importance.

The admiral, in order to engage Catharine to go as far as she had gone, had boasted of the strength and resources of the party, and had not scrupled to promise her, in the name of two thousand one hundred and fifty churches, the list whereof he produced, an army of fifty thousand men, equipped and paid for six months, to which might be added an equal force, that the Protestant princes of Germany would willingly supply. But these vague promises not satisfying her, she desired to have an exact list of the number of men fit for service, and of the money which each church would engage to furnish, in case the Catholics should take arms, and call the king of Spain to their assistance: many of the churches, however, knowing her disposition, and afraid of trusting her, refused to give her this satisfaction.

Meanwhile a report was circulated in Italy and Spain, that a Catholic league was forming, in order to repress the progress of heresy in Europe, of which the king of Spain was appointed chief. Catharine, alarmed at this intelligence, sent Sebastian de L'Aubespine, bishop of Limoges, to the Spanish court, with orders to represent to Philip, that the last edict in favour of the Hugonots gave her the greatest displeasure; and that nothing but the critical situation of the kingdom could have induced her to give it the sanction of her assent: that the indulgence there granted to the Hugonots was only to last till the decisions of the council of Trent should be known, to whose decrees they had professed their readiness to submit, provided they were allowed to explain the motives of their conduct: that she had, in consequence of these professions, just written to the pope, for safe-conducts, and to urge him to accelerate the proceedings of the council, on which the future happiness of France must depend. Catharine charged her ambassador to express her entire confidence in the knowledge, integrity, and affection of her son-in-law, by whose advice she wished to regulate her future conduct; but, as she was highly discontented with his minister,

minister, Granvelle de Chantonnai, she desired he would convey his sentiments to her by some other channel, or, rather, consent, when he went to attend the states of Arragon, to advance to the frontiers of France, where she would give him the meeting, at any time he would appoint, accompanied by the king, her son; and hoped that Philip would take his wife with him, that she might have the extreme satisfaction of pressing both her children to her bosom.

Philip, without rejecting her proposals for a personal interview, thought proper to defer it to a future time: he made excuses for his ambassador, whose officiousness he ascribed solely to his zeal for the support of the true faith, an object which he had particularly recommended to his attention: he requested her to take in good part all the measures he might be led to adopt in the same cause, from concern for the interest of his brother-in-law, as well as for his own, since it would be impossible for him to preserve Spain and the Low Countries from the infection of the new doctrines, if they once took root in France: he strenuously exhorted her to purge the kingdom of this contagion by fire and sword, and offered her all the assistance she might want for that purpose.

At the same time that this artful princess was amusing the pope and the king of Spain with professions of zeal for the established faith, she carried on negotiations with the Protestant princes of Germany: she applied, successively, to the elector palatine, the Landgrave of Hesse, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and James d'Angennes, lord of Rambouillet, urging them to enter into a league which might enable them to oppose the sanguinary resolutions that were on the point of being adopted by the council of Trent, which she represented as a conspiracy of all the Catholic princes against the Protestants. She well knew, she said, how odious the favour she had constantly shewn to those who lived according to the purity of the Gospel had rendered her to their barbarous persecutors, and she must expect that her refusal to join them in their plots, would draw their first attacks upon herself; but they ought to consider that, if they suffered her to be crushed, they would be less capable of defending themselves, when their turns should come. The electors thanked her for the important advice she gave them, and exhorted her to persist in the pious resolution she had taken, to have no concerns with the pretended council. Each of them promised her as many troops as she chose to take into her service, but they all declined entering into any discussion on her proposal for the formation of a league, and on the other measures which it would be proper to pursue, until they should have a more perfect knowledge of the strength and intentions of their common enemies.

But notwithstanding this reserve, on the part of the Protestant princes, Catharine was aware that she had already advanced too far to retreat, and she accordingly pursued with warmth the publication and execution of the late edict. It was registered by the parliaments of Rouen, Bourdeaux, Toulouse and Grenoble, without much difficulty, because in those



provinces where the commotions were most violent, and where the number of Hugonots almost equalled that of the Catholics, an immediate remedy was deemed indispensable<sup>14</sup>. At Dijon, on the contrary, it was unanimously rejected by the parliament, because the reformed religion had made less progress in Burgundy; and Tavañnes, the governor, had taken upon himself to enforce the execution of the July-Edict. Catharine, however, persisting in her determination, appointed commissioners, whom she armed with all the plenitude of sovereign authority, to make all the refractory provinces comply. The resistance was strongest from the parliament of Paris, who made repeated remonstrances to the king, which, though founded on erroneous principles, containing maxims both false and pernicious, were not wholly destitute of wise and judicious observations. In one of these they remark that—the magistrates, who are the representatives of the prince in the discharge of his most dignified functions, ought to be of the same religion with him, and there never existed a government in which this maxim was not inviolably observed. Even among the Turks, where Christians and Jews are tolerated, every public officer is a Mahometan. But after a violent opposition, the parliament was, at length, compelled to yield, and decreed—*That, in consideration of the urgent necessity of the case, and in obedience to the king's will, the edict should be registered and published, without approbation of the new religion*<sup>15</sup>.

These restrictions appeared of little consequence to the Hugonots, who were equally determined with the most zealous Catholic, not to abide by the letter of the edict: for it seemed to be agreed, on both sides, that things could not long remain within the limits prescribed, and that, considering the general animosity which obtained, one party must inevitably crush the other: Paris was the field in which this grand quarrel was to be decided, since nobody doubted that the example of the capital would, sooner or later, be followed by all the towns in the kingdom<sup>16</sup>. The prince of Condé, aware of this, had repaired to the metropolis, and became the more enterprising, as he was sure of not displeasing those in power, even though he should act in opposition to the late edict, provided he had recourse to subterfuges, and could, on occasion, find plausible excuses for his conduct. Thus, although the edict had renewed the former prohibition against armed assemblies, as such prohibition did not appear to extend to the houses of the princes of the blood, he made his friends and attendants go to meeting armed as before, only taking the precaution to be present himself, and to escort the ministers, in going and returning, because the three or four hundred gentlemen who accompanied him might be supposed to belong to his household. The edict forbade the raising of money, and all personal contributions, but it admitted of alms: the prince, setting the example himself, engaged the courtiers, and all the Hugonots at Paris who could afford it, to double and triple, at this critical period,

<sup>14</sup> Bezé—La Poplinière—De Thou—D'Aubigné—Gaufredi, Histoire de Provence. xxix. p. 477.

<sup>16</sup> Lettres de Chantonnai—La Poplinière.

<sup>15</sup> Garnier, tom.

these pretended alms, the produce whereof was to be employed in distributing, gratis, or at a very low price, catechisms and instructions of the composition of Calvin; and in purchasing arms, in foreign countries, for such of the citizens and students as were unable to procure any themselves. But all these machinations were rendered abortive by an intrigue of the cardinal of Ferarra, the pope's legate, and the ministers of the king of Spain.

The legate had long been employed in endeavouring to sow dissention between the leaders of the Hugonots and the king of Navarre; and, in order to accomplish this plan, he had tempted Anthony by the hope of obtaining for him the restitution of the kingdom of Navarre, which was in possession of Philip. The Spanish ambassador entered into the intrigue, and the credulity of Anthony was easily imposed upon: he was soon prevailed on to dismiss the Protestant governors, whom his wife, a zealous Hugonot, had assigned to her infant son, Henry, and to replace them with Catholics. Bezé and his companions were driven from Saint Germain, and took refuge with the prince of Condé at Paris, whither they were soon followed by d'Andelot, who, with the consent of the queen-mother<sup>17</sup>, took the prince a reinforcement of three hundred veteran troops, whom the mareschal de Montmorenci stationed in the suburbs.

It was next agreed between Anthony and the duke of Alva, that the Spanish ambassador should, in his master's name, require the dismissal of the Châtillons from the council, and that this demand should be supported by the king of Navarre, and all the Catholics. The queen-mother was soon apprized of this resolution by the bishop of Limoges, the French ambassador at the court of Spain, and from the displeasure she evinced on the occasion it was supposed that the admiral might easily have persuaded her to reject such a proposal with all the contempt it deserved, and to come to an open quarrel with the king of Navarre. He deemed it, however, more prudent to make a voluntary retreat; and he accordingly asked and obtained, not without much apparent difficulty, permission to pass some time at his own seat, under the usual pretext of settling some family affairs. His departure was so fixed, that while the Spanish ambassador entered the palace of Saint Germain at one gate, the admiral left it by another, in order to repair to Châtillon-upon-Loire: nothing could be more mortifying to the proud spirit of Catharine, than the consideration, that the very man whose recall she had been unable to procure, was the person fixed on to bring an order for the dismissal of those of her counsellors in whom she reposed the greatest confidence. She contained herself, however, until he had fulfilled his commission; she then expressed her displeasure in strong terms, observing that some one must have prejudiced her son-in-law against her, or he never would have ventured on a measure so contrary to the conduct he had been accus-

<sup>17</sup> Garnier.



tomed to observe towards her; that she was resolved to have an interview with him, before the expiration of the year, in order to clear up the mystery, and that the issue of that interview would be such, that those, who for their own private interest, had sown diffentions between such near relations, would have no reason to congratulate themselves on the success of their efforts. She added, that she had granted permission to the admiral Coligni, and to d'Andelot, at their particular request, to absent themselves from the council, in order to attend to their own private affairs: that the cardinal of Châtillon had also asked permission to retire to his diocese of Beauvais, which she could the less think of refusing, as it was her intention that all the other prelates and governors who were members of the council, should in future reside in their respective provinces, where their presence had become absolutely necessary.

The object of this expedient, which had been suggested to the queen by her confidants, was not so much intended to save the honour of the Châtillons, as to punish the cardinal of Tournon, and the mareschal de Saint André, whom she supposed to be the authors of this intrigue. The mareschal had given rise to such a suspicion by his assiduous attention to the king of Navarre, ever since he had perceived in his behaviour certain indications of an approaching change. First author of the extraordinary association of the constable with the duke of Guise, it was firmly believed that he would exert his utmost endeavours to induce the lieutenant-general of the kingdom to follow the example of Montmorenci, which the queen was resolved, if possible, to prevent<sup>18</sup>. She accordingly communicated to the council the alarming accounts she had received from different parts of the kingdom, and declared that, in pursuance of antient ordonnances, and of the late regulation adopted at the request of the states-general, it was the king's intention that all bishops and governors of provinces should immediately retire to their respective places of residence, to exercise their functions, and provide for the public security. The cardinal of Tournon, though advanced in years, and borne down with infirmities, obeyed, in respectful silence, the commands of his sovereign; but the mareschal de Saint André, under pretence of a promise he had made to Henry the Second, never to leave his sons during their minority, positively refused to comply.

Catharine, having failed in this attempt, had recourse to another expedient: she resolved to repair to the royal castle of Monceaux in Brie, and to take with her the king of Navarre, who was deeply enamoured of one of her maids of honour, the beautiful Rouet, who appeared a proper person to detach that prince from his new friends, or at least to extort from him an explanation of his secret intentions. She was farther induced to accelerate her journey on account of the critical situation of Paris at this conjuncture. The prince of Condé, notwithstanding his activity, had not made so rapid a pro-

<sup>18</sup> Garnier.

gress as he had expected: of that confused multitude which curiosity, idleness, or interest had led to attend the meetings of the Hugonots, a very considerable part had disappeared since the king of Navarre had manifested a change of sentiment; and although assemblies of seven or eight thousand persons were still holden, the only effective force on which the prince could rely, consisted of about four hundred gentlemen, three hundred veteran soldiers brought by d'Andelot, three hundred students, and three or four hundred citizens; and these last were unarmed. On one side, the impossibility of making himself master, with this handful of men, of a city so extensive as Paris; on the other, the necessity of preventing the return of the duke of Guise, who was on his march at the head of his own company, induced the prince and his friends to adopt the resolution of procuring, without loss of time, a reinforcement of five or six thousand Hugonots from Champagne and Picardy, who were to arrive in small bands, and lie concealed either in the suburbs, or else in the houses of the Protestant citizens. The chief difficulty in the accomplishment of this plan, consisted in preventing the first armed companies who should make their appearance from giving the alarm to the inhabitants, and thereby exciting a commotion so violent as to compel the government to restore their arms to them. In order to prepare the people for this novel sight, the reformed church at Paris appointed a deputation to wait on the queen-mother, to represent the insults and public acts of violence to which the small number of the faithful, who assembled to serve God according to the liberty which the king had granted them by his last edict, were exposed from an insolent and seditious populace; and to supplicate her to accord permission, to such of the citizens as were able to incur the expence, to purchase arms, not with a view to make any use of them, but merely to keep those turbulent spirits in awe which the authority of the magistrates was insufficient to restrain. The municipal body, being apprized of this deputation, dispatched another to inform the queen-mother of a report which generally prevailed of a conspiracy then forming by the Hugonots, for the purpose of sacking the capital, and of their marching armed through the streets, and insulting every person they met. They complained bitterly of the marshal de Montmorency, their governor, who, far from chastising such as were guilty of this insolence, seemed to encourage them, and no longer took any pains to conceal his partiality. They earnestly besought her either to provide, without delay, for the safety of Paris, or to restore their arms to the inhabitants.

Catharine, however, renewed the prohibition to carry arms to both parties, promising to attend to their complaints, and immediately to take measures for removing the cause of them. Convinced, by these events, that matters were coming to a crisis, and deeming the king unsafe at his usual residence, Saint Germain, she took him to Monceaux, accompanied by the secretaries of state, the king of Navarre, and the pope's legate. It so happened that on the same day on which he left Saint Germain, the constable set out from Ecouan to join the duke of Guise, who was expected at Nanteuil, and the two parties came in sight of each other near Saint Denis. Sanfac, who commanded the van-  
guard.



guard of the king's household troops, sent to apprize the constable of the king's approach; but that nobleman, unwilling to explain the motive of his journey, took care to avoid the meeting by quickening his pace; leaving the queen in astonishment at such a mark of disrespect, and wholly at a loss to account for his conduct.

The duke of Guise, who had left the court towards the end of November, had recently accompanied his brother the cardinal to Saverne, where they had agreed upon a conference with the duke of Wirtemberg, who had promised to bring with him some of his most expert theologians. The real object of this interview was to engage the duke and his colleagues, who were followers of Luther, to renounce all alliance with the French Hugonots, and thereby to disappoint the admiral and the queen-mother of the assistance they expected to receive from that quarter. The best mode of effecting their purpose, they conceived, would be to prove to the duke that the doctrine of the Catholics differed less from the confession of Augsburg on the fundamental points of religion, than that of the Hugonots. Whether Brentius, (a protestant divine in whom the duke reposed great confidence,) was a man of a moderate and conciliating disposition, or whether the cardinal of Lorraine, who had never evinced any violent aversion from the doctrines of Luther<sup>10</sup>, displayed greater condescension on controverted points at this time, the duke was astonished, at the end of an amicable conference which lasted several hours, to find them of the same opinion in almost every particular; and he no longer scrupled to attend a sermon preached by the cardinal. He even engaged to send an ambassador and a certain number of divines, not directly to Trent, because the measures it was necessary to preserve with the princes his colleagues rendered the adoption of a step so decisive highly imprudent, but to some neighbouring town, whither the council might conveniently depute an equal number of Catholic theologians; on condition that the cardinal of Lorraine should preside at the conferences. The joy which the Guises experienced at the success of this first overture was greatly augmented by a letter which the duke of Guise received at this period, from that wavering and irresolute prince, the king of Navarre, who requested his friendship, and ordered him, in virtue of his authority as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to place himself at the head of his own company, and of as many friends as he could collect, and to come, without loss of time, to defend the Catholic religion, and to save the capital. The duke immediately left Saverne, and after passing two or three days at Joinville, hastened to obey the summons he had received.

As the duke of Guise passed through the small town of Vassy, in Champagne, on his road to Paris, he stopped to attend the celebration of divine service: and being in-

<sup>10</sup> Garnier.—Bezé, Hist. Eccles.—La Poplinière—Belcarius—Memoires de Condé—De Thou—Légende du cardinal de Lorraine.

formed that a Protestant-meeting had, in contradiction to the late edict, been established in a barn, within the town, and very near the parish-church, he sent one of his officers, attended by two pages, to desire the minister would come to speak to him. On the approach of the officers, the door of the meeting-house was shut against them, and, on their knocking with considerable violence, some of the Hugonots, who were then assembled at their devotions, went out to chastise them for an interruption which they deemed unseasonable and improper: a scuffle ensued, and the duke of Guise, being apprized of it, hastened to the spot, attended by his troops. He was immediately assailed with a volley of stones; whence he received a slight contusion on the arm, and De Brosse, one of his officers, was severely wounded on the head: the soldiers, enraged at the sight, immediately fired on the Hugonots, then entering the barn, put numbers of them to the sword, before the duke of Guise could repress their violence: Some authors assert that only thirty of the reformed were slain, and about double that number wounded<sup>20</sup>; but others, with greater probability, maintain that the number of the killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and sixty<sup>21</sup>. The minister, wounded in several places, was conveyed to Saint-Dizier, where the duke preferred his complaint, and demanded justice against those who had commenced the attack. Having received information that the reformed were preparing to dispute his passage, and that captain Vaudrai-Saint-Phalle, was laying wait for him at Vitri, with six hundred men, he quitted the Paris road for that of Rheims, where he was not expected.

The news of the massacre of Vass, as it was called by the Hugonots, was soon spread over Europe, and the party endeavoured, by means of this event, to render the duke of Guise an object of general execration. Bezé and Francourt, deputed by the reformed church at Paris, represented him to the queen-mother, as a new Herod, who had coolly meditated and executed the massacre of the innocents. Catharine observed that she could not conceive a man so prudent and reserved as the duke of Guise could be guilty of so atrocious an act, but that the whole affair should be duly investigated, and justice administered with strictness and impartiality: the king of Navarre, however, was more violent; he called the deputies two trumpets of sedition, told them it ill became *them* to talk of law and justice who daily violated both by appearing in arms. Bezé replied, that arms in the hands of wise men were a pledge of peace, and that what had happened at Vass sufficiently proved that the government ought not to forbid the use of them to Hugonots, before they had taken effectual means for providing for their safety; that nobody would believe that an assembly composed of peaceable peasants, of women and children, met to worship God, could have given provocation to a company of Gendarmerie: that if it were true that some of them had failed in respect to the duke of Guise, he had a sufficient force to deliver them up to justice, without committing

<sup>20</sup> Garnier.<sup>21</sup> Mezerai.



such a dreadful massacre : that, in their applications for redress, the church of Paris could be influenced by no personal enmity to the duke of Guise, since, if the prayer of their petition were granted, he would thence derive an opportunity of proving his innocence ; that if the persons of the deputies were now the object of displeasure to the king of Navarre, he begged that prince to recollect by whom, and for what purpose, he had been invited to France.

At a private conference which the deputies had with Catharine, that princess promised to prevent the duke of Guise from proceeding to Paris<sup>22</sup> ; but whether it was her intention to perform this promise or not, it is impossible to ascertain. The duke of Guise disregarded the invitation she sent him to repair to Monceaux, and being joined by the constable, the duke of Aumale, the marechal de Saint-André, Martigues and Randan, he continued his route to the capital, which he entered at the head of twelve or fifteen hundred horse, on the sixteenth of March ; and was received with the most extravagant symptoms of joy by the greater part of the inhabitants ; who hailed him as their protector and guardian angel. The day after his arrival, he sent one of his officers to the prince of Condé, with his compliments, and offers of service ; but at the same time, he took care to provide for his own safety, and never went to the council, without being escorted by a numerous body of cavalry : the prince himself took similar precautions, whenever he conducted the Protestant ministers to their meeting, or attended the council that was holden at the chancellor's. This last council was chiefly composed of the queen of Navarre ; the lady of Crussol, *confidente* to the queen-mother ; the cardinal of Châtillon ; his brother d'Andelot ; and Montluc, bishop of Valence. The first, which assembled at the constable's, consisted of the duke of Guise and his two brothers, the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Aumale ; the marshals Saint-André, Brissac, and Termes ; two or three councillors of state, and the chief magistrates of the sovereign courts : the marechal de Montmorenci attended neither of the councils ; for though, on the one side, he was deterred by filial respect from taking part against his father, his conscience on the other deterred him from favouring any violent measures that might be adopted against his friends and relations. He was soon released from this embarrassing situation by the queen-mother, who appointed the cardinal of Bourbon, brother to the prince of Condé, to supersede him in the government of Paris.

The new governor began his administration by issuing orders to the leaders of both parties to repair to Monceaux ; but the duke of Guise being entreated—probably, at his own instigation—by the Parisians to remain in the capital, refused to comply ; and the latter soon obtained, from the queen-mother, the restoration of their arms, with an

<sup>22</sup> La Noue—D'Aubigné—La Poplinière—Mémoires de Condé.

additional accession of strength, by the arrival of the king of Navarre, who came to signalize his zeal in defence of the catholic faith.

As a religious procession was to take place on Palm Sunday, at which it was expected the duke of Guise would be present, some gentlemen of distinction among the reformed attended the consistory, and offered to poniard him, provided the church would avow the enterprize; but the ministers expressed their disapprobation of such a mode of proceeding, observing that acts of violence were only authorized in matters which concerned the public safety, and when the courts of justice were shut against them: that they had denounced the author of the massacre at Vassy to the queen, who had promised that justice should be done them; and nothing, therefore, should be attempted, till that business was brought to a conclusion.

The prince of Condé, finding his enemies so greatly superior, resolved to quit Paris; and he accordingly repaired to his seat near Meaux, where he was soon after joined by the admiral and his friends. The first object of the Hugonots, after failing in their attempt upon Paris, should have been to secure the king's person, which would have given them a great advantage over their enemies, who, in that case, would have been reduced to the necessity, either of acting simply on the defensive, or of committing the crime of rebellion, in attacking their sovereign. This attempt would have been attended with no difficulty, as the queen herself would have favoured its execution: she had, indeed, expressly summoned the prince of Condé to her assistance; her language, animated and pathetic, exhorted him strongly to rescue her son from captivity, and afforded him the pretext he wished for to arm his associates. She had already quitted Monceaux, on account of its vicinity to Paris, and removed to Fontainebleau, where she proposed only to remain till such time as the prince should have secured some other asylum. But the Hugonots were averse from the adoption of a scheme that would have worn the appearance of violence; and thinking it better to provide a place of safety to which the queen and her son might voluntarily retire, they fixed their eyes on the city of Orleans, which d'Andelot, with his three hundred veterans, undertook to surprize. Meanwhile the Triumvirate, accompanied by the king of Navarre, the marshal Brissac, de Termes, and a considerable body of troops, hastened to Fontainebleau, and secured the king, under the pretext of rescuing him from the enterprises of the Hugonots; nor could the impotent tears of the royal youth change the designs of this rebellious band, who conducted him, with his indignant mother, first to Melun, and afterwards to the capital.

The prince of Condé, intent on the reduction of Orleans, marched from Meaux, the same day on which the Catholic noblemen left Paris, and had occasioned a great alarm in the metropolis. The sudden appearance of a numerous body of cavalry, near the gate of Saint-Honoré, made the citizens fear that the prince had been secretly invited thither



by the reformed, who had not yet discontinued their assemblies; and in this persuasion they flew to arms, and prepared to sustain a siege. The prince's object, however, was only to secure the bridge of Saint-Cloud, which commanded the road to Orleans; which city he did not reach till after d'Andelot had taken possession of it.

The constable had no sooner entered Paris, than he seized and imprisoned Ruzé, an advocate, who was general agent to the reformed churches; then repairing to the new Jerusalem, in the suburb of Saint-James, which now served as a temple for the Hugonots, burnt the pulpit, the table and benches: the same night he went to another place of worship in the suburb of Saint-Anthony, and, not content with burning the furniture, he suffered the house itself to be reduced to ashes<sup>23</sup>. By this conduct Montmorenci pleased the mob, and degraded himself in the eyes of all rational men. The king, on his arrival in the capital, promised the citizens to forbid all exercise of the new religion within their territory: the prohibition indeed was superfluous, for all the Hugonots immediately left Paris, and retired to Orleans.

That city now became a second capital in the kingdom, or rather the metropolis of an extensive and well-organised state, which was neither an oligarchy nor a democracy, although it partook of the nature of both those species of governments. The admiral was the founder of this state: considering that the prince of Condé, notwithstanding the prerogatives attached to his birth, had no other claim to the obedience of the Hugonots than what they were willing to allow him; that whatever confidence they might repose in him, it was dangerous to entrust him with an authority which he might be tempted to abuse, either by changing parties, from motives of personal interest, or by engaging them in measures repugnant to the wishes of the majority; and, lastly, that as it was impossible the enterprize could prosper or even be carried on without the unanimous concurrence and united efforts of all the parties concerned, every man would engage in it with greater ardour, if he enjoyed the rank which he thought his due, and if every thing were decided by a plurality of suffrages; he engaged the principal nobility, and the prince himself, to sign a deed of association, confirmed by the solemnity of an oath, which was to continue, in force till such time as the king should come of age, and the object whereof was, first, to release the king and the queen-mother from the state of captivity in which they were holden by the Triumvirs, and, secondly, to maintain the free exercise of the reformed religion, conformably to the edict of January. The prince of Condé was unanimously chosen chief of the association, under the title of *protector and defender of the crown*; and the associates all swore obedience and submission to him, so long as he should continue to act as their chief, and to follow the advice of the councils, three of which were formed: the first, composed of the principal nobility, had the conduct of all military enterprizes, negotiations, and other affairs in which secrecy

and celerity were required : the second, consisting of ministers, elders, and officers of the second rank, was destined to regulate the police and all matters subject to a long discussion : the third, was formed of all such as were excluded from the two first, and its province was to deliberate on objects which concerned the whole community, such as the acceptance of a treaty of peace, or the approbation of a new regulation. The principal members of the secret council, after the prince of Condé, were the three Châtillons ; the prince of Porcien, of the house of Croui ; the count de la Rochefoucaud ; the viscount of Rohan ; Montgomery, count of Lorges ; the count of Grammont ; Duras ; Soubise ; Vaudrai, lord of Mouai ; Raguier, lord of Esternai ; and Genlis and Ivoi, two brothers. The admiral, justly regarding the establishment of military discipline as not less essential than the preservation of union to the existence of the party, proposed in the council that a chaplain should be appointed to each company, who should preach up obedience and good order, read prayers night and morning, announce the word of God, and enforce, by his exhortations, a purity of manners, and a rigorous attention to reduce to practice the precepts of the gospel.

All these regulations, however, must have proved of little avail, unless some means had been devised for supporting and encreasing the army they had on foot. The private fortunes of the leaders were the more inadequate to this purpose, as they were now deprived of all their pensions and salaries, and even their estates were liable to be confiscated by an arrêt of the parliament. Four or five different modes of raising the necessary sums suggested themselves to the reformed : the first was a general contribution of the churches, to which the prince of Condé had recourse when he attempted to secure the capital ; but their zeal had perceptibly diminished since the publication of the last edict, which granted them nearly all they desired : the church of Paris had, indeed, continued her supplies, though with such a sparing hand, that the prince's first military chest contained only sixteen hundred crowns. He now dispatched couriers to the different provinces, and addressed circular letters to the two thousand five hundred churches, in the name of which he acted, to apprize them of the change which had taken place in the situation of affairs, and to request a speedy supply of men and money : the second mode was to seize on the produce of the taxes, whenever they should find themselves sufficiently strong : the third, to pillage all the abbies and monasteries, and to seize on all the valuable vases and ornaments and even on the *bells*, of the Catholic churches, which to some of the most fanatical ministers appeared the best means for the destruction of idolatry, and the reformation of the Romish clergy, who were more attached to their riches than to the duties of their office : the fourth, which consisted in procuring assistance from foreign powers, excited scruples in the mind of the admiral, who expressed great repugnance at the idea of exposing his country to be pillaged by foreigners, at least before the triumvirs had set them the example. As there could be little doubt, however, that the government, in the embarrassment to which it would speedily be reduced, would accept the offers repeatedly made by



the pope and the king of Spain, and as it would be highly imprudent to defer taking precautions till reduced to the last extremity, it was determined to send agents to the different courts whence assistance might be reasonably expected, but with orders not to urge their solicitations until they should receive farther instructions; the prince, keeping only his wife and eldest son with him at Orleans, had the precaution to send his other children, with the lady of Roye, his mother-in-law, into Germany, to second the efforts of his negociators, and to serve as hostages for the repayment of any money that might be advanced him.

At the same time, the prince published a manifesto, in which he expatiated, with much energy, on the conduct of his adversaries, and the insults and oppressions to which the Hugonots had been exposed, in violation of the last edict: protesting, in the face of the world;—1. That, swayed by no motives of private interest, he only had recourse to arms in order to discharge a part of the obligation imposed on him by his quality of prince of the blood, to ensure to the nation the support of its liberties and laws, and, particularly, of the edict of January, accorded by the king, at the request of the states-general, framed after the advice of the first persons in the kingdom, and registered in all the parliaments: 2. That if his adversaries should dare lay their hands on the supplies granted to the king by the three orders of the state, for the payment of the national debt, and appropriate, either to their own private profit, or to the support of their unjust enterprize, funds destined to renew the happy times of Lewis the Twelfth, he would make them responsible for the same: 3. That, although he would yield to no man living in submission and obedience, he besought their majesties not to be offended if, seeing them in the power of armed and desperate men, he would not suffer himself to be trodden upon, and obeyed none of their commands, from the impossibility of distinguishing their real sentiments, in a situation in which they were not allowed to follow the dictates of their inclinations: 4. That, in order to remove all doubts as to the motives by which he and his associates were actuated in the seizure of Orleans, they took the liberty of proposing to the queen-mother two plans, which appeared to them calculated to promote the immediate restoration of public tranquillity—that, if she would dismiss the odious retinue by which she was surrounded, go with her son to any town she chose to fix upon, equi-distant from Paris and Orleans, and then order the leaders of either party to disarm, and repair to court, in order to give an account of their conduct; or, remaining at the Louvre, to send indiscriminately to all those who had taken arms, and especially to the duke of Guise, the constable, and the mareschal de Saint André, an absolute order to lay them down, and to retire to their respective houses, there to live, in a private manner, until the king should come of age; in either of these cases, he engaged, as well for himself as for his associates, to follow the example of his adversaries, and to lay aside his rank of prince of the blood, in order to reduce himself to a state of perfect equality; but

but in case both these propofals should be rejected, and the king's name abused for the oppression of his faithful subjects, he declared he never would suffer it<sup>24</sup>.

These propofals were highly acceptable to Catharine, but she did not dare to avow her sentiments on the occasion, lest she should be suspected of having suggested them herself. The chancellor L'Hôpital exerted himself to enforce their acceptance, by raising up insurmountable difficulties to every means that was proposed in the council for levying troops. The constable, enraged at his opposition, reproached him with his conduct, and bade him recollect, that a man of his profession should ever be silent when war was the object of deliberation. "*It is true,*" replied the chancellor, "*that men of my profession are generally ignorant HOW war should be waged, but, in return, they very well know WHEN it ought to be waged.*" Considering, at length, that by persisting in his efforts, however laudable, he should accelerate his disgrace, and that the public voice had already designated the cardinal of Armagnac, a near relation to the queen of Navarre, and a friend of the constable's, for his successor, he withdrew from the council, and his example was imitated by the count of Crussol, and some other members who favoured the new doctrines. To conceal, from the eyes of the multitude, the void which this secession occasioned in the council, several dependants of the party were admitted to seats at the table; such as—D'Escars and Lenoncourt, bishop of Auxerre, principal officers to the king of Navarre; Gouffier de Boissi, grand equerry, and Sanfac, particular friends of the constable; and La Brosse and Maugiron, who were attached to the duke of Guise. The triumvirs having thus removed every obstacle to their measures, prepared for war, having previously extorted, from their youthful sovereign and his captive mother, a declaration, importing that they had come to Paris of their own free will, and were then at perfect liberty. After the promulgation of so notorious a falsehood, which the party had the audacity to register in the parliament, they proceeded to discuss the article of religion, which occasioned greater difficulties than they had expected. By engaging the king to discover an intention of revoking, sooner or later, the edict of January, they would inevitably rouse to arms a million of men, whom they would find it difficult to reduce, and whose extermination must, in that case, be resolved on. By making him express his determination to adhere to the letter of that edict, they would consolidate the establishment of the new religion, and condemn their own conduct, since they pretended only to have taken up arms for the purpose of opposing it. Reduced to this dilemma, they steered a middle course, by which means they hoped to divide the Hugonots, and thereby deprive them of half their resources. They made the king issue a declaration, by which he allowed liberty of conscience to all his subjects indiscriminately; suffered, in conformity to the edict of January, the public exercise of the new religion to subsist in all places in which it was established, excepting only the territory of Paris, where ex-

<sup>24</sup> Memoires de Condé—Bezé, Hist. Eccles.—La Poplinière.



perience had proved that it could not be tolerated without exciting troubles. By this exception they pointed out to those towns where the Catholic party still prevailed, a sure means of ridding themselves of the Hugonots; for, by following the example of the metropolis, they would certainly be entitled to a similar indulgence.

The proposals of the prince of Condé were rejected by the triumvirs, who absolutely refused to quit the court, unless the reformed religion was totally abolished throughout the kingdom<sup>25</sup>; and the parliament of Paris had the meanness not only to confirm their resolutions, but to sanction their falsehoods. But all their publications received a firm and decisive reply from the prince of Condé, who justly ridiculed the declaration in which the king and his mother were asserted to be at perfect liberty: he asked Catharine, Whether it was by her order, and to do her honour, that the triumvirs had invested the palace of Fontainebleau, and, dragging her from thence, conveyed her first to Melun, then to Vincennes, and, lastly, to Paris? Whether the king and she had not shed tears on the road? Whether it was she who had excluded the chancellor L'Hôpital from the council, to give admission to six new members, so truly contemptible, that the boys in the streets ridiculed them in their songs? Whether she did not know that it had been proposed in the council to confine her at Chenonceaux, that her attention might be limited to the culture of her gardens? Whether she had never been apprehensive of being strangled in her bed? And, lastly, Whether, at the very moment she commanded him to disarm, she did not tremble lest he should obey her? On these different questions, he begged her to lay her hand upon her heart, and to confirm her answer by an oath, by which he pledged himself to abide.

With regard to the declaration that confirmed the edict of January, excepting only the city, suburbs, and hundred of Paris, he asked, Whether their adversaries could not content themselves with expelling them from the towns, like men infected with the plague, without envying them the possession of the suburbs? Whether they thought them so simple as not to perceive that the present exception, with regard to Paris, would speedily be extended to all other places where their presence might be deemed importunate; and whether the constable had not insinuated as much in his speech to the parliament? The conditions on which the triumvirs had offered to leave the court principally excited the prince's indignation. Who were, he asked, those three personages who had dared to prescribe such conditions to their sovereign? After the representatives of the nation, assembled at Orleans and Pontoise, had required the erection of temples, and a civil existence for those who professed the new religion, after the sovereign power had pronounced on their fate, by an edict registered in all the sovereign courts, did it become a foreigner, such as the duke of Guise, and his insignificant companions, Montmorenci and

<sup>25</sup> Garnier, tom. xxx. p. 53, 54.

Saint André, to request or rather to enjoin the abolition of all religious worship that was not conformable to the practice of the Romish church?—To impose, indiscriminately on all public officers and ecclesiastics, the obligation of a new oath, and to inflict the severest penalties in case of disobedience? As to that article of the request of the Triumvirs which tended to stigmatize all who had taken up arms without permission from the king of Navarre, it was a matter, he said, not to be settled by declarations, but of which he would speedily demand an explanation, at the head of ten thousand gentlemen.

The prince's affairs were, at this time, in a prosperous situation, for he had no sooner made himself master of Orleans, than the inhabitants of Beaugenci, Blois, Tours, Angers, and Mans, immediately flew to arms, massacred or expelled the clergy and all the Catholics, who made any resistance: and as there were many rich abbies and monasteries within the precincts of these towns, the Hugonots found means not only to maintain the garrisons, but even to pour considerable sums into the military chest of the prince of Condé<sup>26</sup>. Some larger towns, such as Poitiers, Bourges, and Angoulême, followed the same impulse, and their defection would have been succeeded by that of all the southern provinces, had not chance, rather than foresight, placed at the head of the civil and military administration of Guienne, a man, in disposition ardent, impetuous, violent and merciless; but vigilant, active, and indefatigable, a friend to order and subordination, and sincerely attached to his king and country.

This man was Blaise de Montluc, who had been bred up in the Piedmontese wars, and, after passing a considerable time in the camp, was ranked among the most valiant and able captains in the army. The tumults about the religious assemblies of the Hugonots in Guienne being attended with considerable bloodshed at Albi and the slaughter of Fumel, a Catholic nobleman, in that country, and the court having determined to punish the persons who had been guilty of those acts of violence, Montluc was nominated to superintend the trials, and to prompt Buriè, the king of Navarre's lieutenant in the province, to act with rigour against the offenders. Preventing the judges from proceeding, he assumed the cognizance of Fumel's murder, and composing a court of his own, he hanged and broke on the wheel about forty people. Followed, as in the camp, by executioners, whom he called his Lacqueys, he seized and put to death several others without a form of impeachment; and when the regular judges came to acquaint him with their decisions with regard to the massacre at Albi, in which near fifty Protestants were destroyed, he drew his sword and drove them with menaces from his presence. Having achieved similar feats of cruelty in Guienne, he was ordered to proceed to Languedoc; and suppress the tumults at Thoulouse. Before he arrived, the ferment of them had subsided; but he boasts, in his commentaries, that what with his martial exploits in the country,

<sup>26</sup> La Poplinière—De Thou—Bezé—Commentaires de Montluc.



and what with subsequent examples of vengeance in the city, he outdid the services of the Catholic officers, engaged in the heat of action.

In Dauphiné, where the revolution was almost general the reformed were headed by a man, who proved himself a worthy rival of Montluc. This was the baron Des Adrets, who had also served in Piedmont, where he had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards: after his release he preferred a complaint against the vidame of Pecquigni, to whose negligence or cowardice he ascribed his capture; but the authority of the Guises being interposed to deprive him of that redress which he demanded, he enlisted with their enemies, and retired to his estate in Dauphiné, where Montbrun and Mouvens appointed him to the chief command of the Hugonots. He placed himself at the head of some of the gentlemen of that country, who, with some citizens of Valence, conspired against La Motte Gondrin, the lieutenant of the province under the duke of Guise, and revenged their hatred of his severities by his death. While the queen-mother inclined to the Protestant-party, opposition to the power of their antagonists was, in instances of this kind, secretly connived at by her<sup>27</sup>. The authority of Des Adrets being confirmed by the prince of Condé, and that officer having enlisted numbers of gentry and common people under his standard, he took the field with a considerable army. His very menaces terrified the city of Grenoble, which ejected its Catholic partisans, and destroyed the altars and images of the churches. All the other towns of Dauphiné, except Ambrun and Briançon, followed this example. His name, already terrible, became every day more dreadful by his actions. Audacious in enterprize, and following close the terror of his first victories, he assaulted and took the town and castle of Pierreenlatte, stormed Bourg, obliged the town of Pont St. Esprit to open its gates to him, and made himself master of Boulenes. In almost every one of these places, the garrisons were put to the sword without quarter, and many of the foldiers hanged on the walls, or thrown headlong from the top of the rocks. Avignon trembled at his approach, but he turned back to Grenoble, which had made a treaty with Maugiron, the Catholic lieutenant of the province. Though it surrendered at discretion he for once shewed mercy. Absolute as he was tremendous in his army, he lodged six thousand troops in the city and suburbs, without any of the inhabitants having cause to complain of their violence; and boasted that he could turn them into lions, or sheep at his pleasure. When Monbrizon was taken, and the castle capitulated, he drenched the streets with blood, and precipitated, or made several foldiers, along with the governor, Moncelar, toss themselves from the summit of the tower. His officers remonstrated against these cruelties, but could not prevent them. One of the unfortunate captives, whom he had ordered to jump from the top of a precipice, ran twice to the brink and there stopped short—Des Adrets reproved him for his slowness, and asked him why he should take two runs when his companions had only taken one—"Brave as you are

<sup>27</sup> De Thou, lib. xxx, p. 628.—D'Aubigné, liv. iii. chap. 7.

baron,"—replied the soldier—"I'll give you ten runs to it." This unexpected answer extorted a smile from the baron, and saved the man's life. The assistance he gave to the Protestant commanders in Provence, by the defeat of a considerable body of forces, under the count De Suz, at Vaurias: the reduction of numbers of forts and castles upon the Rhone, and a variety of other enterprizes, rendered the baron's military services as important as those of Montluc, and his renown in arms more remarkable. Perceiving, however, that the prince of Condé, instead of applauding him, had transferred to Soubise the chief command in Lyons, and that his reputation with his party declined, he entered into a treaty with the duke of Nemours; but, before the terms of accommodation could be settled, he was surprized and taken prisoner by Montbrun and Mouvens, and kept in custody till the termination of the first civil war. Lyons, in vain besieged by Nemours, remained in the power of the Protestants; and the count of Crussol preserved their footing in Languedoc.

In Champagne and Picardy the Catholic party prevailed, and at Sens, Amiens and Abbeville, the Protestants were massacred without mercy, in return for the cruelties they had exercised in other parts, and for the plunder and profanation of the churches. In Normandy these violences were retaliated on the Catholic inhabitants: at Rouen the Hugonots expelled the parliament, and proscribed the established religion; while the ports of Havre and Dieppe, having followed the example of the capital, were entrusted, by the admiral, to the care of experienced officers, in whose zeal and fidelity he could confide.

The triumvirs, meanwhile, were occupied in raising an army, and in devising means for its pay and subsistence: finding their internal resources inadequate to the purpose, they sent ambassadors to claim the assistance of their Catholic allies. The duke of Savoy supplied them with a body of four thousand Piedmontese, maintained, for six months, at his own expence: Some other reinforcements were received from the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua: the duke of Florence sent a pecuniary supply of one hundred thousand crowns: the pope, pompous in promises, but niggard in performance, furnished a similar sum as a gift, with a loan to the same amount; and the king of Spain, anxious to secure a footing in the kingdom, no less than to prevent the new doctrines from reaching his dominions in the Netherlands, sent to their assistance two thousand horse and eight thousand foot, maintained at his own expence.

The prince of Condé and his partisans were no sooner apprized of this circumstance, than they deemed themselves at full liberty to employ, for their defence, the same means as were made use of to attack them: the vidame of Chartres and Briquemaut were accordingly sent to England to claim the protection of Elizabeth. A treaty was concluded with that princess, by which Condé agreed to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the English, and the queen engaged to send over three thousand men to garrison that



place, an equal number for the defence of Dieppe and Rouen, and to furnish the prince with a supply of an hundred thousand crowns. This money gave activity to the negotiations which the prince had opened with the Swiss cantons of Berne and Zurich; and in Germany, with the emperor Ferdinand; the elector palatine; the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Wirtemberg.

While both parties were thus employed in making the most vigorous preparations for war, Catharine endeavoured to avert the storm which hung over the kingdom. She sent several messengers to the prince of Condé, with proposals for an accommodation: but as he insisted on the confirmation of the edict of January, and the removal of the triumvirs from court; while the queen (who now acted in concert with the Guises) refused to withdraw the modifications and exceptions recently annexed to that edict, and to consent to the dismissal of the triumvirs, without the previous abolition of the reformed religion, the negotiation was soon terminated.

The Catholic chiefs having secured Catharine in their interest, suffered her to pass the summer, with her son, at Monceaux, that the unfavourable impressions excited by the idea of their being kept in a state of captivity, might be effectually removed. The marshal de Brissac superseded the cardinal of Bourbon in the government of Paris, which he divided into different quarters, nearly equal in extent, leaving the citizens the choice of their officers, and assigning to each quarter its particular department and hours of service. By this judicious arrangement he justified the idea that had been formed of his military talents, though, at the same time, he did essential injury to the state, by giving a too vigorous constitution to a multitude, difficult to govern, and prone to revolt. It is certain, that after this establishment, the Parisians, enabled to calculate their strength, became more turbulent and untractable than before; and that from this epoch may be dated the origin of that effervescence which raged, with more or less energy, for nearly two centuries. At the first review of the city militia, the marshal counted four-and-twenty thousand men, completely armed, and most of them fit to rank with regular troops.

The Catholic army being assembled, and superior in numbers to that of the confederates, Catharine once more resolved to try the effect of negotiation, and for that purpose requested an interview with the prince of Condé, at the village of Thuri; but when pressed to explain what fresh terms she had to propose, she made a positive declaration, that the edict of January should never be re-established in the kingdom, and that her son was determined to allow the public exercise of no other religion than the Catholic. The conference was, of course, broken off. Another interview between the chiefs of the Hugonots, the queen-mother, and the king of Navarre, at the village of Talsi, was productive of no better effect: a letter from the duke of Guise to the cardinal of Lorraine, which fell into the hands of the prince of Condé, sufficiently proved the treachery of the

the triumvirs, who only fought to separate the associates, in order to crush them with greater facility.

On the twenty-seventh of July, the parliament of Paris pronounced an arrêt, which amounted to a general proscription of the Hugonots, by permitting all the Catholics in towns and villages to assemble in arms at the ringing of the bells, to pursue and destroy them: this arrêt was transmittted to the curates of parishes to be read every Sunday in the churches; and its publication occasioned exertions of cruelty disgraceful to humanity. In Tourain, the peasants rushed into the towns of Liquiel on the Indre, Cormeri, Loches, and other villages, where they committed every species of depredation; and after tearing out the eyes of a Protestant minister, they burnt him at a slow fire. These barbarities, however, were frequently retaliated. When the priests and monks of Saint Carlais, taking advantage of the slender guard kept there by the Hugonots, rang their bells, and cut them in pieces; De Coignée assaulted them on the retreat of their associates, destroyed most of them, and hanged two of the ringleaders in the church, where the signal had been given at the vespers.

The Catholic confederates having atchieved the conquests of several towns that, from the south-west, communicated by the Loire with Orleans, determined to cut off its intercourse with the Lyonnoise, and the provinces in a different quarter. The reduction of Bourges was their particular aim. Elevated with their successful progress, they were desirous, in setting out on this attempt, to make the utmost display of all their civil authority; for which purpose they prevailed with the queen-mother to bring the young king to the camp. Before they left the Bois de Vincennes, Catharine acquainted the prince of Condé, by a messenger, that he ought now to take his final resolution for an accommodation, on the terms proposed, when the king was ready to shew himself along with her in the Catholic army, when the foreign auxiliaries had entered the kingdom for his service, and the parliament of Paris had declared the prince's party guilty of high-treason. The prince's reply was spirited and firm; after recapitulating all the arguments he had before urged, on the ambition of the triumvirs, and the persecution of the Protestants, he observed, that it could not be forgotten by her, by whose order and entreaties he had raised his military forces, when the triumvirate were disposed to strip her of all authority, and the ambassador of Spain joined them in this design; and that the whole world should soon know, by the publication of the letters under her hand, to which of the confederacies the name of rebels to the state could, with propriety, be applied. Though in the parliament's judicial condemnation of his adherents, by a gradation of arrêts, the prince was always personally excepted, under the feigned notion of his involuntary detention from the court; it did not prevent him from treating the exception as an insult, and from protesting, in a formal writ, against the legality of the whole judgment.



But the proceedings of the parliament had considerable effect on many of the prince's adherents, who, fearful of losing their estates, expressed an inclination to visit their native provinces. That Condé might have appeared to form a resolution which he could not avoid, he determined to send several of the chieftains with detachments of troops, into those countries whither they wished to withdraw, and to retire himself, with the remainder of his army, to Orleans. In consequence of this resolution, the count of Rochefoucaud was appointed to march into Angoulême and Saintonge, Soubise into the Lionnoise, Duras into Guienne, Montgomery into Normandy, and the prince of Porcien into Champagne.

The Catholic chieftains now had it in their power to carry on their military operations to the utmost advantage. The provinces where their adversaries were most formidable, had been already attended to by them: the duke of Aumale being sent into Normandy; Montpensier to Tourain; the count de Crussol into Languedoc; the chevalier de Montre, into Guienne and Gascony. While the king of Navarre went to escort their majesties to the camp, the army, under the conduct of the duke of Guise, had moved to Bourges. Being joined by the Swiss, it consisted of three thousand cavalry, and fifteen thousand foot. Ivoy, brother to Genlis, commanded the garrison of the city, which, being reinforced by the prince of Condé, amounted to two thousand infantry, and three troops of arquebusiers<sup>29</sup>. The defence was conducted with no less courage and vigour than the attack: frequent sallies were made from the town; and, when a considerable breach was effected in the wall, a rampart of earth, raised in one night's time, surprized and baffled the assailants. Having consumed the greater part of their ammunition, a convoy of artillery and military stores from Paris was expected, for the conduct of which the duke of Guise had detached four troops of horse, and six companies of infantry. The admiral Coligni having intelligence of its approach, marched in the night from Orleans, and attacked it near Châteaudun. Having surrounded the troops, he became master of the whole convoy; but the artillery-horses having been carried off by their drivers, at the first onset, he was compelled to set fire to the powder, and demolish the guns. Among others, Throgmorton, the English ambassador, was taken prisoner, on his way to the camp, and conducted to Orleans, where the prince of Condé treated him with the greatest respect. Meanwhile, the duke of Guise began to induce Ivoy, by promises, and an offer of the most honourable terms, to surrender; and, having no information of the defeat of the convoy, he listened too easily to the proposals. By obtaining a most precise and formal capitulation for the safety and free exit of himself and the troops, and even for liberty of conscience to the Protestants in the town, he thought to obviate all reflections against his honour; but this precaution proved insuffi-

<sup>29</sup> De Thou—D'Aubigné.

cient to screen him from the reproaches of his party ; upon presenting himself at Orleans, he was refused admittance to the prince, and was compelled to hide his countenance in a private retreat.

When the Catholic chiefs had thus added the reduction of Bourges to that of the other towns whence Orleans might be supported, the capital undertaking of the siege of that city seemed to many, in point of expediency, preferable to all others, and not disproportioned to their military strength. But the opinions, in the council of war, were divided upon this head. It was urged on the one side, that Orleans being the main fortress of the adverse party, and their arsenal of war, occupied by the body of their gentry, and their two principal chieftains, a successful blow directed against it would at once crush the root of opposition ; and that, from present circumstances, it appeared liable to such a decisive stroke, from the disasters that had befallen the circumjacent towns, from the dispersion of many of the leaders, and from the present imperfect state of its fortifications. It was known from the computation of their troops, compared with the extent of the bulwarks of the place, that they were sufficient to environ and assault the whole. It was added, that the siege of Orleans would not only strike the Protestants, in the provinces, with terror, but disturb the route, and perhaps cause the desertion of their German auxiliaries, who would not be forward to expose themselves by supporting a party which would appear reduced to extremity. On the other hand, it was alledged, that the military force of Orleans, consisting of four thousand veteran troops, twelve hundred horse, and three thousand militia, trained to discipline, and inured to arms, would prove equal to half of the besieging army, and, though they might receive some reinforcements, that their want of many of the materials necessary for a regular siege rendered it an unseasonable and dangerous enterprize : that it became them rather to turn their thoughts upon Normandy, in the ports of which the English were ready to land their troops ; that the situation of that province so exposed, and in a great measure over-run by the Hugonots, required immediate relief ; and that Paris itself, suffering by the enemy being in possession of Rouen, the reduction of this important place ought to be attempted before the siege of Orleans. This resolution, deemed the most eligible, was adopted, and the army was ordered, in the beginning of September, to be put in motion for the expedition into Normandy.

That province had been embroiled by the contention of three factions for the superiority ; one being headed by the duke of Bouillon, who inclined to favour the Protestants, without renouncing his connexions with the court : another by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in Lower Normandy, who was employed in supporting the duke of Aumale, appointed to supersede Bouillon in his government : and a third, which was the most powerful, consisting of the prince of Condé's partizans, and the determined Hugonots guided by the count of Montgomery. The duke of Aumale had already attempted the siege of Rouen, but his forces were insufficient for the undertaking. Matignon.



tignon being obliged to retire to Cherbourg, applied to the duke of Estampes and Martigues, in Brittany, for their assistance, and obtained it. The parliament of Rouen, having retreated to Louviers, published its decrees, in imitation of that of Paris, for condemning all the Hugonots that could be seized, and for confiscating their property, which created a particular scene of animosity and cruel reprisal between the people of Rouen and those of Louviers. It was by a similar conduct, at Toulouse and other cities, that the ministers of justice lent their sanction to the acts of barbarity committed by the officers of the army, and, under the pretext of establishing their general principles of civil authority, subverted those of humanity itself. The chiefs of the court-party saw the miserable tendency of such procedure, and Castelnau Mauvissiere was sent to Louviers to desire the magistrates to desist from their violence <sup>29</sup>.

The forts and posts in the vicinity of Rouen had been repeatedly taken and re-taken by the opposite parties. Those of Oire and St. Lo, of Caudebec, Quillebeuf, and Harfleur, upon the Seine, which were the most important, had, after the arrival of Estampes, surrendered to the Catholics. Meanwhile all practicable means for the defence of Rouen had been taken by Montgomery. The city being inaccessible from the south, and surrounded by a chain of hills on the opposite quarter, its principal outworks consisted in a large fort, built on the highest of those eminences, called St. Catharine's. Montgomery had contrived to strengthen this fortress, and improve its utility, by forming on the ascent of the hill a strong entrenchment of earth, in the figure of a demi-lune, which barred the access to St. Catharine's Mount, and served for a battery to sweep the lower grounds. The suburb of St. Hilary was also fortified. The garrison was composed of eight hundred infantry, picked from the oldest bands, and two or three troops of horse, besides many volunteers, with the body of the townsmen, enrolled for the service; and a considerable number of the English, who came from Havre-de-Grace, as the forerunners of the debarkation of their forces. The Catholic army, joined by the German stipendiaries, amounted to more than twenty thousand foot, and five thousand cavalry. Being attended by the king and queen-mother, it appeared in sight of Rouen, on the twenty-sixth of September, and next day the city was summoned to surrender.

It would be foreign from the purpose of general history to record the particular events of every siege; in that of Rouen equal gallantry was displayed by either party, and the slaughter was dreadful on both sides: after an obstinate resistance, Mount St. Catharine was taken by surprize, which greatly facilitated the reduction of the town: Its capture, however, was retarded for some time, by the arrival of a reinforcement of English troops, who, in repelling the assailants, displayed the most obstinate valour; at length, the siege having continued a month, and the proposals to surrender being treated with con-

<sup>29</sup> Mémoires de Castelnau, liv. iii. chap. 12.

tempt, the place was taken by assault. The havock and plunder equalled the resistance; and the king and queen-mother beheld, from St. Catharine's Mount, the ravage of one of the richest and most mercantile towns of France. The proclamation against pillage being disregarded by soldiers and officers, the plunder became universal, and the property of the Catholics suffered equally with that of the Hugonots. Of all the military bands which received orders to retire to the camp, the Swiss were the only corps who obeyed. Montgomery having seized one of the galleys that carried the queen of Scotland into her dominions, and kept it ready in the river against all emergencies, took his opportunity to embark with the remainder of the English; and, by the vigorous efforts of the rowers, who were promised their liberty, burst the barricades that obstructed his navigation, and got safe to Havre. To the severities which the city suffered, particular examples of judicial and vindictive punishment were added. De L'Hôpital had endeavoured to prevent this, by procuring a general amnesty to be passed; but it was left to the parliament of Rouen to make exceptions; who, sufficiently inclined to enforce their penal statutes, passed sentence of death on John du Bosc, lord of Mandreville, president of the chamber of accounts; on de Crofes, and Augustin Marlorat, one of the twelve ministers who had been appointed to attend the conference of Poissy; and on several other citizens of note, who were either beheaded or hanged. The chiefs of the opposite confederacy thinking themselves entitled to make retaliation, seized Baptiste Sapin, a magistrate of the parliament of Paris, and brother-in-law to the first president, Le Maître; and John de Troye, abbot of Gastines, and caused them to be tried and executed <sup>30</sup>.

The taking of Rouen, which is computed to have been attended with the destruction of four thousand men on each side, was followed by the death of the king of Navarre, who, during the siege, had received a musket-shot in the shoulder. Through his impatience of the necessary operation, or the unskilfulness of the surgeons, the ball remained unextracted from the wound; and he expired a few days after the surrender of the town; distinguished only as the parent of a young prince, who was destined to save the sinking monarchy of France, and heal the innumerable wounds the kingdom received in more than thirty years of civil war. Henry, who was born at Peau in Berne, was only, at this time, nine years of age. He was educated by the queen his mother at Nerac, who, with her son and an infant daughter, had retreated from the court about the time her husband had declared himself a Catholic <sup>31</sup>. The queen-mother was apprehensive the king of Navarre's death might produce some disadvantage to the Catholic party, by his immediate vassals and partisans falling off to the other side. In the present minority of the king, and of the first prince of the blood, the prince of Condé might indeed have been supposed to stand in the room of his brother, and to be the only

<sup>30</sup> Memoires de Condé—D'Aubigné—Le Laboureur.

<sup>31</sup> Brantôme.



acting guardian of the blood-royal. But, when the political confederacies were already formed, and cemented by the animosities of the civil war, this consideration could have little influence to make a change. In other circumstances, this event might have caused considerable revolutions in the parties of the court: but as things stood, the vacancy of his office of lieutenant-general, instead of becoming a subject of dispute, excited no competition; and as the duke of Guise formed no pretensions to it, it was evident he governed his ambition in a different manner from what he had done in the former reign.

As soon as the reduction of Rouen had appeared inevitable, Dieppe and Caen surrendered to the Catholics, who, after detaching a part of their army to blockade Havre, retired with the remainder to the vicinity of Paris. Before they began their march, a proclamation was issued for pardoning past acts of tumult and rebellion, on condition that those charged with them should retire in peace and live like good Catholics. Notwithstanding several exceptions that were made of the heads and ringleaders of sedition, and of the violators of the churches, many of the Hugonots, tired of the confusions, and apprehensive of the overthrow of their party, chose to take the benefit of this indemnity. The general success of the Catholics elevated them with hopes that the entire subjection of the Protestants would soon be accomplished. But the intelligence received, during the siege of Rouen, of the success of D'Andelot in his mission for German levies, gave a different aspect to the condition of that party, and appears to have been the principal inducement for drawing the army nearer the metropolis, and the center of the kingdom.

The exertions of Spifame, bishop of Nevers, and D'Andelot, the prince of Condé's agents in Germany, in conducting the difficult negotiation with which they had been entrusted, deserved and obtained the warmest thanks of their party. At the diet of Frankfort, where Maximilian, son to Ferdinand, was elected king of the Romans, Spifame, having obtained three several audiences of the emperor and of his son, and of the electors, got the letters written by the queen-mother to the prince of Condé, the originals of which he produced, entered into the archives of the imperial chamber; and, by his address afterwards, the Rhingrave and count Rokendolf, who were in the service of France, were both put to the ban of the empire. The production of queen Catharine's letters, though necessary for the prince's vindication, excited her indignation against him, and fixed her more immoveably in the interest of the opposite faction. The affected delays of two German captains, who had private reasons for spinning out the time of the levies, being overcome by Spifame, and the landgrave of Hesse engaged to exert himself in the business; D'Andelot was enabled to bring them to a rendezvous at Bacara in Lorraine, about the middle of October. His vigilance in keeping them from desertion for want of regular pay; his well-concerted marches; and his indefatigable labours, (notwithstanding the violent attacks of a quartan ague, contracted in the mountains)

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in directing and guiding the frequent and long circuits, he was obliged to make in them, shewed the spirit of the man, and the abilities of the officer. Having feigned an intention of penetrating the direct way through Lorraine, he turned suddenly towards the left, and stretching over the difficult roads of Burgundy, he avoided an encounter with the mareschal de St. André and the duke of Nevers, who had been sent to oppose his passage. He brought his whole complement of three thousand foot in nine companies, and four thousand horse in twelve troops, to Montargis, and the neighbourhood of Orleans, in the middle of November. This reinforcement, augmented by a body of French gentry, who joined D'Andelot in his march, and fifteen hundred soldiers, collected by the count of Rochefoucauld and Duras; was not only sufficient to enable the prince of Condé to take the field, but occasioned his undertaking an enterprize no less injudicious in itself than it appeared to be disproportioned to his strength. This was an attempt to besiege Paris, which, it was evident, could neither be taken, nor forced to a capitulation, by his army.

The absence or dispersion of the Catholic forces in different quarters was thought sufficient to justify this hazardous step. The prince had to march through a part of the country, where the towns were occupied by small garrisons of the enemy; and he consumed time in taking Pluviers, Estampes, Montlheri, and Dourdon, which discovered his designs.

But the interruption he met with at Corbeil was more unfortunate. This town, situated on the Seine, almost equally defenceless with the others, made resistance, and obliged him to begin a kind of regular siege of it, until some succours being thrown into it by the mareschal St. André, the prince embraced the pretext of a conference proposed by the queen to withdraw from the assault. The Catholic forces were, by this time, assembled in great numbers, and the two armies, separated by the Seine, marched sometimes in sight of each other. That of the Catholics was drawn around the city and suburbs, while the prince pursued his route to Ville-juif, within two leagues of Paris. Though the hopes of gaining any advantage was now almost vanished, yet, resolved upon striking some intimidating stroke before he retired, he prepared for attacking the suburb of St. Victor. The effect it produced at first surpassed expectation. Six hundred light horse, who had advanced beyond the ramparts, were driven back in such disorder, that carrying their terror along with them, the soldiers began to fly into the city, throughout which a vast consternation was immediately spread. The first president of the parliament, Le Maître, died of the fright, while the populace in confusion called on the troops to abandon the suburbs and shut the gates. The alarm, however, was soon composed by the dispositions made by the duke of Guise for repelling the enemy. The prince drew off his forces, and divided them into three bodies, for the sake of lodging them in covered quarters. Their number amounted to eight thousand foot and five thousand horse. The Catholic chiefs, satisfied with guarding against their attack of the



suburbs, answered their defiance to battle only by some cannonading and slight skirmishes.

On the seventh of December, the queen demanded a conference with the prince, but as she was determined to make no concessions, it proved ineffectual; the only purpose it answered was to gain time for the arrival of the Spanish auxiliaries, with the troops from Gascony, which had now advanced to the Seine. Two projects that were formed by the prince for attacking, in the night, the trenches of the suburbs of St. Marceau and St. Germain, were disconcerted. By the departure of Genlis from the camp, who had repented the disgrace of his brother Ivoy, for the surrender of Bourges, the prince of Condé believed his designs betrayed to the enemy, and therefore determined on a retreat.

He was pursued, for some days, by the Catholic army, and at length believing an engagement to be unavoidable, he made a forced march, with his main body, towards Dreux, a town on the confines of Normandy, with the view of making himself master of this post, which was admirably calculated for promoting the plan he had formed of preserving a communication between Havre and Orleans. He did not take it, but, by his precipitation, he threw the admiral, who led the van, a league and a half behind him, which obliged them to halt a whole day, until the army could recover the order of its march. The Catholic chiefs, who now approached the plains of Dreux, and saw, that, by a little expedition, they could oblige the enemy to fight, dispatched Castelnau to the queen to inform her that they had it in their power to bring the Hugonots to action, and only waited for orders. Catharine, ever an enemy to all strokes of decision, and still anxious to preserve her credit with either party, asked Castelnau, whether those great captains thought a woman and a child, better able than themselves to decide on the propriety of ordering the French to cut each other's throats? Then conducting him to her son's apartment, where the council were summoned to attend, she found the king's nurse there, who was going to retire, but Catharine exclaimed—"Nurse, stay where you are, "since it has become the custom for generals to consult women on what they are to do, "say, shall we give battle or not?"<sup>32</sup> It was the unanimous opinion of the council that the decision of the question should be left to the prudence of the commanders.

The battle of Dreux was fought on the nineteenth of December. The prince of Condé having passed the river Eure, fordable in all parts, took up his quarters about Neron, a small village beyond it, without the common precaution of sending out scouts, or ordering the villages on its banks to be occupied by detachments. The constable Montmorenci, who had brought the Catholic army to the opposite side, and encamped there unperceived by the enemy, forded the Eure in the night; and, favoured by

<sup>32</sup> Castelnau, liv. iv. chap. 4.

the moon, got his whole artillery moved to the unguarded villages. The noise of the drums and trumpets, which was heard when the prince's army began to be put in motion, served as a signal for the constable to range his forces in order of battle. They consisted of sixteen thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, separated into two great divisions; the one forming the van of the army, conducted by the mareschal St. André, and the other, the main battle, commanded by the constable<sup>33</sup>. As the army advanced, the villages of Pigné and Bleville stood at such a distance from each other, that the constable's main body, extended in front, could not easily pass between them; and the different troops which composed it stretched forward, in the form of a crescent, a considerable way beyond the van-guard. Towards Bleville on the left, the mareschal de St. André and the duke of Guise ranged the battalions of the latter, which, from the situation of the ground and the shade of many trees, could not be observed at any distance. The constable's main-body, interlined with the cavalry between the divisions, and having some light-horse advanced on its wings, appeared to be the whole extension of the army.

Such was the disposition of the Catholic forces, when first perceived by the commanders of the adverse army, which now consisted of from eight to nine thousand infantry, and from four to five thousand horse<sup>34</sup>. While, in the utmost hurry, the latter prepared for an action quite unexpected, D'Andelot, disabled by the attack of his ague from taking his post, moved forward on a baggage-horse, and reconnoitred the enemy. His opinion was to endeavour to pass without fighting, which he thought might be done by leading to the left, and gaining the village of Tréon, on the road to Châteauneuf. Immediately the prince of Condé, having joined his main battle with the van, conducted by the admiral Coligni, began to move forward according to this direction: But, having now the enemy in full view, he advanced two or three hundred paces before he made his declination. The discharge of the constable's artillery, from his left wing, reaching his foremost ranks, made some of his horse give way, and forced a part of the German Reiters to wheel into a declivity. By this conversion of his troops, he became opposite to the advanced guard of the royalists, and the admiral with the van stood in front of the main battle. The reciprocal distance, in both these positions, was still very considerable; when the constable, believing the prince's troops to be thrown into disorder, commanded the Swifs, who were about three thousand, and some other troops, to advance farther into the plain to intercept them. The prince, intent on their motions, no sooner perceived them thus exposed, than, without discovering what was before him, and leaving the count of Grammont with his foot, he turned with all his cavalry, and fell on the flank of the Swifs. Their battalion was successively pierced by Moui, and

<sup>33</sup> De Thou—D'Aubigné

<sup>34</sup> La Popelinière.—Bezé—Relation du duc de Guise—Castelnau—D'Avila—De Thou—Brantôme—Matthieu—La Noue.



D'Avaret, who gave the first charge; by the prince's own squadron, and by the Reiters of his division: the havoc which they made, however, did not dissipate this immovable body, who, as their ranks were thinned, continued to close their files, and kept their ground. Damville advancing to sustain them with three troops of horse, was encountered by the Reiters, who drove him quite off to the left, until he retreated for shelter to the ground occupied by the advanced guard. His brother, Gabriel de Montmorenci Montberon, the constable's fourth son, fell in this charge. In the mean time, the admiral, having marched forward with more deliberation, directed his attack against the constable's cavalry, and that part of his centre that stood firm. The volleys of cannon he received in advancing having occasioned no disorder, his vigorous charge proved effectual to vanquish all that opposed him. A total confusion ensuing, the constable being unhorsed, and having his jaw-bone broken by a musket-shot, was made prisoner by some Reiters, from whose hands the prince of Porcien received him. No part of his main battle now remained unrouted but a few Swiss, who, at last, were obliged to retreat. The pursuit towards the river Eure, and much more the plunder of the baggage-waggons, occupied, for some time, several German squadrons of the prince's army; when the marshal de Saint André, with the van of the Catholics, moved to the combat, from which he had hitherto been detained by the advice of the duke of Guise. The delay appeared unaccountable, but the judgment of so great a commander was trusted. When the duke observed the field unincumbered with the routed squadrons of the right wing, the signal was given by the marshal to his troops to advance. The prince of Condé's infantry, which he had left behind him, were the first that were attacked and routed by them. Two troops of Reiters experienced a similar fate, as did the Lansquenets, who had desisted from their assault of the Swiss. The prince of Condé having rallied two hundred of the German troops, could not induce them to charge the enemy, but taking the same route the others had done, they left him in their rear, wounded in the hand, and dismounted, to be taken prisoner by Damville.

Though the battle was restored by the admiral, and the prince of Porcien, who, at the head of three hundred French horse, and a thousand German Reiters, sustained the combat with such resolution, that the duke of Guise was left, for a short space of time, with not an hundred cavaliers around him; the advantages gained by the Protestant chiefs were irrecoverably lost. Martigues advancing with an old battalion of foot which had not yet engaged, the admiral was obliged to draw off his French horse, who had broken or lost most of their lances. He made his retreat with so much composure, that he carried off his artillery, and most of the baggage to Neuville, about a league distant from the field of battle, where he passed the night. The duke of Guise, being in no condition to follow him, took up his lodging at Bleville. Many of the French foot, and of the Lansquenets, scattered over the field, remained in his power. The loss on both sides, was computed to amount to eight thousand men. The slaughter of the Catholic army exceeded that of the Protestants, and the field was more fatal to their officers of rank.

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The mareschal Saint André was shot by Mezieres, whom he had induced to kill a kinsman of his own, that he might prosecute him, and obtain the confiscation of his fortune<sup>35</sup>. The duke of Nevers received a shot in the thigh, from the carelessness of his own equerry, in holding a pistol with the muzzle towards him, of which he died in a few days. Varicarville, equerry to the duke of Guise, understanding that the enemy intended to direct their principal efforts against his master, had obtained permission to wear his arms, and to mount his charger; an instance of fidelity that cost him his life. The duke's conduct to his illustrious captive, the prince of Condé, betrayed a noble and generous mind. He was careful to keep him from the company of those who, in such a conjuncture, affected the looks of arrogance and contempt, or intimidated their flaming zeal by their insolent language. They supped at the same table, and slept in the same bed.

By the flight of the right wing of the Catholics at the battle of Dreux, the speediest intelligence was conveyed to Paris of the total defeat of their army. The appearance of D'Ossun (an officer who had, in Piedmont, acquired the appellation of The Bold Soldier) among these swift couriers, confirmed it beyond all contradiction. The Parisians were thrown into the greatest consternation, which continued to encrease, until the arrival of De Losses, who had been dispatched by the duke of Guise, with the certain accounts of his having turned the fate of the battle, and obtained a victory<sup>36</sup>. Public processions were appointed, and bonfires ordered to celebrate the happy event; and the commission of commander in chief of the army, in absence of the constable, was immediately sent to the duke, with twenty-five collars of the order of Saint Michael, to be disposed of by his direction. Though from a sense of the reproach he incurred, D'Ossun starved himself to death, his boldness became an ironical proverb.

The Protestant chiefs, who had beat one half of the Catholic army, taken the constable prisoner, and carried off some standards and booty from the field, were as much mortified at the discredit of being obliged to retire before their enemies, as at the discomfiture they had sustained. The admiral, who had, with signal bravery and conduct, disputed the honour of keeping the field with the duke of Guise, proposed, in a council of war, to attack him again the next morning. The reduced state of the Catholic forces,

<sup>35</sup> De Thou, p. 682.

<sup>36</sup> It has been asserted by many authors, that Catharine of Medicis expressed the most perfect indifference at the news of the defeat of the Catholic army; caressing the friends and adherents of the prince of Condé, and exclaiming, "*Well then, we must even pray to God in French.*" (De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c.) But this pretended exclamation, and all the circumstances attending it, are positively contradicted by Garnier, on the authority of Vielleville, who, it must be observed, was at Paris at the time, and who, being convinced of the truth of the intelligence, was the very person that carried it to the queen, who was then at Vincennes: the testimony of such a man cannot surely be called in question.



by the almost total havock of the Swifs, who were the flower of them, and the rout and difperſion of their cavalry, in which they had been originally inferior, were the arguments alledged by this judicious commander in ſupport of his ſcheme. The French officers approved the reſolution<sup>37</sup>, but the Germans, who had ſuffered leaſt in the battle, declined ſuch a ſudden renewal of the combat. To prevent, however, in ſome meaſure, the unfavourable report of a defeat, the admiral drew up his troops in order of battle, and marched half a league towards the enemy, before he turned off to Gallardon and Anet, on the borders of La Beauffe. His high reputation immediately eſtabliſhed him, by unanimous conſent, in the principal command of the army, during the captivity of the prince. Having diſpatched meſſengers to ſeveral cities and provinces, with particular accounts of the battle, and ſent the colours taken from the Swifs to Orleans, whither the conſtable had been directly conveyed, he prepared to draw near that city, the ſiege of which, he had reaſon to imagine, would be the grand object of the duke of Guiſe. Upon the reſolutions of thoſe two adverſe chieftains, the whole ſcheme of the military enterpriſes on either ſide now depended.

While the queen-mother, for many weighty reaſons, was deſirous of a peace, the duke, in the miſt of winter, urged the undertaking of the ſiege of Orleans. To avert or diminiſh the force of this impending blow, the admiral determined on an expedition into Normandy, with part of his forces, while the remainder might form a gariſon ſufficient for the defence of Orleans. Upon a review of the troops, he found that fourteen companies of French and German infantry, and four troops of the oldeſt French cavalry, could be muſtered in the city. The body of the townſmen, too, could be depended on to ſecond the troops with firmneſs and alacrity. D'Andelot, in conjunction with Saint Cyr, the governor, and Feuquiere, an excellent engineer, undertook the defence of that important place. While Coligni made incuſions in Berri and the Sologne, where he extended his quarters, the utmoſt attention was paid to the collecting of proviſions, and whatever might contribute to the ſtrength of Orleans.

A. D. 1563 ] The admiral's expedition into Normandy was rather the effect of neceſſity than of choice. To prevent the mutiny of the Germans for want of their pay, it was neceſſary to keep them in motion, and to feed them with hopes. The proſpect of the pillage of the towns they might ſeize, and of their ſhare of a large remittance of money immediately expected from England, induced them to moderate their clamours and complaints, and begin their march. Coligni's ſagacity in the formation of a ſcheme which, while it quieted their murmurs, at the ſame time tended to diſturb the enemy in the proſecution of their chief project, and his ſucceſs in this enterprize, were equally remarkable. Entering Normandy, where the mareſchal Briſſac could muſter no force

<sup>37</sup> Beze—La Popelinière—Mémoires de Condé.

sufficient to oppose him, he took Pont-L'Évêque, and laid siege to Caen, which, after a slight resistance, was obliged to capitulate. Meanwhile eight vessels arrived at Havre from England, with money and some warlike stores; and the admiral having thus effected his purpose, and recovered the towns of Dieppe and Harfleur, with some other places, prepared to return towards Orleans.

The siege of that city was begun by the duke of Guise, on the eighth of February. The suburb, called the Pontereau, was separated from the town by the Loire, the bridge over which was defended by two towers, called the *Tourelles*, and an entrenchment had lately been raised by Feuquiere, to cover the body of the Pontereau itself from a sudden assault: though the gate of the city, at the other end of the bridge, was also strengthened by a square tower, the duke of Guise chose to make his approaches by this quarter. The redoubts formed on the Pontereau for a temporary defence, became, through the inadvertency and cowardice of the troops that guarded them, the occasion of unhoped-for success to the besiegers, in their first assault. When de Cypiere led on the first division of the Catholic army, and, after repulsing the skirmishing parties, had proceeded to assail a part of the entrenchments defended by four companies of French foot, he was informed that the German *Lansquenets* were observed to quit their post in disorder. Animated by the intelligence, and the arrival of fresh troops, he pushed another attack that way, by which the Gascon infantry, who made the only resistance, were almost surrounded. A general confusion ensued; the baggage-waggons of the Germans being wedged in at the entrance of the bridge, to which the fugitives pressed, the retreat formed a blockade of soldiers, machines, cannon, and horses, which could neither face the enemy, nor withdraw into the city. For more than half an hour, the bridge-gate of the *Tourelles* remained unshut and impassable. Some were squeezed or trodden to death, many were killed by the fire of the enemy, and of the cannon discharged from the towers, and numbers perished in the river. At length, D'Andelot appearing on the bridge with his chief officers, the enemy slackened their assault, and gave him an opportunity of extricating his troops from this disaster. The duke of Guise having thus possessed himself of the Pontereau, proceeded to take measures for battering the *Tourelles*. Some forts, erected on the islands in the river, retarded, for some time, the construction and efficacy of the batteries. But two Catholic centinels having made a discovery, by scaling the towers, that those who guarded them were both negligent and few in number, a scheme was concerted to surprize and overpower them, which succeeded. By the reduction of the *Tourelles*, the besiegers acquired the command of the bridge, and the approaches to the town were in such a state of forwardness, that the duke of Guise had fixed on the morning of the nineteenth of February for delivering a general assault, when his death was sought and accomplished by the ignominious de Merei Poltrot. As the duke returned from the works, on the evening of the eighteenth, to his quarters, at the castle of Cornei, accompanied only by Rostaing, one of the queen's domestics, the assassin, watch-

ing.



ing his opportunity, shot him from behind with a pistol. The ball entering his body above the right shoulder, the duke fell forward on his horse's neck, but did not lose his seat. The duke with difficulty reached his quarters, while Rostaing, in vain, pursued the murderer, who was quickly out of sight. But the terrors that seized him, joined to the darkness of the night, rendered him incapable of effecting his escape. Having tired his horse with wandering, he was taken, in the morning, at no great distance from the place where the murder was committed. As he immediately confessed it, and threw out aspersions against some of the Protestant chiefs, as having instigated him to the deed, it is requisite to explain the grounds of this calumny.

When Poltrot, who had been bred a Catholic, and turned Protestant, heard, at a conference holden near Vienne, by the baron des Adrets, that the king of Navarre was killed at Rouen, he sighed deeply, and said, "This one victim is not sufficient to atone for the public miseries; there still remains a greater sacrifice to be made." When asked what sacrifice he meant—"The mighty Guise himself," replied he; and stretching forth his right arm, and elevating his voice, "and here it is,"—added he—"that shall be raised to finish, by one act, the scene of our calamities." He is said to have expressed himself in this manner on several occasions, and even in presence of Soubise, the commander in Lyons, in whose service he was engaged. Such language passing for the transports of a man ostentatious of his zeal and resolution, made but little impression; particularly, as the deed was of such a nature, that no man, who had serious thoughts of committing it, would, it was supposed, be so imprudent as to divulge his intentions. Though his acquaintance with Soubise rendered that officer most obnoxious to the suspicion of having encouraged or prompted him, Poltrot excepted him from the accusation, and arraigned the admiral, the count de Rochefoucaud, Feuquiere, Brion, Theodore Beze, and another Protestant minister, as the persons who had instigated him, or were accessory to his undertaking the assassination. His first recital of the story, in the most favourable light for himself, had evident appearances of being the forgery of a wretch who endeavoured to alleviate his crime, by accusing the chiefs of his party. The additional warning he gave the queen-mother, to guard against the machinations of the Protestants with respect to her; and his asseverations, that there were many other emissaries in the camp before Orleans, who were prepared to imitate his example, were too suspicious to strengthen the credit of his testimony<sup>38</sup>. The confession extorted from him when put to the question, exhibited a confused mass of contradictions. There was not a single person he had named in his first confession, whom he did not, by turns, exculpate and accuse; and, in the midst of his torture, at last concluded with saying, that if the deed were yet uncommitted, he would not scruple still to be the actor of it. The admiral, to whom the signed copy of the first accusation was sent by the queen, answered

<sup>38</sup> D'Aubigné—De Thou—Anderson.

it by a formal declaration subscribed by himself, the count de Rochefoucaud, and Beze, in which he protested, in the most solemn manner, that he had never seen, nor was acquainted with Poltrot, till after the battle of Dreux, when he came to him with dispatches from Soubise and Feuquiere, who recommended him for the employment of a spy; that, being retained at Orleans for this purpose, he had received from him a hundred crowns, when he set out for Normandy; and that the assertion of his having received money from him, was the only true article in Poltrot's confession. As for getting rid of the duke by such a method, Coligni declared, that, beside the principle of honour, he had particular reasons sufficient to make him ever hold such a design in abhorrence; and that the more special vindication of himself and the other chiefs, depending on the life of Poltrot, he requested that his punishment might be postponed, until, by a truce of pacification, an opportunity was given them to confute his detestable accusations. This just and reasonable demand was not complied with: Poltrot, being conveyed to Paris, in a few weeks underwent the punishment appointed by the law for traitors.

Garnier, in his account of this transaction, draws such false inferences from the assertions contained in the admiral's declaration, interprets his expressions in a manner so strange and unwarrantable, and casts his reflections with such little regard to justice and propriety, as evidently proves him to have been under the pernicious influence of religious prejudice. Many of the Catholic historians, more candid in this respect, acknowledge that the declarations and trial of Poltrot, prove nothing against the commanders whom he aspersed; but some of them join him in ascribing the commission of this infamous deed to his religion, and the harangues of the Protestant ministers. How far the imputation may be *just*, it is impossible to ascertain: but that it is not inconsistent with *probability*, we readily admit: to what acts of violence the inflammatory harangues of the *Calvinistical* ministers in Scotland, stimulated a fanatical mob is well known; the assassination of the president Minard proves, that the French Hugonots were not more scrupulous: we have already noticed an offer made by one of them at Paris to murder the duke of Guise: and a similar instance is said to have occurred, during the siege of Rouen, which is thus related by Garnier:—A gentleman in the count of Montgomery's army, whose name has not been preserved in history, thinking he could not render a greater service to the reformed religion, than by cutting off a man who was so great an enemy to it, had entered the camp of the royalists, where he staid several days, watching for an opportunity to poniard the duke of Guise. His conduct, however, having given rise to some suspicions, he was apprehended, and taken before the duke, to whom he immediately avowed his intentions; when asked by Guise, whether he had unintentionally given him any reason for wishing to take away his life, he confessed that he had no ground of complaint against him, and had only consulted, in this enterprize, the interest of his religion. “If your religion,”—replied the duke—“compel you to take away the life of a man, who, according to your own confession, never offended you,



“ mine orders me to forgive you ; judge, therefore, which of the two is the best : ” and he immediately commanded the prisoner to be released <sup>39</sup>. That the enthusiasm of the Calvinists was as well calculated to excite a religious frenzy, as the opposite tenets of the church of Rome, appears certain, both from reason and example : it is by steering a middle course between the two extremes, that men are most likely to avoid the dreadful effects of bigotry and fanaticism.

The duke of Guise survived his wound six days, and, during that interval, displayed that dignified composure and manly fortitude, which justified the representation given of his exit by the Catholic authors, as worthy of a Christian hero. He declared, with his last breath, that the blood shed at Vassy, maliciously imputed to him, had happened without the smallest design on his part ; that, far from approving it, he had done all in his power to suppress the tumult, which had created him the utmost vexation and regret. He recommended peace to the queen, and declared every person who should give her contrary advice, an enemy to the state. Esteemed the greatest general of his time, he possessed many personal virtues, and was eminently qualified to become at once the prop and the ornament of the state : but the humanity of the man was not unfrequently sunk in the violence of the party-leader. At the time of his death, he is said to have been indebted more than two hundred thousand crowns. The high schemes of his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, were entirely baffled by this event. He entertained the view of forming a league with the pope, and the whole house of Austria, by the marriage of his niece, the queen of Scotland, with the archduke Charles, one of the emperor's sons, in order to set up the Catholic standard in England against queen Elizabeth ; and to re-kindle a war between the Catholic and Protestant princes in Germany <sup>40</sup>. The most blameable part of the duke's conduct is ascribed, with great probability, by the historians, to the influence of the cardinal's councils.

As the reins of government had now fallen entirely into the queen's hands, the resolution she had already formed for concluding a peace, could be prosecuted without restraint. The prince of Condé himself being favourably inclined to it, was farther instigated by various arguments she had used with him to promote the measure. She promised to confer on him the rank of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, which had been enjoyed by his brother, the king of Navarre <sup>41</sup> ; and a truce being concluded, the queen mother, who had come to the camp, having met with the prince of Condé at the abbey of Saint Mesmin, one of the isles in the Loire was pitched upon as the place of conference. As the constable obstinately contended against the admission of the edict of January, and the prince of Condé ventured not at first to promise any modification of it ; an agreement

<sup>39</sup> Histoire de France, tom. xxx. p. 194, 195.

De Thou—D'Aubigné.

<sup>40</sup> Additions aux Memoires de Castelnau, liv. iii. chap. x.

<sup>41</sup> Garnier.

was made, that being both on their parole, the one should remain in the Catholic army, and the other be permitted to go to Orleans, to use their endeavours to conciliate the differences of the parties upon this grand point. After various conferences, a treaty was at length resolved on. In the place of the edict of January, a more limited rule of toleration was accepted by the Hugonots. In all fiefs, holding directly of the crown, and which had the privilege of *Haubert*, or high justice, the barons and nobility were allowed the free and public exercise of the Protestant religion, for themselves and their vassals. In other fiefs, the proprietors, when they did not reside in towns or villages, subject to higher jurisdictions, were permitted to enjoy the same liberty in their own houses. In every bailiwick, having an immediate privilege of appeal to the court of parliament, a city or town was to be appointed, in the suburbs of which the Protestants might assemble for public worship; and in the places where they enjoyed it at the time of signing the convention, the free exercise of it was also to be retained. In the city and liberties of Paris, and in all other parts of the kingdom not specified, they were prohibited to meet publicly; but private liberty of conscience was universally allowed them. The other articles respecting indemnities for the civil war, were conceived in the most precise and express terms. The prince of Condé and his adherents were not only acquitted, by a general amnesty, from all impeachments, but whatever had been done by them was declared to have proceeded from good intention, and with a view to the service of the king and the royalty. The whole particular stipulations, reduced to the form of an edict, signed by the king, and dated from Amboise, on the nineteenth of March, was ordered to be registered by the parliaments.

The treaty of peace, thus concluded by the prince, without being communicated to any of the foreign powers who had embraced the cause of the Hugonots, became the subject of some animadversions and complaints. The admiral, in whose absence the whole affair had been conducted, had great reason for dissatisfaction; his authority and interest in the army, his recent success in Normandy, added to his personal merit and signal services in the war, gave him a particular title to be consulted, and to judge of the propriety of the accommodation. Being arrived at Orleans some days after it was concluded, he expressed, in presence of the prince and the leading men of the party, his surprize at the precipitation they had used; and urged several reasons, both from the principles of honour and interest, that should have prevailed with them not to have given up the edict of January; the infringement of which solemn act of government had been, at foreign courts, and on all occasions, declared by them to be their just motive for taking up arms. But unwilling to appear as an enemy to the public peace, he not only desisted from his objections, but declared, that the treaty being brought to an issue, every one should acquiesce in it.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> D'Aubigné.



It may, indeed, be maintained, that the change of the general plan of toleration, prescribed by the edict, into the stricter model of the present convention, was a measure fraught with several political disadvantages, especially when considered not merely as an expedient necessary for the attainment of peace, but, in a more extensive view, as a regulation, designed to promote the present and future quiet of the kingdom. It gave the more bigotted Catholics reason to expect a revocation of those extorted concessions; by the suppression of the Protestant assemblies in many places, it cherished the antipathy to their religion, and prevented the abatement of those violent prejudices and resentments of the opposite parties towards each other, which, being inflamed by the civil war, required to be allayed by all the inducements to familiar intercourse and concord, that peace and time might afford<sup>43</sup>. From the more complex tenor of the new edict, some of its articles were liable to controversy, and its execution was rendered inconvenient. D'Amville, the constable's second son, who about this time was created a mareschal, being appointed to superintend its execution in Languedoc, performed his task in such a partial manner, as gave rise to various complaints. The explications he gave of its disputable clauses, which the Protestants alledged to be unfavourable and prejudicial to them, were generally followed in other provinces, and adopted, in some amendments of the edict, by the court. It was evident, that to adjust the various grants and restrictions comprehended in it, such a temperate procedure was requisite, as could scarcely be expected at the close of civil commotions, when, unhappily, several of the Catholic commanders, who entered the surrendered towns and disarmed the Protestants, could not refrain from displaying the most unseasonable airs of superiority and triumph.

The prince of Condé returned to court, where Catharine now reigned with unrivalled sway. Upon the death of the duke of Guise, the constable expected to have the office of grand-master of the household restored to him, and shewed some disgust at its being conferred on the young duke, by absenting himself a while from court; but he, at length, consented to accept the transfer of his government of Languedoc to his son D'Amville as an equivalent for the disappointment. Nothing now remained for the perfect restoration of tranquillity but the expulsion of the English, by the reduction of Havre-de-Grace. Between two powers who were at such open variance any formal declaration of war was superfluous; yet the omission of that ceremony was, by Elizabeth, whose maxims of policy did not often coincide with the maxims of justice, urged, when required to deliver up that town, as a pretence for arresting Paul de Foix, the French ambassador at London, and issuing her warrants for the detention and seizure of all French ships in the ports of England, or in the channel. The English envoy, Throgmorton, had made himself much more obnoxious to such treatment, by the correspondence he maintained with the Hugonots in France. His intrigues had formed a counterpart to

<sup>43</sup> Anderson.

those of Chantonnai, the ambassador from Spain <sup>44</sup>, and, though not so apparently insolent, were no less exceptionable to the court. About this time he had repassed the sea; when Elizabeth testified her chagrin at the treaty of Orleans, by demanding from France the restitution of Calais, and declaring that she was entitled to keep possession of Havre, until that important article of the general peace was fulfilled. The French court replied, that the clause of the same treaty obliged her to commit no acts of hostility against France, during the space of eight years; at the expiration of which time, the restitution of Calais, or a pecuniary redemption, had been, on that condition, promised. When the necessary preparations for a siege were made, the French troops marched from all quarters into Normandy; and, on the fifteenth of July, encamped before Havre.

The English troops in that town, commanded by the earl of Warwick, consisting, at first, of six thousand men besides seven hundred officers, had been already thinned by the ravages of a pestilential disease: the heat of the weather, and a dearth of provisions, encreased the fatal effects of this dreadful disorder, and soon reduced Warwick to the necessity of capitulating on the honourable condition of retiring with the remnant of his forces. The whole terms of the treaty were settled, and hostages delivered for the performance of them, when sixty sail of English ships, under lord Clinton, appeared in the bay, steering towards the harbour. But Warwick having given notice to the admiral that Havre had surrendered, Clinton cast anchor in the road; and, having embarked the troops, immediately set sail for England. The king and queen-mother, who had advanced to the abbey of Fécamp, were witnesses of the happy issue of the siege; the more an occasion of public satisfaction, as it shewed the amicable concurrence of the Catholics, and the Hugonots in the service of the state. The besieging army had been composed of the troops of both; and the English were surprized to find themselves attacked, from the trenches, by the Protestant soldiers, who had fought as their comrades on the ramparts of Rouen. There were only a few of that party discontented with the peace, who, under pretence that the English ought not in honour to be deserted, had thrown themselves into Havre.

Tranquillity being now restored to the nation, no means appeared to the chancellor so effectual for its preservation, as well as for the support and interest of royalty, as that of accelerating the solemn declaration of the king's majority. By Catharine's ready compliance with de L'Hopital's advice, and the assiduous application she gave to the settling both the domestic and foreign affairs of the state, it must be owned, that, at this time, she shewed herself abundantly capable of exercising, and not altogether unworthy of, that supreme authority in the government, to which, with excessive eagerness, she always aspired <sup>45</sup>. By her prudence and address, the emperor's demands for the

<sup>44</sup> Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, liv. iii. chap 9.

<sup>45</sup> Idem. Ibid.



restitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were eluded in a manner that created no misunderstanding with the imperial court. The proposition to Ferdinand, about the marriage of the king her son to his grandchild, the king of Bohemia's daughter, was the resource she employed for appeasing him, which proved successful. Her endeavour to obtain peace with England no less discovered her just consideration of the state of the kingdom, and her wise and temperate regulation of her political measures by it. As the insult and invasion of the kingdom by the English appeared to provoke and challenge resentment, she at first made the shew of acting with spirit. An opportunity was taken to retaliate the affront offered to the French ambassador, by seizing Throgmorton, who ventured, along with another envoy from Elizabeth, to return to France without passports. But in this step the manner of proceeding was such, as rather indicated an intention to punish the insolence of the obnoxious envoy, than to testify indignation against the court of England<sup>46</sup>. There was a distinction made in the treatment of the two ambassadors, and the advantage was gained of excluding Throgmorton from the negotiation, a point of no small importance to the commencement and happy progress of a treaty of peace.

It was resolved in the council, in pursuance of the previous determination of the queen-mother and the chancellor, to obtain a formal recognition of the king's majority, who had now entered his fourteenth year, and had consequently completed the term prescribed by the edict of Charles the Wise. This ceremony was performed, on the seventeenth of August<sup>47</sup>, at Rouen, whither the court had repaired after the reduction of Havre. The preference given, on this occasion, to the parliament of Rouen, over that of Paris, was intended as a mortification to the latter, who had, in so many instances, opposed the measures of the court, and betrayed extreme violence in religious questions. The queen-mother, in testimony of her resignation of the regency, kneeled before the king, who descended from the throne to embrace her. The king's brothers, the princes of the blood, and the peers, having done homage on their knees, advanced towards the throne according to their rank, and kissed his majesty's hand. The late edict of Amboise was ratified, and the observance of it enjoined, until, from the issue of the council of Trent, and the king's future deliberation, his royal pleasure should be farther declared. An arrêt passed for disarming the cities and towns; and it was declared high treason to hold secret correspondence with foreign states.

When de Lanfac was sent to demand of the parliament of Paris the registration of the act of majority, and the other edicts, enraged at the slight that had been put upon them, they appointed deputies to remonstrate on this disparagement of their super-eminent jurisdiction. The first president, De Thou, Prevot, and Viol, insisted, before the

<sup>46</sup> Mem. de Castelnau.<sup>47</sup> Garnier.

king, that it was a transgression of all former customs and precedents, to verify and publish, in the first resort, any royal edict in another parliament, than that of Paris, which had been the original and model of all the rest; and, by a combination of the privileges and dignities of the several orders of the state, had the distinctive rank and title of the court of peers, that ancient and primary judicature of the kingdom. What they added about the edict of Amboise being a licence and approbation of sectaries, and against disarming the citizens of Paris, evinced their adherence to former maxims and popular arguments for supporting their opposition to the court. But they overshot their mark, it having been determined in the council to prevent a repetition of such conduct, by giving them a firm and authoritative repulse. The young king, instructed how to answer the deputies, first required the members of the council, who were present, to declare whether advice had not been taken about authenticating the act in the parliament of Rouen. When this was avowed, Charles assumed a commanding tone, and told them, “that he would not bear that the magistrates of the parliament of Paris should  
“now behave as they had done in his minority; that their original and proper function  
“was to dispense civil justice, to which it became them to confine themselves, and no  
“longer to cherish that ancient prejudice of being the coadjutors of royalty, the protectors of the kingdom, and the guardians of the city of Paris; and that, having once  
“remonstrated to him, it was their duty to think of nothing more than submission to  
“his will.” But this was not sufficient to intimidate the parliament, which, after hearing the reports of their delegates, still debated the registration, and, being divided in opinion, appointed a new deputation to the king. Their resistance became a direct trial of the authority of the court. It was necessary to take the most decisive measures to surmount it. A grand council of state was called to controul their obstinacy by a decree, which annulled their proceedings, and required them, under the penalty of interdiction from their office, to register the edict without any restrictive clause, and to erase the record of their arrogant procedure. The parliament then desisted from the dangerous contention, and submitted (on the twenty-sixth of September) to the king’s command.

It is observed, by Father Daniel<sup>48</sup>, that the court of France, at this period, resembled the dramatic representations of the theatre, in which some new scene or material incident still occurs, sufficient to keep the spectators in suspense for the issue of the main action. No sooner was the king returned from Rouen to Paris, than the eyes of the people were stricken with a groupe of sorrowful figures, which marched slowly through the streets to the Louvre. These were the aged mother, the widow and the children of the late duke of Guise in their mourning robes<sup>49</sup>. They were followed by a train of women, with their faces veiled in black, and by a numerous company of the kindred and

<sup>48</sup> Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 303.

<sup>49</sup> De Thou—D’Avila—Mémoires de Condé—La Popelinière.



friends of the family, with the composed looks and gestures of sorrow. The Parisian multitude gazed on this spectacle, (while the catastrophe of the duke's murder rushed afresh into their minds,) and followed it to the gates of the palace, where the whole company of mourners fell on their knees before the young king, and petitioned for justice to be done upon the accomplices of the duke's horrid assassination, at a time when he exposed his life for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and the preservation of the royal authority. To this application, accompanied with the circumstance of the tumultuous exclamation of the populace, Charles replied, in general terms, "that he would consider what ought to be done, and make it his business to cause justice to be executed on the subject of their complaint at a convenient time." The intention of this parade was sufficiently plain; and it was well known against whom the family of Guise laid their accusation. Though now the admiral Coligni was not named, they had before arraigned him so openly, that the prince of Condé thought himself obliged to protest against this charge, before the privy council. He insisted, that the Guises should either be commanded to forbear their aspersions, or to prosecute their impeachment in a legal manner, declaring that all other treacherous attacks of Coligni he would revenge, as done against his kinsman and first friend. The mareschal Montmorenci, in his own name, and that of the constable his father, and all his family, adhered to the prince's protest. From the first instance of the accusation, the admiral had demanded a judicial trial, but refused the tribunal of the parliament of Paris. The great council of state was proposed by the king to try the cause, which the family of Guise as peremptorily declined; and both parties made exceptions to the king's privy-council. The queen-mother and the court, apprehensive of the revival of fresh contention in the determination of an affair, which already excited the spirit of party, advised the revocation of the judgment of it to the king himself, by whose authority all procedure in it was suspended for three years. But the interlude of the procession had the effect to warm the affections of the Parisians to the children and family of their favourite chieftain, and gave occasion to the zealous ecclesiastics to re-touch in their sermons the affecting subject of the martyrdom of the duke of Guise, and to animate the people against those that had been his adversaries.

• A. D. 1564, 1565.] The altercations which had arisen in the different provinces with regard to the tenor of the late edict, and the difficulties that occurred in putting it in execution, superinduced a determination of the council, that the king and court should make a progress through the greater part of the kingdom. It was conceived, that the appearance of the young sovereign would not only serve as a check to sedition, but verify and confirm the principles of loyalty and obedience to the government. To these motives, by which alone the chancellor was actuated, queen Catharine joined other views better suited to the political cast of her own mind: besides an opportunity of investigating the conduct of the governors of the chief cities and provinces, and making such changes among them as might be judged necessary, she had proposed a conference with

with her daughter the queen of Spain, on the confines of the two kingdoms, and proposed to hold interviews with some of the German princes. But before the court left Fontainebleau, ambassadors arrived from the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, the object of whose mission was to prefer an unanimous request to the king for the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, which had been closed about a month before. This application, so ill-timed and precipitate, appeared to the queen and the council to have been effected by the artful intrigues of the cardinal of Lorraine, and the zealous partizans of the papal power at court, who laboured to subvert the peace<sup>49</sup>. The conduct of the sovereign Pontiff, with respect to the queen of Navarre, exhibited a convincing proof of the disposition of the court of Rome to expose the principality of Bearn as a prey to the Catholic king. As that princess had expelled the Catholic priests, and established the Protestant worship in her dominions, Pius the Fourth had issued a monitory against her, in which she was threatened with immediate excommunication and the forfeiture of her territories to the first Catholic potentate who should seize them. A regard to the honour and interest of the crown of France, which were both concerned in the protection of the rights of the queen of Navarre, induced Catharine to make an open declaration against this violent and arbitrary invasion of them. This circumstance, and the pope's avowed partiality to Spain, rendered her more circumspect and suspicious, with respect to the combination of those powers in the present embassy. The nature and import of the requisitions made by them constituted as gross an insult as could well be offered to the government of France. They amounted to a formal condemnation of all the late measures, and an arrogant prescription of a different system, and course of political conduct. Besides the demand for the publication of the decrees of the council, the envoys were instructed to insist, in the name of their masters, that there should be no alienation of the church revenues in France authorized, from which fund, they declared, the courts of Spain and Savoy accounted it sacrilegious to receive the acquittance of the sums due to them; that the legal chastisement of heretics, by banishment or corporal punishment, should be resumed, the general indemnity granted by the late pacification revoked, and the contrivers of the murder of the duke of Guise prosecuted with rigour, and brought to condign punishment. Such indecent and preposterous demands, which conveyed the tainted breath of faction, would in other times have been treated with a high degree of contempt. But, in the present instance, the king's council were satisfied with directing him to make the following general reply:—that it was his innate and inviolable principle to persevere in his attachment and fidelity to the apostolic church of Rome, and the maxim of his government to engage his subjects to conform to it; that he had established a domestic peace, in order to eject his foreign enemies; and that now he had nothing more at heart than to dispense justice to all his people. When the ambassadors importuned the court

<sup>49</sup> Recueil de Dupuis—Le Laboureur—Fra-Paolo—Pallavicini—Mémoires de Condé.



for a more distinct answer, they were told the king chose to deliberate upon it, in a meeting of the principal nobles and senators of the kingdom.

Though natural spirit and political circumspection induced the queen-mother to resist the concurrence of other princes to impose their admonitions on the government; though, perhaps, she was not insensible, that the present interposition of foreign courts was intended to encourage domestic faction, the scope and aim of her politics were so congenial to the principles of their system, that all the honour and advantage she contended for, amounted, in fact, only to that of pursuing it in her own way. This, doubtless, appeared to *her* a very material point, who had reason to be conscious and vain of her skill, in the artificial management of affairs. Persuaded that, by the help of time, and the advantage of peace, she would be enabled to strengthen the power of the government, and give it vigour sufficient to encounter and crush all opposition from party; she endeavoured to attain her political ends under the appearance of promoting the public tranquillity and good of the state. Before she set out with the king on the intended progress through the kingdom, the treaty of peace with England was brought to a conclusion, and the articles of it were finished and presented to the king when he came to Troyes. Instead of any mention of the controverted restitution of Calais, a general clause, reserving to both crowns their several rights and claims, was substituted. Elizabeth, still affecting the samencity about the resignation of that place, and pretending that her ambassadors had exceeded their powers, refused at first her confirmation of the treaty. But, after having vented this artful language for some time, she was satisfied with the promise of a hundred and thirty thousand crowns for the release of the hostages; and Castelnau, who concluded the agreement with her, returned to the French court, with a request to the king to accept her compliment of the order of the garter. The renewal of the league with the Swiss Cantons was also purchased at this time, with a large pecuniary subsidy. But queen Catharine was disappointed of her hopes of an interview with the king of the Romans on the confines of Lorraine, which was *alleged* to have been the principal motive of her journey thither. She had always maintained an amicable correspondence with this prince, and proposed, by connecting him with the house of France, by the marriage of the king to one of his daughters, to enlarge her influence among the German princes. The king of Spain's jealousy was the chief bar to the interview and alliance. Catharine was equally unsuccessful in her attempt to bind the duke of Wirtemberg, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and Wolfgang, duke of Deux Ponts, who were Protestant chieftains, by the civil obligations of pensions from the king, to withhold their assistance from the Calvinists in France. Her offers of benevolence were rejected by each of those princes: There was only the marquis of Baden, and one of the family of Saxe, that condescended to become her stipendiaries.

In the king's circuit of the provinces of the kingdom, which commenced with the excursion through Champagne to the territories of the Duke of Lorraine, almost two years were employed.

ployed. In most places he visited, he was tormented with the alternate complaints of Catholics and Protestants. The deputies of Burgundy harangued the king against the extension of the late edict of toleration to their province. The Protestants preferred a general complaint of the violent opposition made in various parts to its establishment, and of the injurious treatment they experienced. These differences were seized by the court as a pretext for rendering the late edict palatable to the Catholics; and for this purpose another edict was passed at Roussillon, in which the liberty of the Protestants was considerably retrenched. The allowance of public worship to the possessors of the superior fiefs was interpreted to extend only to their families and immediate vassals, and to exclude all occasional partakers of the benefit thereof. They were prohibited to hold synods, to open schools, or to make private or public collections. The regular priests and nuns, who, on their conversion, had entered into the matrimonial state, were required, under the penalty of the galleys, perpetual confinement, to separate from their spouses and resume their vows of celibacy and retirement. These restrictions, which too much reduced the edict to the appearance of a simple concession in favour of the nobility, diminished the idea and enjoyment of public toleration, and subjected the Hugonots to various hardships, could not fail to create particular offence and discontent. The prince of Condé, who thought his honour concerned in maintaining the articles of it, transmitted to the court a remonstrance on the subject of the innovations, by which the edict was subverted. The answer given him, from its amicable and mild tendency, though not satisfactory, appeared to be dictated by the chancellor, who, by suggesting those emendations, studied to convince the court, that the Protestants might be tolerated, and at the same time restrained within such reasonable bounds as the government chose to prescribe to them. The procedure upon this maxim soothed the queen-mother, gave to the government that air of authority she required, and furnished her with a specious answer to the Catholic princes, who excepted against the pacification as derogatory to the honour of the crown. To preserve the dignity of the court, and of the established religion, the public meetings of the Protestants were forbidden in all the places through which the king passed. In other respects, the court had reason to repress the unruly zeal of the Catholics; who, in some provinces, had formed associations and fraternities to defend themselves and their religion against the sectaries. In one of these, instituted in Burgundy, with the title of the society of the Holy Ghost, the devotees took an oath never to live in peace with the Protestants. The praises of the king of Spain—one of the most detestable characters that ever disgraced humanity, either in a public or private station!—were frequently heard from the pulpit, and his zealous assertion of true Catholic principles was proposed as a pattern that ought to be imitated by the king and government of France. In these efforts might be described the origin of the famous Catholic league, but the indications were then so faint as to excite no apprehensions for its consequences. The province of Guienne, embroiled by the misconduct of its governor, the count of Candale, was with difficulty preserved from an insurrection by the appointment of the marshal Bourdillon in his place.



Upon intelligence received of a confederacy being formed by the family of Guise, and some of their partizans, in consequence of a conflict that occurred between the cardinal of Lorraine and the marechal Montmorenci, at Paris, the weakness and tremor of the court appeared. All the nobles present, being assembled before the king, were required to declare what they knew of secret cabals and combinations, which threatened disturbance to the state; and to subscribe an obligation never to engage in them, or take arms without his majesty's authority. After passing the winter in Languedoc, the court proceeded, in the following spring, to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Bayonne, where the queen of Spain was expected to arrive.

The interview at Bayonne, which took place on the tenth of June, 1565, afforded matter for speculation, not only to France, but to all foreign states, whose attention was fixed on every action, and on every plan of that inexorable tyrant Philip the Second. The inordinate ambition, the extensive power, and the persecuting spirit of the Spanish monarch, formed just subjects of apprehension and dread to the surrounding nations; and some new political phenomenon was daily expected in consequence of the decisions of the council of Trent. A league of the Catholic princes having been proposed, a general alarm prevailed among the Protestants, who thought they beheld in the congress at Bayonne the image of what they dreaded. It was not believed that queen Catharine designed to carry thither the king and court merely to embrace her daughter, or that Philip had sent Elizabeth, his young queen, and the famous Ferdinand, duke of Alva, on a journey to the borders of Spain, only for the sake of visiting her mother and family, and presenting Charles with the order of the Golden Fleece. But the commencement of some great design, for the extirpation of heresy, was conceived to be the true object of the interview, by the Protestants in the Low Countries, as well as in France. But what really passed there it is impossible to ascertain, as the accounts of contemporary historians are vague, uncertain and contradictory; and this indeed, must have been the case, from the very nature of the transaction itself, even had the passions and prejudices of the writers had no share in their misrepresentations; for the parties concerned, from whom alone the truth could be known, had the strongest motives—if their projects were so criminal as they have been represented—for consigning to oblivion every particular of the event. It appears most *probable* that the conference terminated in nothing more positive than a general agreement of the two crowns to act in correspondence, and assist each other, in extinguishing, in their states, the cabals and insurrections with which they were threatened, whether from a religious or political cause: though the end aimed at by both had been the same, as D'Avila justly observes, the different circumstances and interests of the two parties must have operated as an effectual impediment to a concurrence in the same measures, or to the adoption of a similar plan of procedure. In external appearance this conference presented a picture of the pomp of the court, and of the entertainment and diversions of the age. Various scenes of carousals, martial ballets, shews and pageantries were daily exhibited. The sprightly invention and gaiety of the French vied for superiority with the stately pride and grave ostentation of the Spaniards. The poetical compositions

tions of Ronfard, who then followed the court, were rehearsed, and formed the interludes of those entertainments. From deference and respect to the Spaniards, the court waited the end of the interview before the king proceeded to Tarbes, to admit the envoy of Soliman, the grand seignior, to an audience. It then took its course to Nerac, in the queen of Navarre's dominions, and from thence, by various stages, to Blois, where it continued till the commencement of the following year, when an assembly of the notables was holden at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois.

A. D. 1566.] At this assembly, which met in the month of February, the chancellor, ever attentive to the welfare of the state, set forth the various defects and abuses which prevailed in the political government, and in the administration of the laws. The sale of the offices of judicature, which, as we have before had occasion to observe, was an emolument of the crown revenue, had caused the multiplication of them, and the frequent erection of superfluous courts of justice, which had a certain tendency to the encrease of law-suits; and this encouragement of processes was rendered the more intolerable, from the custom of gratuities and presents, which were made to the judges themselves. To supply an effectual remedy for these grievances appeared a matter of too great difficulty to be attempted at this period; the chancellor, therefore, confined his attention to the amendment of the more gross irregularities. After deliberating with the magistrates of the parliament, and the other judges, he had the honour to digest, with their approbation, a compend of regulations, for the procedure of the courts, and the dispatch of judicial processes, comprehended under eighty-six heads; and which, being soon after ratified by the parliament of Paris, and established under the name of the edict of Moulins, became the glossary of the law, and was afterwards generally adopted in all the supreme and inferior judicatures in the kingdom. This edict contained several other regulations of less importance.

The assembly of Moulins concluded with the formal compromise of the contention between the family of Guise and the Colignis. The admiral purged himself, upon oath, from the imputation of being accessory to the duke of Guise's death, and the Guises shook hands with him in the king's presence. The historians are not agreed about the part acted by the young duke of Guise, nor, indeed, whether he was present at the time of the reconciliation. The widow had now laid aside her mourning apparel to espouse the duke of Nemours, who was esteemed the handsomest and most accomplished nobleman of the age.

Meanwhile the complaints of the Protestants, on the inexecution of the edict of toleration, continued to encrease; and Bouchet was deputed, by the nobility of that persuasion, to present to the king, at Angoulême, a particular rescript of the injuries and grievances they suffered, and to entreat the prevention of a fatal recourse to extremities. No attention, however, was paid to this remonstrance. The re-establishment of the  
public



public exercise of the Catholic religion in Berne, and the viscounty of Foix, which the queen of Navarre had there restrained, was effected by the king's authority<sup>50</sup>, and even in the last of these districts, where an attempt to invade the privileges of the Protestants had occasioned a public tumult, the judgment of the cause, and the punishment of the insurgents, were resigned, by the will of the court, to the parliament of Toulouse—a tribunal ever notorious for inhuman zeal against the Protestants.

A. D. 1567.] The prince of Condé had strenuously remonstrated against these proceedings, but the queen-mother found means for a while to lull his suspicions, by professions of favour and marks of regard. It was impossible, however, long to deceive the leaders of the Hugonots, jealous of her conduct, and attentive to her motions; and, indeed, her usage of the prince of Condé himself, in his suit for the office of constable, which Montmorenci desired to resign, while it betrayed her aversion from his advancement, showed her partiality to the opposite party. Catharine thought she had contrived an artful expedient for the disposal of that commission, which could give no reasonable offence to any of the competitors for it. The old constable's intention was to surrender it in favour of his son, the marshal Montmorenci: but the queen having objections to that officer, it was signified to the constable, as the king's pleasure, that whenever his charge was vacated, it should be supplied in no other way than by the appointment of her son the duke of Anjou, to the office of lieutenant-general of the army. This pacified the constable, and might have had the same effect with the prince of Condé, who now solicited the office, had not the queen, in order to frustrate his application, advanced a step farther. The duke of Anjou, her favourite son, whom, at the age of fifteen, she had brought, on some occasions, to preside at the council table, was instigated by her to insult the prince, for having presumed to stand in competition with him<sup>51</sup>. At Saint Germain des Prés, in the presence of the courtiers, the duke called the prince aside, and made use of such threatening and insolent language to him, as would have induced a person of inferior rank to sue for redress or permission to retire.

These circumstances, united with the fears of the Hugonots on account of the late interview at Bayonne, and others occasioned by the march of the duke of Alva, along the frontiers of France, into the Belgic provinces, accelerated the renewal of civil commotions. Sensible of the alarm which this last event would excite, the queen-mother was prepared to obviate and silence it, by the utmost stretch of her political craft. Feigning an apprehension of the purposes of the court of Spain, and appearing to resent the approach of the Spanish forces to the borders of the kingdom, she adopted the language, and seemed to concur with the sentiments of the Protestant chiefs, and those who insisted on the necessity of putting the state in a posture of defence. — A commission for hir-

<sup>50</sup> De Thou.<sup>51</sup> Idem.

ing six thousand Swiss was given, and some troops being levied in the Lionoise, were ordered to march towards the frontiers of Italy. D'Avila describes the contexture of her policy to be so mysteriously framed, that the pope, and the republic of Venice, conceived the utmost suspicions of her conduct. But however foreign courts might have been deceived by these state tricks, they had not, it seems, the same effect at home: the young king is said to have been highly provoked with the presumption of the prince of Condé and the admiral; and to have answered an embassy sent from some of the German princes to implore favour for their Protestant brethren, with harshness and disdain. But when Catharine found that, at the solicitation of the principal leaders of the Hugonots, she could draw foreign troops into the kingdom, and that a compliance with their requests would lead to the accomplishment of her own secret designs, she became too secure, and, confident in the effect of her dissimulation, narrowly escaped being herself surprized by the conspiracy of those whom she thought to have drawn into a snare.

The security of the court, at this period, is the more remarkable, as the frequent warnings they received ought certainly to have put them on their guard. At Lyons, the Protestants were suspected of having run a mine, some hundred paces under ground, along the principal ramparts of the city. When the duke of Alva began his march from Lombardy, Mouvans had raised eight hundred men, and thrown them into Geneva; and an attempt had even been made by him, to introduce, by a stratagem, a part of these soldiers into the strong town of Metz. The Protestant chiefs had once met for consultation at Valery, and were again assembled at Châtillon-sur-Loing. Some general advice about their intentions, sent by Montluc from Guienne, was despised by the queen-mother: and the more precise information which Castelnau, on his return from Flanders, had collected from some Protestant soldiers<sup>52</sup>, met with no greater credit. He was rebuked by the constable; and the chancellor told him it was a crime against the state to bring false intelligence<sup>53</sup>. It is said that Catharine, whose observations were chiefly directed on the admiral's motions, was the more deceived, by the report of one of her spies, with respect to the manner in which he saw him employed at Châtillon. Clad in a homely frock, with a pruning-knife in his hand, Coligni had mounted a tree in his orchard, and appeared like the peaceful inhabitant of the rural shades. The rendezvous had been then agreed upon. At first, the design to renew hostilities had been suspended, and the admiral's opinion, that they should suffer matters to be carried to a greater extremity, prevailed. But a circumstance occurred in the month of August, to overturn this passive resolution. Six thousand Swiss, under colonel Fifer, having marched from the borders into the middle of the kingdom, after the duke of Alva had entered Flanders, fresh distrust and animosity were provoked. The Protestant chiefs, convinced that the queen-mother had concerted measures for their destruction, resolved to make the first

<sup>52</sup> De Thou, lib. xxix. p. 817.

<sup>53</sup> D'Aubigné, liv. iv. chap. vii.



assault. The conduct of the duke of Guise, at the commencement of the late war, was deemed worthy of imitation; and it was accordingly resolved to make an attempt to secure the person of the king.

The court resided at Monceaux, a pleasure-seat of the queen's in Brie, when, (on the twenty-sixth of September) four years after the pacification of Orleans, this enterprize was planned and attempted. From the discovery of several parties of armed men, resorting to Châtillon, the queen-mother was thrown into the utmost consternation: and retiring, with precipitation, to Meaux, she dispatched orders to the Swifs to advance, without delay, to the assistance of the court. Rosoy, the place of rendezvous for the prince of Condé and his friends, was not farther from Meaux than Château-Thierry, where the Swifs were quartered, and their horse could, with greater celerity, perform the march. In this dangerous perplexity, Catharine had recourse to her usual subterfuge of a conference, during which the Swifs had time to reach the place of their destination.

Their arrival inspired the court with courage, and induced the queen to accede to the proposals of colonel Fifer, who offered to conduct the royal family in safety to the capital. The danger of this undertaking was, indeed, much greater in apprehension than in reality. The prince of Condé's troops, not a sixth part of their number, scarcely equalled the bands of the royal guards, and the retinue of the noblesse of the court: but, as Brantôme observes, it was the vigour of their charge, and the undaunted valour of their leaders, that rendered them formidable. Two or three leagues from Meaux, they appeared in several squadrons, and having the opportunity of directing their assault against whatever quarter they chose, a division of four hundred attacked the rear of the royalists, where the constable, and the body of nobles who were in arms, had stationed themselves. The Swifs suddenly halted, and, closing their files on that side, faced the enemy, who were soon obliged to wheel off. A second attack, on a different side, attended with some pistol shots, and brandishing of swords, and the repetition of some feints and skirmishes in the course of the march, proved the whole of the bloodless encounter. While the prince of Condé's horse withdrew to breathe in some neighbouring villages, two hundred cavaliers, under the duke of Aumale and some other noblemen, arrived from Paris. The constable and the chancellor, anxious to avoid a general action, advised, that all the light-horse being joined to this body, the king and the royal family should proceed the shortest way, under their escort, to the capital, where they accordingly arrived the same night. The exclamations of the Parisians at the sight of the king, escaped from the hands of the Hugonots, and their reflections on the horror of the attempt, joined to Charles's own sensation of the violent indignity, added fresh fuel to the former combustions of the state, and heightened the rage of the parties against each other. Such were the circumstances of the commencement of the second civil war in France.

The queen of England deemed this a proper time for discovering her inclinations to support the Protestant party : notwithstanding the late treaty of peace, and the apparent marks of amity and concord with the French court, she sent an ambassador to renew the old demand of the restitution of Calais. After what had already passed on this subject, she had, in a manner, excluded herself from even the shadow of an argument for insisting upon this claim. To this unexpected requisition, France, however provoked, found it convenient, at the present juncture, to return a decent refusal. Elizabeth expected no more. To give the Protestants hopes of her assistance, without declaring for them, was the main end she had in view. It was also proper, that she should not appear too forward in engaging with them, who had not adhered to the terms of the league they had made with her; while, by inviting the cardinal of Châtillon to the English court, it was evident she considered this conduct as a pardonable transgression.

The bold attempt of the Protestant chiefs to seize the person of the king, was considered as a signal, by the leaders of both parties, to collect their military forces. The prince of Condé and his associates, instead of being dismayed at the failure of their first enterprize, not only kept the field, but acted offensively, with an intrepid spirit, that had the shew of superior strength. To display, at the commencement of the war, the most daring bravery, and to acquire reputation by the vigour of their measures, they determined to form the blockade of Paris. To such a great city, the distant prospect of want, by the partial obstruction of provisions, is always formidable. No sooner had the prince of Condé seized a few posts on the Seine, and burnt a number of mills between the gates of the Temple and Saint Honoré, than the Parisians began to utter complaints<sup>54</sup>. This made the queen-mother have recourse to her usual expedient of a negociation, which only ended in mutual invectives.

To a train of delusive negociations succeeded the open operations of war. With about six thousand troops, the prince of Condé, having secured the passage of the Seine at Saint Cloud by a bridge of boats, taken possession of Saint Ouen, Aubervilliers, and Saint Denis, and from these quarters cut off the detached guards of the enemy from several turrets and small castles on the river, endeavoured, by seizing the bridges at Poissy and Pontoise, below Paris, and those of Charenton and Montereau-faut-Yonne above it, to intercept all supplies that came by these avenues to the city. Amidst various skirmishes, this was almost effectually done for some time; it was not surprizing, therefore, that the Parisians should exclaim against the constable, whose army was, by this time, considerably encreased. The alarm had no sooner been given by the Protestants, than the principal Catholic nobility began to muster their forces, and to conduct them to the metropolis. The different corps of the Swiss, and of the old and new levies of the

<sup>54</sup> De Thou.



French infantry, and the gendarmerie, formed an army of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Besides volunteers, the city furnished a complete regiment, which made a splendid shew, with their arms finely polished and gilt. The constable, by a succession of well-conducted sallies, soon recovered many of the best posts which had been taken by the enemy, whom he expected to vanquish and ruin by skirmishes as effectually as in a pitched battle. But the citizens of Paris, and several of the nobility, were too querulous and impatient to be satisfied with this conduct. It was said, that he sympathized with his kinsmen, and was unwilling to come to blows with his nephews. Montmorenci, who, in the exercise of his duty in the field or the cabinet, used to despise all such reflections, heard them now for some time without much concern; but the continual repetition of them, in a city so populous and thronged with soldiers, was unsupportable. Moved with indignation, he ordered part of the army to march to Chapelle, half-way to Saint Denis, which was the prince of Condé's head quarters. Having detached five hundred picked cavalry to harass the enemy for a day and a night, early on the tenth of November he began to move his whole force from the capital. As he passed through the gate, turning to those around him, "This day"—said he—"shall acquit me from the detractions of my enemies, and the calumny of the vulgar; for either I shall return alive and victorious, or meet death in a field revengeful and bloody to the king's foes<sup>55</sup>."

Unalarmed at the great superiority of the royalists, the prince of Condé resolutely determined to meet them in the field; the Protestant chiefs accordingly drew out their troops from their different posts, chose their ground in the plain of Saint Denis, and arranged their battalions with all the composure and intrepidity of men, about to engage in the most equal combat. The admiral from Saint Ouen formed on the right; Genlis, Lavardin, and de Vardes, from Aubervilliers, ranged their corps on the left; and the prince of Condé, with the main body from Saint Denis, composed the centre. The probability there was that the constable would direct his principal force against Aubervilliers, where the plain widened, induced them to run a trench along that quarter, till it joined a mill, which they filled with arquebusiers; their left closing with the banks of the Seine, which could not be doubled by the enemy. In each of the three divisions, the cavalry formed the van, and the foot, separated into as many different bodies, were drawn up behind them. The constable, who moved slowly from the city, was astonished at seeing them ranging their little army in order of battle<sup>56</sup>. The disposition of his own army on the right, being calculated for the assault of Aubervilliers, the main body of the Swiss, the flower of the French infantry, and all his cannon were placed there. The mareschal de Cossé and Biron, covered this division, with their troops of horse; while the mareschal Montmorenci was advanced, with a large detachment of cavalry, before his centre, and:

<sup>55</sup> D'Aubigné, liv. iv. chap. 9.

<sup>56</sup> De Thou—Castelnau.

the rest of the gens d'armes, together with the Parisian regiment, and some musqueteers, were ranged on the left wing. A body of reserve, commanded by the duke d'Aumale, and Henry d'Amville, was formed in the rear. The action began on the right by the discharge of the constable's artillery. Genlis, finding his division galled by the fire, ordered his lieutenant De Vardes to advance with a party, and charge the enemy. The repulse of this brisk attack having brought most of the cavalry to the side of the trench, they were there saluted with a sharp fire: at the same time Genlis opened his ranks, his foot advanced, and poured their shot on the enemy, while he again forming his line in order, proceeded with de Vardes to make a vigorous assault on the broken troops of the Catholics. The admiral perceiving that the action on the right had become general, put the troops in motion, and having apprized the prince of Condé of his intention, began to engage the enemy in the same manner as Genlis had done, by advancing his foot before his cavalry. By the regular fire the line of infantry made, and the impetuous charge which followed it, the troops on the left of the enemy were broken, and their horse wheeling on the regiment of Paris, a general confusion, approaching to a total rout, ensued. Immediately after this the prince of Condé pushed forward with his division to attack the constable's centre, which on the left lay open and exposed. He also marched his foot before him: but, as he advanced, the mareschal Montmorenci observing his aim, made a wheel to fall on the flank of his squadron. The prince, leaving his foot, and part of his line, to encounter the mareschal, rushed, with great impetuosity, on the gendarmerie of the centre. Disorder already begun there, by the rout of the left wing, facilitated the impression of the charge. In a few minutes the main body gave way. The old constable, deserted by his troops, and wounded in the face, was seen exerting his utmost efforts for rallying the fugitives. Disdaining to surrender, when required by Robert Stuart (the Scotchman who had been accused of assassinating the president Mianart) and resisting, with a vigour of body and spirit uncommon at his age, he dashed the pommel of his sword, which was broken, in his adversary's face, and knocked out several of his teeth: when a pistol-shot from behind pierced him in the reins, and soon after he fell to the ground. At no great distance, and almost at the same instant, the prince of Condé's horse being wounded, and falling with him, it was with difficulty he could be extricated from the danger which threatened him<sup>57</sup>. The mareschal Montmorenci had, by this time, not only routed the detachment sent against him, but, some troops of the left wing that were not broken rallying about him, he had already made a considerable impression on the admiral's squadron. D'Aumale and d'Amville, who had not engaged, being assured that the Swifs on the right still kept their ground, and that the mareschal Montmorenci was victorious, hastened to advance their body of reserve from the rear. But while the hurry on the one side to rescue the constable, and on the other the attention to recover and remount the prince of Condé, suspended the

<sup>57</sup> Brantôme—D'Aubigné—D'Avila.



renewal of the combat, the approach of night put an end to the conflict. The prince drew off his troops to Saint Denis, and the marshal Montmorenci was only anxious to save the life of his father, who recovering his senses, asked why the victory was not ascertained by the pursuit of the enemy. "I die," said he, to his friend Sanfac, "but could I have contrived or wished a fairer death, or a funeral in a nobler tomb? Tell my king, and the queen, that I have found at last, in this day's wounds, the happy and laudable exit I so often sought for under his royal father and grandfire." It was with the greatest difficulty he could be prevailed on to suffer himself to be conveyed to Paris, where, stretched on the bed of death, he made this memorable reply to a priest who fatigued him with his exhortations—"Do you think that I have lived near eighty years in the world without learning how to die<sup>58</sup>?" He expired the second day after the battle.

Not more than three or four hundred men on either side perished in the action, which may justly be termed a drawn battle; but the Protestants experienced the greatest loss, on account of the number of their officers who were killed: the Catholics lost forty gentlemen, none of whom, however, were of distinguished rank, except the count de Chaune. Besides the slaughter of fifty of the Protestant nobility, the fall of the count of Saux, the vidame of Amiens, and several others of eminent fame and dignity, considerably aggravated the loss of the Hugonots. The intrepid bravery of the prince of Condé's troops was witnessed by the Ottoman ambassador, who had taken his station with some of the courtiers in an adjacent tower: his surprize was testified by exclaiming—"If my master had only two thousand of these white scarfs to place at the head of his different armies, the universe would not stand against him for two years."

D'Andelot and Montgomery having refitted some pontoons on the Seine, and joined the army on the night after the battle, the Hugonots again dared their enemies to meet them in the field: their defiance not being accepted, the prince of Condé insulted the capital, by beating off the out-guards, setting fire to some mills, and extending his incursions into the very suburbs of Paris. Having received information that duke Casimir, son to the elector palatine, was on his way to join him, with a strong reinforcement from Germany, the Protestant confederates were no longer at a loss whither to direct their course. Though during the blockade of Paris<sup>59</sup>, La Noue, by a rare instance of valour and conduct, had, with scarce a troop of soldiers, possessed himself of Orleans, and even reduced the citadel: though the city of Rochelle had, by the election of Truchart to the mayoralty, been secured to the prince of Condé, and a considerable body of forces, under the chieftains Saint Cire, Soubise, Pluviaux, and Saint Martine had advanced from Guienne and Saintonge into Poitou, and, having taken Dorat and

<sup>58</sup> Le Gendre, tom. iii. p. 44.

<sup>59</sup> D'Aubigné.

Luzignan, threatened the capital of the province, yet the great superiority of the Catholics in the numbers and appointment of their main army, and their power of obstructing the progress of those provincial reinforcements, were sufficient to have created a pause in the present counsels and operations of the Protestant leaders. After some days repose in their quarters near Paris, they turned off to Montereau-faut-Yonne, whence they meant to proceed towards the confines of Lorraine. The prince of Condé led the van with his main battle, the admiral followed with the left wing; and D'Anelot, with all the musqueteers they could mount on horseback, covered the flanks and foraged for the army; De Moui, having the command of the light cavalry, closed the rear. After encountering various difficulties, and escaping from an attack of the royalists, on the seventeenth of December, at Sarri near Châlons, the prince of Condé was so fortunate as to accomplish the object of his expedition, by effecting a junction with the German forces.

On the death of Montmorenci, the duke of Anjou was, at the instigation of Catharine of Medicis, appointed to the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, notwithstanding the repugnance of Charles to such a promotion, who was heard to say, "I am able enough to bear myself the constable's sword, and have no occasion to appoint a younger lieutenant to command my armies." A change of the principal commanders in the army, agreeably to the wishes of the queen, was the immediate consequence of the duke of Anjou's promotion: from the appointment of the marshals de Cossé and de Tavannes, to be his chief counsellors in war, and the pretensions of the duke of Montpensier, as a prince of the blood, to have the precedency in the field next the general, the marshal Montmorenci, and his brother D'Amville, deemed themselves excluded from their rank, and even the duke of Aumale conceived some secret dissatisfaction.

A. D. 1568.] The flames of civil war were speedily enkindled throughout the different provinces of the kingdom, where continual skirmishes took place between the Catholic and Protestant chieftains: towns were reduced and detachments defeated on either side, but no conquest of importance was either achieved or attempted, until the prince of Condé, on the twenty-first of February, invested the town of Chartres, which was vigorously defended by the chevalier de Linieres, with a garrison of four thousand men. After some ineffectual attempts to open a breach, the enterprize of turning off the river near D'Eure, was undertaken and executed by the Hugonots. The suspension of the corn-mills, which ensued from thence, and the scarcity of other provisions, would soon have reduced the city to the necessity of capitulating; but while Linieres, by his courage and conduct, protracted the defence of the place, a treaty of peace was on the twentieth of March concluded with the royal commissioners, by the cardinal of Châtillon, at Longjumeau. Upon the point of religion, the articles were reduced to a general head, that of the full restoration of the last edict of pacification signed at Amboise, without the restrictions afterwards annexed to it. The king being of age, there was no refer-

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ence made to his future will and pleasure, but the edict was declared to be ratified until it should please God to unite France in the bond of one religion<sup>60</sup>. The most speedy promulgation of the articles by the parliaments, and their punctual execution, were stipulated by the court. It was agreed that all the foreign troops should be forthwith dismissed; those of duke Casimir, as well as others, being paid their arrears, and contract money by the king; part of which was to be reimbursed by the Protestants<sup>61</sup>. Such was the termination of the second civil war, and of that treaty, which was called the *little peace*, from its short duration.

Scarce three months had elapsed from the conclusion of this treaty, before an evident disposition in the court to renew the war was evinced: each party accused the other of having violated the treaty, and, indeed, it is highly probable that the complaints of both were well-founded; for though a cessation of arms had taken place, a natural mistrust and animosity still continued to obtain; many of the towns refused to receive the king's troops; while Charles insisted on levying the three hundred thousand crowns, which the Protestants had consented to reimburse him, on their leaders alone, whom it was his aim to impoverish: this circumstance, concurring with the pope's bull for enabling the king to levy a hundred and fifty thousand crowns (by a partial alienation of the church revenue) for the extirpation of heretics in France, left no doubt of the hostile intentions of the court: Catharine, who delighted in exertions of fraud and dissimulation, laid a plan for seizing the person of the prince of Condé and the admiral, who had retired to their respective seats; by the generous probity of the chancellor, and the military honour of the mareschal de Tavannes, they were warned of their danger, and advised to accelerate their escape. In the midst of the enemy's troops, to gain a place of safety was a point not easy of accomplishment. From a tender regard for the protection of their wives and children, the expedition of the chiefs was retarded. The princess of Condé, big with child, and followed by an infant family, and the wives of the admiral and D'Andelot, attended by their train of children, became an inseparable part of the convoy. Encompassed by a body of one hundred and fifty horse, they bent their course towards the Loire, which, by the accident of an uncommon drought in summer, was found fordable near Sancerre. They had scarcely passed it, and endeavoured to secure their rear by posting a party commanded by Bois on the banks of the river, when Martignagues came up and attacked this feeble squadron, who were obliged to fly into the fortress of Boni, where they soon surrendered. A sudden swell of the river, regarded as providential by those who felt the advantage of it, concurred to prevent all immediate pursuit; and, on the nineteenth of September, having been previously joined by great numbers of their adherents, who flocked to them from all quarters, the Protestant chiefs entered the city of Rochelle, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

<sup>60</sup> De Thou—D'Avila.<sup>61</sup> Castelnau.

By the speedy arrival of the queen of Navarre, with her infant son Henry, the foundation of a firmer association of the blood royal seemed to be laid, and the Protestants prepared for war with more than usual confidence. Meantime the chancellor de l'Hôpital, too virtuous for a corrupt administration, was dismissed from his office, and the seals were bestowed on Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans, a bigotted Catholic. A declaration was now published by the court, offering the king's protection to the Protestants, and a redress of grievances, if they would return peaceably home; but two rigid edicts appeared immediately after (on the first of October) in direct contradiction to those moderate professions. In one of them, which was declared to be perpetual, the religion of the Protestants was capitally proscribed, and all their ministers, under penalty of death and confiscation, were required to quit the kingdom in fourteen days. In another, all who professed any other religion than the Catholic were deprived of their rank, charge and offices in the kingdom. These edicts were registered with extravagant symptoms of joy, and a voluntary ratification of them, by a new-invented oath, was subjoined.

Henry, duke of Anjou, was now employed in preparing his army to march into Saintonge, where that of the Protestants, which, after the accession of Henry of Navarre to it, was called the army of the princes, had considerably increased in number and strength. D'Andelot, in his march to join the princes, seized Parthenay: Niort surrendered to his brother, the admiral; and Fontenai, taken by capitulation, added to their conquests<sup>62</sup>. The surprize and reduction of several other places gave them, with exception of the capital of Lusignan, the entire dominion of Poitou. On the same plan of extending and fortifying their quarters in the country adjacent to Rochelle, the main body of the army was led by another route to the Angoumois, the capital of which, well fortified, and defended by a garrison, was reduced after a short siege. Blas, a strong fort on the Garonne, and St. Jean D'Angely, likewise surrendered. The duke of Montpensier, reinforced by large detachments under Matignon, and the count of Brissac, scarce made any attempt to interrupt their progress, till they were engaged in the siege of Pons, where the Catholic soldiers, who were expelled from several other towns, had rallied. These early enterprises were distinguished by an excess of ferocity: surrenders at discretion, after resistance, were marked, on some occasions, with cruelty and slaughter; and the inferior officers were, with difficulty, compelled by their chiefs to observe the terms of capitulation. In an affair which concerned not only military discipline, but the preservation of the first principles of humanity, in the midst of the civil war, it is observed, that the admiral Coligni distinguished himself by that indignation and just severity against the offenders, which were suited to his character. On this head, an incident which occurred on the reduction of Angoulême is related<sup>63</sup>. Iluviaut, one of the chieftains, had, contrary to the terms of capitulation, seized some horses belonging to the Catholic of-

<sup>62</sup> D'Aubigné—De Thou.<sup>63</sup> De Thou—D'Aubigné.



ficers. The admiral, after demanding them to be delivered up, being incensed at Pluviaux's attempt to justify his conduct, struck him with his staff of command, and was scarcely prevented, by the interference of the prince of Condé, from carrying his resentment to a greater length. Pluviaux, who was a man of courage, being instigated by some of his friends to seek for vengeance, made this reply, "I bear every thing from my acknowledged superiors, but nothing from my adversaries. By my behaviour I teach my followers to understand what they owe to me." Pluviaux, it is said, was more extolled for this answer, than for all his martial achievements.

To correspond with the scheme adopted in the chief council of war, by forming standing battalions, and providing the soldiers with necessaries, for a distant and hazardous march, required extraordinary efforts of labour and constancy from the warriors in the different provinces. The levies made on this footing in Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc, and which composed what was called the army of the *provincials*, are very remarkable, on account of their number, and the expedition with which they were prepared<sup>64</sup>; enrolled and mustered by the indefatigable industry of the warlike chieftains, Montbrun, Mouvans, and Pierre Gourdes, and commanded in chief by D'Acier, count de Crussol, they are computed to have amounted, with the followers of the camp, to more than twenty-three thousand men. D'Acier's company alone consisted of two hundred gentlemen. The passage of the Rhone was a difficulty which the principal division of this army had to surmount. De Gordes, the king's lieutenant in Dauphiné, had taken all measures possible, by guards and armed vessels, to obstruct it. Their number and industry prevailed. Mouvans, who brought up the last detachments, distinguished himself by encountering a great part of the forces of de Gordes, and while he maintained skirmishes with them every day, he erected a large fort on the bank of the river, and defended it, until his troops, gradually, in one boat, were conveyed to the other side. His presumption, however, and disdain of D'Acier's orders, afterwards occasioned a fatal blow to be given him and the party he commanded.

The body of troops, assembled under the duke of Montpensier, finding no employment suited to their strength, kept on the defensive at Chatelleraud in Poitou; when the commanders received information of the arrival of the Provincials in the neighbouring county of Perigord. What was at first reported of those troops being a tumultuary crowd, and not so considerable as they really were, either in number or discipline, induced Montpensier to throw himself in their way. Approaching nearer to them, though he knew their numbers, he found information verify what he expected, that several of the detachments in which they marched did not always lodge in such contiguity as to be capable of succouring each other. It was even understood, that Mouvans, with his fe-

<sup>64</sup> D'Aubigné—Addit. aux Mém. de Castelnau.

parate body, appeared to chuse his own route, and often outmarched D'Acier's main-battle, or deviated from the order he prescribed. At this time Mouvens had made one of those capricious digressions, and had taken up his quarters at Menfignac with about four thousand foot, unfurnished with pikes and unprotected by cavalry. An attack was immediately concerted, part of which was directed against D'Acier, to embarrass and amuse him, while another division was ordered to fall on Mouvens. D'Acier was no sooner charged, than dreading the danger to which Mouvens might be exposed, he sent a courier to apprize him of his apprehensions, and to order him to keep close in his quarters. Persuaded with difficulty by his friend Pierre Gourdes to obey this order, the latter sustained and easily repulsed the count de Brissac's assault on Menfignac with twelve hundred horse. But this spirited officer devised a stratagem, which answered better than his open attack. He made shew of retreating to Perigeux; and no sooner did Mouvens perceive the plain over which he intended to pass clear of the enemy, than he resolved, in spite of all argument or entreaty, to push forward toward Riberac, the place of rendezvous, which he insisted, might be effected with safety, by gaining an adjacent wood. Upon his advancing into the plain, however, he was soon surprized by the re-appearance of the enemy. A brave resistance was, at first, made; but the combat of new-raised infantry, against the disciplined troops of horse, proved too unequal to be long maintained. A thousand of Mouvens' troops perished in the field; and he, whose obstinacy wrought their destruction, justly shared their fate. Pierre Gourdes also lost his life on this occasion. Above a thousand more were supposed to have been destroyed by the peasants; while all that could effect their escape joined D'Acier. Elated with this success, Montpensier thought of converting his partial attack into a general action with the Protestant commanders; but he soon dropt his intention, and found it prudent to regain his former post; while D'Acier proceeded to join the prince of Condé at Aubeterre.

The duke of Anjou's army, augmented by the bands of the nobility, the Swiss brigade, and a great train of artillery, now consisted of twenty thousand foot, and about four thousand horse. The princes, on their side, besides the troops in garrison, mustered in the field to the number of eighteen thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. Never before did the contending parties oppose each other with such a formidable force, and appear so nearly matched. Though it was the middle of winter, both armies took the field. On the twenty-ninth of November their advanced guards approached each other, in the vicinity of Lufignan, and, by a singular accident, the camp-master on either side met at Pamprau to arrange their respective quarters. Both parties refused to quit the ground, though no advantage could be reaped by maintaining it: the respective leaders entered into the dispute with great eagerness; Martigues was soon dispatched with eight hundred horse to support the Catholics; while the two Colignis, with somewhat more than half the number, hastened to oppose them. A party, sent by the admiral to reconnoitre the enemy, precipitately engaged: ignorant of each other's strength, the chiefs declined a general charge; and yet neither would retire. The admiral, first apprehend-



ing the risque he run of being attacked by the whole van, ranged his troops on the brow of a hill in order of battle; and their appearance on the eminence, while a party of them skirmished on the plain below, deceived Martigues in his opinion of their numbers, and induced him, under favour of the night, to secure his retreat. This rencounter was the prelude to the famous skirmish of Jazeneuil. The prince of Condé, to whom the admiral had sent for assistance, disappointed at the escape of Martigues, which he had endeavoured, by a forced march, to prevent, resolved to attempt, the next day, an assault on the enemy's van-guard, stationed at Sanfay, a league from Jazeneuil. The sky being obscured by a thick storm, his van and main-battle separated on the road; the one, led by Coligni, arriving according to the course intended at the former of these places, and the other, conducted by himself, at the latter. The prince perceived his dangerous mistake, but thought it neither prudent nor safe to retire in the front of the duke of Anjou's army. While he made the best dispositions he could, to avoid a discovery of the absence of his van-guard, various couriers were dispatched to find Coligni, and to apprise him of his situation. On this occasion the prince displayed the skill and address of an able general: he availed himself of the advantages afforded him by the nature of the ground, and, by means of the ditches and banks, which fenced the vineyards, in a manner entrenched his infantry, whose fire flanked the Catholic troops, as they advanced to the encounter. While the duke of Anjou plied all his artillery to discomfit the charge of the light-horse, and filled the plain with clouds of smoke, the prince of Condé, at a convenient pass between two rising grounds where a considerable body of his troops were left, had drawn a ditch across the high-way, behind which the rest gradually retired from the hedge-fights and skirmishes in the plain. By the aid of four-field pieces he maintained this post against all the efforts made by the enemy. But the ill-chosen camp of the Catholics contributed to the success of this enterprize. Their army, straitened in its position, was incapable of acting, and, as the generals afterwards agreed, exposed at Jazeneuil to a total defeat. When the admiral, on the other hand, heard the continual volleys of the cannon, he guessed at the prince's situation, and quitting a certain victory over the advanced guard at Sanfay, which was the original object of the enterprize, he hastened to his relief, though he did not arrive till the danger was past. After this skirmish, in which the loss on both sides was nearly equal, the duke of Anjou moved to Poitiers, and the prince of Condé to Mirebeau.

Some skirmishes afterwards occurred between the rival armies, but the extreme rigour of the season at length compelled them to put their troops into cantonments, after losing, each of them, four thousand men, chiefly from the inclemency of the weather<sup>65</sup>. The winter was passed in preparation for opening, with additional vigour, the ensuing campaign: the Protestants were openly encouraged and assisted by the queen of England.

<sup>65</sup> De Thou, lib. xliii. p. 878.

and many of the German princes, while the perfidious Catharine sought to avert the threatening storm by new negotiations; the proposals for which were rejected with disdain.

A. D. 1569.] Nothing of importance was attempted during the winter, by the provincial chieftains, who were separated from the main armies, except the siege of Sancerre, by a Catholic party, under Martigues, and that of the abbey of Saint-Michael, by a body of Protestant soldiers. In the first, three hundred Calvinists, ill-provided with arms or ammunition, and having only Joanneau, an advocate, for their captain, defended themselves, for near six weeks, against a body of three thousand foot, and a troop of horse, under the command of Martigues, and other experienced warriors, who battered the walls with light pieces of cannon. Nine hundred of the Catholics were killed, and, after various assaults, the siege was raised. In the abbey, which was a fort of very antique structure, Chateaupers, a monk, in the absence of the prior, took upon him the defence of the sacred walls; and, with the assistance of his fraternity, and two or three hundred Catholic refugees, who had deposited their best effects in the monastery, strove to rival the memorable obstinacy of the calvinists of Sancerre. The marshy grounds, impassable to cannon, gave him an advantage in resisting the attacks of a detachment of the Protestants, equal to the enterprize. When, after several bloody rencounters, some culverins, transported by the sea-coast, were brought to bear on the towers, and all farther defence was vain, a confidence in the aid of St. Michael, founded on a traditional faith, still animated the courageous votaries to withstand the last summons to surrender, or expect the assault without mercy. A barbarous carnage ensued, without regard to age or sex, and the cells were floated with blood.

At the opening of the campaign, the duke of Anjou, having received an expected reinforcement of two thousand Rheiters, and a strong body of troops from Provence, was resolved, if possible, to bring the enemy to action; while the prince of Condé, on the contrary, whose reinforcement was not yet arrived, determined to avoid an engagement. The Protestants directed their march along the banks of the river Charente, which the Catholics, notwithstanding their utmost precautions, found means to pass unobserved in the night of the twelfth of March. There was no discovery made of their motions till La Noue, before sun-rise, on the thirteenth, making the round of the different posts with fifty horse, perceived the blue standard of Martigues waving in the midst of a squadron, which advanced towards him. By his retreat on full gallop, the admiral was soon informed of the enemy's approach. The pass of a rivulet was immediately secured, and the different detachments received orders to hasten to their rendezvous at Bassac<sup>66</sup>. As Martigues could not, without farther support, venture to push beyond the brook, and the safe passage of it required considerable force and caution, there was

<sup>66</sup> Castelnau.



still sufficient time to make an orderly retreat with the van. But full three hours passed before the captains Montgomery, Pluviaux and others, could draw together their straggled detachments of horse, which had been previously stationed in the vicinity of Chateau-Neuf. La Noue, meanwhile, bravely maintaining, with some troops of cavalry, the vigorous charge of the count de Brissac and Martigues, who strove to encompass him, was obliged to yield his defence of the rivulet, and, overpowered with numbers, before he could reach Bassac, was thrown from his horse and taken prisoner. His soldiers, driven towards the village, were rallied by D'Andelot, who, with undaunted courage, advanced to the charge. This daring commander, after this short exhortation to his men—" *Act now as I do.*"—was seen, immediately on closing with the enemy, to lay hold of the beaver of the duke of Monfalez's helmet with one hand, and with the other to discharge a pistol in his face, which laid him dead on the ground. By his bravery, Martigues was driven out of Bassac with considerable loss, and an opportunity given to the admiral to range the remainder of the van, when compelled to evacuate the village, in an advantageous ground behind it.

As not only Montpensier, with the whole left wing of the Catholic army, but also de Tavannes, with the German Rheiters, was on the point of charging the admiral, matters were brought to a critical and dangerous extremity, in which the resolution to sacrifice a part of his troops, in order to save the rest, hardly afforded the prospect of escaping. It was then a courier was dispatched to the prince of Condé, with intelligence of the situation of the van. That gallant commander, unused to linger when summoned to the field, and undismayed by danger when honour called for his exertions, took the brave and unfortunate resolution of hastening to the assistance of the admiral, with a choice body of cavalry, while the remainder of his army had orders to follow him, with all possible expedition. This reinforcement only consisted of seven troops of horse, amounting in the whole to about three hundred and fifty men. As they drew up around him, and were told what he expected from the valour of men whom he considered as the flower of his army, the duke of Rochefoucaud's horse reared, and fractured the bone of the prince's leg. Superior to pain, with an undaunted countenance, suffused only with the glow of courage—"Remember," said he, "nobility of France, that Lewis of Bourbon this day verifies his motto, and esteems the condition in which he now goes to encounter the enemy for the sake of his religion, of you, and of France, a circumstance not unfavourable to his renown." In disposing his troops to the best advantage, in fighting with the most heroic courage, the prince displayed the most essential qualities of a soldier and a general. To give a minute description of a battle, of which no previous plan had been formed on either side, would be superfluous: to confirm the observation that has been often justly made, that the accounts of eye-witnesses and commanders themselves, of what passes in the heat of the action, cannot altogether be depended on; father Daniel remarks<sup>67</sup>, that the memoirs of Tavannes, and those of Castelnau,

<sup>67</sup> Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 902.





Anno  
1569



Singleton del.

Jones Sculp.

*The Death of the Prince of Condé.*

*Published as the Act directs, by C. Lowndes. Sep. 22. 1792.*



who were both present in the battle, disagree in some material points. The general account given by the latter of those authors, is adopted by most of the historians. After a charge by the prince of Condé, that exceeded any of the former instances of resolution, and by which Montpensier's van was repulsed, he was attacked on the flank by the duke of Anjou's main body, supported by de Tavannes and the Rheiters, which overwhelmed his slender battalion. Valour alone prolonged the resistance, till the prince, thrown from his horse, which was wounded, and able only to raise himself upon one knee from the ground, surrendered himself to D'Argens, to whom he delivered his sword. Being placed under a tree, Montesquieu, captain of the duke of Anjou's Swiss guard, coming up, and being told who he was, shot him through the head with a pistol. The infamy of this brutal assassination, which was generally abhorred in the Catholic army, was not solely confined to the person who committed it<sup>63</sup>. Brantôme acknowledges that the duke of Anjou's intimates had encouragement to believe, that such a sacrifice would not displease him; and so far from concealing his satisfaction, he is said, upon hearing Cloud de Saintes' panegyric on his victory, (from which, by the bye, he could derive neither honour nor credit) to have entertained the design of erecting a chapel on the spot in which the prince of Condé was murdered; but the prudent intelligence of his governor, Carnavalet, prevented him from raising such a monument of his own infamy. Robert Stuart, the Scottish captain, was also killed in cool blood, by Honorat de Savoy, marquis of Villars. The body of the prince of Condé, thrown on an ass, was carried to the castle of Jarnac, and after being exposed to the view of the victorious army, was delivered to his nephew, who interred it with those of his ancestors at Vendôme<sup>69</sup>.

Though the battle of Jarnac lasted six hours, only four hundred Protestants perished on the part of the vanquished, but a fourth part of these were gentlemen. If, in obedience to the orders they had received, the main body of the Protestants had marched up to the field, they would inevitably have been involved in the defeat. But D'Acier, who commanded the infantry, having advanced to the village of Jarnac, and learned from the fugitives how things were situated, judged it proper to proceed no farther, and, having broken down the bridge, made a safe retreat to Cognac. A considerable part of the cavalry, by the same means, gained Saintes. The admiral and his brother, with a resolute band, taking an opposite course, made their way to Saint-Jean D'Angeli.

It might now have been expected, that the loss of that chief, whose name and quality, joined to his approved integrity and resolution, upheld the reputation of their cause and interest, both at home and abroad, would prove a fatal blow to the Protestants. But the same mistaken policy of the court, which had alienated the prince of Condé from it,

<sup>63</sup> *Eloge de Condé.*<sup>69</sup> *Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 344.*



still contributed to divide the blood-royal of France, and place the branches of it in opposition to each other. The queen of Navarre, with inherent ideas of her independence, and a masculine vigour of spirit, had reluctantly borne, and sometimes opposed, the decrees and establishments prescribed by the king, with respect to the religion of her vassals. Exposed to various disgusts, from the pride and jealousy of the queen-mother, and to the prevailing faction of the court, she had quitted it with the view of educating her son in her own religion, and training him in a manner different from the usual habits of a courtier. The perfidious attempt to seize the person of the prince of Condé had roused her resentment; and the letters which she wrote on that occasion to the queen-mother and the royal family, as well as her expostulatory epistle to the cardinal of Bourbon, afford specimens both of her political and literary endowments. The moment she was informed of the event of the battle of Jarnac, she hastened to Cognac, with the two Henry's, her son, and the young Condé, the one fifteen years of age, the other sixteen. Her introduction, soon after, at Tonnay Charente, to an assembly of the Protestant chiefs, her affecting and animating speech to a muster of the officers and troops appointed in the city, and the tender she made of the two youthful princes to succeed to the title and authority of their principal head, shewed at once her ardour to support the interest of her family, and her knowledge of the disposition of the admiral, and the other commanders, to concur with her wishes. An oath of fidelity to the prince of Bearn being taken by the troops at hand, and Saint Jean D'Angeli pitched upon for their retreat, and the security of their persons, the councils of war proceeded with little difficulty or interruption. Montgomery was detached to Angoulême, with seven troops of horse; while Piles, who brought a small reinforcement from Perigord, received orders to throw himself into Saintes. The duke of Anjou, as was expected, made an attack upon Cognac, in the hope of crushing the remaining part of the Protestant army, by one successful stroke; but D'Acier, who commanded in the place, with eight thousand foot, compelled him to raise the siege in four days. The duke then entered the Perigord, and reduced some trifling places with the loss of several of his best officers. At the siege of Mucidan, the gallant count de Brissac was killed. On the other side, after many hazards in the field, various encounters sustained, and military toils undergone, the brave D'Andelot, justly deemed one of the first commanders of the age, whose intrepidity had gained him the surname of *The Fearless*, was carried off by an epidemical fever at Saintes.

The hopes of the Protestants were revived by the arrival of Wolfgang of Bavaria, duke of Deux-Ponts, with a formidable army of German auxiliaries, amounting to seven thousand six hundred Rheiters, and six thousand Lansquenets; who marching through the heart of France reduced the town of La Charité on the Loire, and effected a junction with the forces of the princes on the banks of the Vienne, to the great disgrace of the Catholic army, which had been recently reinforced by two thousand foot, and fifteen hundred Rheiters, sent from Flanders by the duke of Alva. The duke of Deux-Ponts died on the eleventh of June, the day before this junction took place, of a quartan ague

at

at Chastus; having previously appointed Volrad, count of Mansfeld, to the chief command of his troops, and exhorted the German officers to perform with fidelity the service expected of them. To the encomiums bestowed on their military prowess, and the surprizing conduct of their march, the admiral added various presents of chains of gold, and medals, engraved with the queen of Navarre's and her son's effigies, and the Latin inscription—*Pax certa, Victoria integra, aut Mors honesta*<sup>70</sup>.

Though the royalists, independent of the reinforcement we have already noticed, had received, from the pope, a body of five thousand Italian foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the count of Sanctafore, it was determined, in a council of war, that the duke of Anjou should remain on the defensive. With this view he pitched his camp at La Roche-la-belle, near Saint Irier in the Limousin, where he formed such entrenchments, as, joined to the natural strength of his situation, might well be deemed inaccessible by a superior force. A deep valley near a rising ground, encompassed with marshes, supplying on one side the place of artificial lines of defence, the greatest part of the artillery was placed there, under the custody of the Swiss battallions. All the troops were protected by the circumvallation, except two regiments of foot, which chose to take their station on the outside of the marsh, on ground fenced only by hedges and trees. Against these regiments the admiral, who had unexpectedly approached the camp, directed his attacks, and thereby occasioned the combat of La Roche-la-belle, (on the twenty-fourth of June) which was reckoned among the most signal skirmishes in the civil wars. Begun by the brave Piles, who threw himself, with some light troops, into the midst of the enemy's infantry, and sustained, on the other side, by Strozzi, who then first acted as general of the French foot, the conflict soon became vigorous and of doubtful issue. A spectacle to the two armies, who beheld the valour of the combatants, and balanced their strength by alternate successes; pride and obstinacy urged and prolonged the bloody contest. Strozzi's indignation, excited by the French soldiers, who could not help repeating the name of their favourite commander, the count of Brissac, led him to over-act his part. By running headlong into danger, he exposed his party to an entire defeat, and himself to fall into the hands of the enemy. Four hundred Catholic soldiers, and no less than two-and-twenty of their officers slain on the field, shewed the advantage their antagonists had gained, and the little quarter that had been given. Flushed with this victory, the Protestant soldiers pushed forward, and exposed themselves to the fire of the artillery, until the admiral restrained their impetuosity, and recalled them from the dangerous attempt. Their loss did not exceed fifty men.

The count of Montgomery was now detached, with a small body of forces, to effect the reduction of Bearn, which had been seized by the count of Terride, the king's go-

<sup>70</sup> A certain peace, a decisive victory, or an honourable death:



vernor of Quercy; and he fulfilled his commission with such intrepidity and address, as greatly enhanced his military fame. Pluviaux's activity and prowess, which saved Niort, when besieged by the Catholics, were equally conspicuous and memorable. "Behold your colours,"—said he to his soldiers, pointing to the two steeples of the besieged town, when he marched up to throw succours into it—"to them we must resort in life and honour." Lamed and half-dead with the wounds he received, he refused to hear of any capitulation, but ordered himself to be carried to the breach, that he might die on the spot, or behold the repulse of the enemy. Equally successful was the baron de Guerchy in defending La Charité, which was besieged by the count of Sanfac with seven thousand men.

The siege of Poitiers was the first enterprize of importance attempted by the main army of the Protestants, after the battle of Jarnac; but the young duke of Guise, emulous of his father's fame, threw himself into the town, and by his resolute conduct inspired the garrison to an obstinate and successful defence. After losing two thousand men before the place, by wounds and an epidemical disorder, the admiral drew off his troops, and compelled the duke of Anjou to raise the siege of Chatelleraud, which he had recently formed. Conscious, however, of the superiority of the enemy's forces, he was studious to shun a decisive engagement; but the two armies meeting, on the thirtieth of September, at a short distance from the small town of Montcontour, his design was defeated by the impatient and uneasy temper of his own troops<sup>71</sup>.

Already had Coligni, with his vanguard, reached Saint Cler, within two leagues of Montcontour, and the chieftains La Noue and La Loue, detached with seven troops of horse and a party of foot, had taken possession of that village, when the duke of Montpensier, commander of the Catholic van, informed that La Noue, who brought up the admiral's rear with two hundred cavalry, and about the same number of musqueteers, marched slowly, and without apprehensions of an attack, redoubled his pace to fall upon him. La Noue, contrary to his usual diligence, had both deceived himself with respect to the distance of the enemy, and misinformed the admiral, who had charged him with the business of intelligence. Confident of the certainty of the report he had made, that there were only some flying parties of the enemy at hand, he received the first charge of Montpensier's troops as if he had been wholly a match for them, and boldly stood his ground, till Martigues came up, and cut off a fourth of his party, and put the rest to flight. At this instant the two main divisions of the admiral's troops, having crossed a part of the plain, or moor, that led to Montcontour, were stricken with surprize, and confounded at the rout of the rear, which brought the first intelligence that the Catholic van was close behind, pursuing the blow already given. In order to draw up the troops in proper order,

<sup>71</sup> De Thon, lib. xlv, p. 914.

it was necessary to pass a brook which lay before them, bordered with a defile; and this could not be done without encreasing the confusion and disorder. But the duke of Montpensier neglecting to push his advantage with spirit and resolution, allowed the admiral time to form his van on the other side, and recover the consternation into which his troops were visibly thrown. One error generated another. Montpensier's irresolution was mistaken for weakness, and it was presumed that he had not strength enough to resist an attack, if urged with vigour. Under this persuasion the rivulet was repassed by the Protestants, and the enemy assaulted. In the first charge, which was well sustained, a considerable repulse was given to Martigues; but the duke of Montpensier being reinforced by the fresh troops of the main battle, the retreat became difficult and perilous. The previous disposition concerted on the bank, in case of a disaster, prevented the slaughter of the troops, but did not hinder their confusion. Clermont D'Amboise, unrecovered from sickness, and without his armour, and with only twenty horse, distinguished his valour, by defending a pass of the rivulet for a considerable space of time, against a great body of the Catholics. The action was now changed into a cannonade by the latter, which galled the German Rheiters, who kept their post on the bank. When their attempts to force a passage failed, and the fire of the cannon ceased, the admiral, under favour of the night, drew off his troops, and encamped between the rivulet and the Dive; thence he next day extended his quarters to Montcontour and the adjacent villages, where he was covered by the Dive, a narrow river, but not every where fordable. Such were the previous movements and combats of the two armies in the interval of three days before the general engagement ensued.

The apparent advantage obtained by the Catholics tended to elevate the courage of their troops: and it is even affirmed, that private advice was sent to the admiral, by some of his friends in the Catholic camp, to caution him against risking an action, under the present circumstances<sup>72</sup>. The admiral himself, anxious to avoid an engagement, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to march before day-break to Ervaux, upon the river Thoue, whither the enemy, who must have made a circuit by the head of the Dive, could not have soon come up with him. But, at the rendezvous in the morning, some of the German corps became mutinous about their pay; and before the disorder could be quelled, for which purpose the two young princes of Navarre and Condé exerted their utmost influence, the day advanced, and the duke of Anjou's army appeared. No alternative then remained: the order of battle was soon formed on both sides, and after a cannonade of some hours, the action commenced, on the third of October, 1569.

The two armies were drawn up in an open plain, destitute, on either side, of any natural advantages, and intersected only, at unequal distances, by a few easy declivities.

<sup>72</sup> D'Aubigné, lib. v. chap. 16.



The Catholics amounted to twenty-seven thousand men; the Protestants to eighteen. The former appeared to derive confidence from the superiority of their numbers, the latter from their hardy and determined courage. Composed to obedience and unanimity, and touched with the pathetic admonitions of the young princes, the German lansquenets, according to their constant custom, on the eve of battle, kneeled on the ground, and promised to fight and die like men of honour. Each of the armies was ranged in two great divisions, but so disposed, that they could all engage at the same time. The admiral's main battle, under count Nassau, was rather advanced towards Ervaux, before the left wing, which he commanded himself, and which stood more directly opposed to the enemy, as if he had still aimed at cutting short the combat by a retreat: To his usual practice of interlining his squadrons of horse with some foot arquebusiers, he added that of covering the flanks of the divisions of the Rheiters, with a troop of French cavalry. The Germans, after their first rank had fired their long pistols, used the method of wheeling to the rear, in order to charge them again, which exposed them to be more easily thrown into disorder by the enemy. The side-long line of French horse, who stood firm, and fought chiefly with their lances and their swords, was a well-contrived remedy for this inconvenience. The troops, on both sides, equalled the bravery of their several commanders. After the first charge, given by a part of the left wing of the Catholics, under the duke of Montpensier, by which La Mouy's horse were driven back on some of the infantry advanced before the admiral, the action on the left became general. The body of Catholic Rheiters, led by the Rhingrave, pushed forward in the opening made, and endeavoured to break the line of foot. Coligni, who had sent to count Nassau for a squadron of Rheiters to oppose them, led on, in the mean time, some French arquebusiers to the charge. The Rhingrave turned and faced him, and both of them advancing near thirty paces before their troops, discharged, at the same instant, their pistols at each other. The admiral's jaw was shattered by the Rhingrave's shot, while his own laid his adversary dead on the ground. Coligni concealed the hurt he had received, till being almost suffocated by the blood, he suffered himself to be led off the field. This accident did not prevent the total defeat of the Rheiters, which was accomplished by Volrad, count Mansfeld, at the head of his Germans. Nearly the whole of the left wing of the Catholics was thrown into confusion, notwithstanding the assistance of the duke of Aumale, and the marquis of Baden, who were detached from the main body to support them. The troops of both these generals were routed by Mansfeld, and the latter of them was killed in the charge. As count Nassau now advanced against the duke of Anjou, the battle became furious and bloody: the duke's horse was wounded, his squadrons began to give way, and the Protestant troops repeated their shouts of victory. But the efforts of their courage, now strained beyond their numbers and strength, required that support which the Catholics still had in a body of reserve. It was the arrival of the Swiss, brought forward by the marechal de Collé, that changed the fate of the day. While three fresh regiments of the reserve withstood and repelled the thinned and drooping squadrons of the count,

Nassau

Nassau and Mansfeld, they moved in close files to assault their hated rivals, the German Lansquenets. The broken Rheiters, having rallied around them, first pierced the ranks of the Germans, when the Swiss rushed in like a torrent, and completed their ruin. Here was the principal slaughter; of four thousand Germans, not four hundred were spared by the merciless Swiss, who continued to massacre them after they had thrown down their arms. A similar fate would have befallen a body of French infantry, that stood their ground beside the lansquenets, but for the timely interposition of the duke of Anjou, who, after some hundreds of them had been slain, called out, "Spare the French." After several vain attempts made by the chief commanders of the Protestants to reanimate their scattered troops, and to renew the fight, they found themselves compelled to provide for their own safety. While the fugitives fled to Parthenai and Niort, count Nassau, having collected a body of three thousand Rheiters, faced and repulsed the pursuers; then proceeded to Ervaux, where he crossed the river Thoue. The admiral's prudence, in securing, by some detachments; placed there before the battle, the passes of the defiles on that road, proved the safety of a considerable part of the routed army.

This was the only battle of the four they had now fought, in which the Protestants could be said to have been completely vanquished. By a moderate computation, near six thousand of their soldiers perished in the field, besides the havock made among the sutlers and followers of the camp, who were in arms. All the baggage-waggons of the Germans, which were numerous, and almost all the equipage of the infantry, fell into the hands of the victors. La Noue and D'Acier were among the prisoners. The one was with difficulty rescued from slaughter in cold blood; and Sancta-Fiore was blamed by the pope for taking the other alive. About six hundred of the Catholic cavalry, chiefly Germans, were slain, and nearly as many wounded<sup>73</sup>; but they lost few of their infantry.

It was the peculiar characteristic of Coligni's mind, that it ever acquired fresh fortitude in adversity, and its spirit and sagacity invariably increased in proportion to the dangers it had to encounter. The parliament of Paris had recently published an arrêt, calculated to stimulate the hand of the assassin, by which they offered a compensation of fifty thousand crowns, to any man who should produce the admiral, dead or alive<sup>74</sup>. Despising these ungenerous proceedings, Coligni was only intent on extricating his party from the difficulties in which their late defeat had involved them. He immediately sent off dispatches to England, to the Protestant princes of Germany, and to the Swiss cantons, with a representation of the issue of the battle, that lessened the idea of the disaster of the Protestants, while it implied a want of assistance in their present cir-

<sup>73</sup> Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 355.

<sup>74</sup> D'Avila—D'Aubigné.



cumstances. It was resolved to garrison the three towns of Niort, Angoulême, and Saint Jean D'Angeli; while the chief commanders, conducting the young princes, along with the remains of their army, directed their course to Rochelle.

The duke of Anjou advancing, with his victorious army, met with no opposition till he came to Niort, the defence of which was entrusted to La Mouy. That gallant officer exerted his usual courage on this occasion, but, on his return from a sally, he received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin, Louvriers Maurevel, who shot him in the reins with a pistol, and escaped, on a horse which Mouy had given him, to the Catholic camp. This blow had been designed for the admiral; but the wretch who undertook it having failed of his aim, endeavoured to make some amends for his disappointment, by transferring it to La Mouy, esteemed the next to Coligni in authority and interest among the Protestants. It occasioned the surrender of Niort, and the death of that intrepid chieftain, who expired, soon after, at Rochelle, whither he had retired for his cure. Aggravated with the circumstances of perfidious villainy and base ingratitude, the atrocious deed exposed the public sanction given to such attempts, by the parliament's arrêt against the admiral, the count of Montgomery, and the vidame of Chartres. The family of Guise, whose creature Maurevel was, acknowledged that, from motives of private vengeance against Coligni, they had instigated the assassin. It will afterwards appear, that the gratification of that revenge corresponded to the cabinet policy of the court, and that Maurevel was introduced to perform his part in the tragedy of Saint Bartholomew.

In the month of November the royalists came to the resolution of besieging the town of Saint Jean D'Angeli, and, in order to encourage the soldiers, the king made his appearance in the camp. Envious of his brother's military fame, Charles could not be hindered from shewing himself in the trenches, and from partaking of the labour and danger of the common soldiers. "With all my heart,"—said he—"would I consent, that my brother and I should reign by turns, and that he should wear the crown for six months in the year, while I took the command of the army." At Saint Jean D'Angeli the Catholics experienced a most daring reception: the town, the fortifications, and the garrison were of moderate strength<sup>75</sup>, but the resolution of the inhabitants, who were Calvinists, the presence of several valiant officers, and of Piles, who was chief commander, supplied the want of numbers and other defects. Though breaches were frequently made, yet the besiegers gained no ground, for entrenchments, at which men and women laboured, continually rose to baffle the assault. An honourable capitulation was at length proposed, but Piles would hearken to no terms, till some assurances were given that a general treaty was on foot. That he might have an opportunity of

<sup>75</sup> D'Aubigné, liv. v. chap. 18.

knowing the resolution of the princes, with respect to peace or succours, a truce for ten days was agreed on. In the night of its expiration, forty soldiers were introduced into the town, and Piles answered, to the demand of surrendering according to the conditions, that he was reinforced. The attacks were now renewed with additional fury: more than six weeks had elapsed, while the besieged still resisted, amidst the ruins, and the Catholics severely felt what their victory at last would cost them, by the fall of Martigues from a shot, and the carnage of many of their best soldiers. When Piles and valour could do no more, of a garrison which consisted of near two thousand men, nine hundred marched out, with their arms, colours and baggage. By the terms of surrender, they were bound not to appear in arms for four months; but the Catholic soldiers, in spite of their officers, having plundered their baggage, Piles, when escorted to Angoulême, declared himself acquitted of the capitulation, and soon marched to join the princes. The siege protracted to December occasioned diseases and epidemical sickness to ravage in the Catholic army; and when the town was reduced, the duke of Anjou found his loss amounted to full six thousand men. The troops immediately went into winter-quarters, and the duke of Anjou retired, with the court, to Angers.

As soon as the siege of St. Jean D'Angeli was begun, the admiral had marched with expedition from Saintes into Quercy, passed the Dardonne, and placed himself in a position to co-operate with the advancement of the count of Montgomery, from Bearn, on the other side of the Garonne, to join him<sup>76</sup>. By the seizure of Aiguillon at the confluence of the Lot with this last river, and the possession of Pont St. Marie upon it, he not only defied and bridled the excursions of the enemy from the confines of Guienne and Languedoc, but having, by his previous march to Montauban, first compelled the marshal D'Anville to raise the siege of Mazeres, and then forced Montluc to shut himself up in Agen, he began, and, in a short time, completed the construction of a large bridge of boats, over the Garonne. It was secured by piles and chains, and rendered passable to cavalry. But the troops, under Montgomery, laden with the spoils of the Catholics in Bearn, advanced so slowly, that the bridge, by the contrivance of a mechanic, was destroyed before their arrival. After Montgomery appeared, so much time was lost in ferrying over his troops, that the admiral saw it necessary to drop his design on Guienne, and turn back towards Montauban, in order to penetrate through Languedoc.

Meanwhile an attempt was made, by a strong detachment of royalists, to blockade Rochelle, which produced innumerable skirmishes. The honour of defeating this project was due to the gallant chieftain La Noue, who, after various achievements in which he signalized his skill and courage, marched to besiege a fort, lately erected to cover Luçon, and cut off the communication of Rochelle with that quarter of Poitou. Puy-Gaillard,

<sup>76</sup> De Thou.



flushed with some recent advantages, and eagerly wishing for such an opportunity to fall on the main body of the Protestants, had formed the scheme of surprizing them on their march. But La Noue discovered his designs, and turned them to his ruin. His little army, composed of several old battalions, and the flower of various garrisons, amounting to full six thousand men, was totally vanquished, with the slaughter of five hundred men and the captivity of a greater number. This victory paved the way to the re-establishment of the Protestants in the pays d'Aunis, in Saintonge, and the borders of Poitou, though the brave achiever of it, in besieging Fontenay soon after, received a shot in his arm, which, to prevent the effects of a gangrene, he suffered to be cut off. De Thou, in his description of the battle of Luçon, observes that La Noue, no less remarkable for modesty than courage, had altogether sunk, in his commentaries, the exemplary figure of his valour and humanity on this occasion. When the Lansquenets, in revenge for the cruelty they experienced at Montcontour, were putting all who fell in their way to the sword, he obliged them to give quarter. When Luçon capitulated, and a complaint was made by the Catholic commander of some baggage being taken, contrary to the terms agreed on, he made good the damage out of his own private fortune. Such behaviour was then as rare among the warriors, as reserve, equal to that of La Noue, in the display of their own actions, has proved uncommon in modern authors of memoirs<sup>77</sup>.

A. D. 1570.] The admiral, having been disappointed in his project of fixing his quarters in Guienne, undertook, in the midst of winter, to traverse the kingdom by a march from Mantauban, through Languedoc, to the mouth of the Rhone, and from thence, along the course of that river, and that of the Saone, to the entrance of Burgundy and the head of the Seine. This arduous undertaking he successfully accomplished, and, surmounting every obstacle that opposed his passage, after pillaging above fifty, and burning a hundred places, he astonished the court, which believed him entangled in a train of inextricable difficulties, and totally incapacitated from giving them annoyance, by the news of his arrival in the confines of Burgundy. He gradually approached to La Charité on the Loire, still occupied by a Protestant garrison; but his army, by disasters, desertion and disease, in a march of more than four hundred French leagues, during the course of eight months, with scarcely a week's intermission of fatigue was worn out and reduced to half its former number. Recruited with some companies from Dauphiné and Geneva, and a party brought from La Charité by Briquemaut, it amounted not in foot and horse to five thousand men. Yet this small number of combatants, under the conduct of bold and experienced commanders, preserved the honour of their party, and forced peace to themselves and to France, by defeating the marshal de Cosse, who attacked them, at Arnay-le-Duc, on the twenty-third of June,

with thirteen thousand men, and twelve pieces of cannon. The attack lasted seven hours, at the expiration of which the Catholics allowed the admiral to march forward with his army, and pitch his camp between La Charité, Sancerre and Vezelai, three towns garrisoned by his confederates, which was the station he sought for the repose of his troops, the re-assemblage of the scattered forces of the Protestants, and the revival of the war in the heart of the kingdom.

During these operations some overtures for a negociation had been made by the court, but the refusal to allow the public exercise of the reformed religion, had hitherto prevented the conclusion of a treaty. When, however, the admiral's troops began to extend their excursions to the vicinity of the metropolis, a sudden alteration took place, and a solicitous disposition to peace, on the part of the court, appeared. A treaty was accordingly concluded, in the month of August, at St. Germain-en-Laye, containing forty-six articles. Besides the public exercise of the Protestant religion, unconfined by the restrictions of the edict of Rouffillon, and an amnesty conceived in the most ample terms, with a declaration of the nullity and repeal of all proscriptions, civil and criminal of the Protestants during the war, and a recognition of their privileges of admission into all employments and dignities civil and military; the Hugonots were allowed, in processes before the provincial parliaments, to except, without assigning any reason, against three judges in each chamber. In the parliament of Bourdeaux they could object to four; and with respect to that of Thoulouse, on account of its most notorious bigotry and prejudice against the Protestants, authority was granted them to decline its jurisdiction, and carry their causes to any other parliament, or to the court of requests in Paris. But what distinguished this edict of pacification from every preceding one, was the assignment of the four cities of Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, to the Protestants, to be holden by them, for the security and the fulfilment of the articles of peace, for two years. It was not only published by registration in the court of parliament, but its punctual observance and execution were to be sworn to, by the lieutenants and presidial magistrates of the provinces. Such was the conclusion of the third civil war, and the tenor of the peace obtained by the Protestants in France, who having experienced, as Sully says<sup>7</sup>, several hard reverses of fortune, yet through the wise conduct of their chiefs, and the auspicious genius of Henry, king of Navarre, supported themselves with reputation and honour till this period, at which that instructive and valuable piece of history, his *memoirs* begin.

Soon after this peace, Charles united himself to the archduchess Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor, Maximilian the Second; an amiable princess, who, with the hand, obtained not the heart of her royal consort, which had been long engaged to his mistress,



the beautiful Mary Touchet. Foreign states and princes considered the choice of the daughter of Maximilian for his consort, as a happy presage of the termination of the national broils about religion, by a conformity to the wise policy and pacific conduct of that prince. Among other congratulations the king received one, presented by the envoys of the princes of the Augsbourg confession, lately met at the Diet of Spires, which was remarkable for turning chiefly on the propriety of the late edict of peace, and the benefit of religious toleration. Charles's answer was decent, and not unfavourable to the point aimed at in the address : and he seemed both capable and determined to act with vigour in maintaining the treaty, which he chose to call his own peace.

A. D. 1570, 1571.] The advantageous terms of this treaty, and the solemn professions which Catharine and Charles made to maintain it inviolably, did not soon throw the Protestant princes and chiefs off their guard. Experience had taught them circumspection, and they scarcely dared encourage the hope of finding sincerity where they had so often met with deceit. Willing, however, to judge of the truth of those amicable declarations from facts, they kept together in a body, and chose Rochelle for a retreat, and the place of their common consultations<sup>79</sup>. During their residence there a variety of circumstances occurred to rouse their apprehensions and provoke their jealousy. It afforded them grounds for reflection, that the secret articles of the pacification were not yet registered in the parliament ; that the marquis of Villars, an inveterate foe to the Protestants, was appointed to the lieutenancy of the province of Guienne, of which the prince of Navarre was governor ; and that queen Jane, his mother, was excluded from the possession of one of her towns. Other complaints which presently arose on the opposition made by the Catholics in some places to the freedom of the Protestant worship, and the renewal of former insults by them, would soon have made an additional impression, that might not have been so easily effaced. But the king appeared peculiarly anxious to remove every subject of discontent : he sent the mareschal de Cossé and La Proutiers, master of requests, to Rochelle, with ample instructions to obviate contests about the explication of the edicts, and to consult with the Protestant chiefs about the properest methods of enforcing its general observance. Such obsequious attention, which they had never before experienced, tended to blunt the edge of their complaints. De Cossé performed his commission to more advantage, from the favourable idea the Protestants entertained of his character : the encouragement he gave them to hope for every equitable concession from the king, and the representation he made of the favourable turn of the politics of the court, were credited ; and that part of his message, which respected the marriage of the king of Navarre to Margaret, Charles's sister, appeared to be a confirmation of those assurances. Having, by this introduction, smoothed the way to friendly intercourse, the mareschal returned to court, whither he was soon

<sup>79</sup> Matthieu—Sully.

followed by Teligni, Briquemaut, and the counsellor de Cavagne, whom the princes had appointed to found the dispositions of the ministry, and to prosecute the full execution of the articles of the edict.

These deputies had every reason to be contented with the reception they experienced from the king, whom they found employed in checking the restless spirit which the civil war had engendered by the most vigorous and determined measures. When intelligence was received that the Protestants at Rouen had been attacked by the soldiers as they were going to their conventicle, Charles waited not for solicitation, but directly proceeded to do justice against the offenders. The mareschal Montmorenci, attended by a president and other judges of the parliament of Paris, being dispatched, on purpose to take cognizance of the riot, the ringleaders of it were punished with death; others fined; and a capital sentence was denounced against all who fled. On several other occasions the same favourable disposition appeared: De Villars's commission of lieutenancy was suspended, and assurances were given that the queen of Navarre, and the prince her son, should be allowed the full exercise of all their rights and privileges.

Of the sincerity of these proceedings the proposed marriage of the king's sister to Henry the young king of Navarre, and the alledged design of entering into a war with Spain, seemed to afford plain and incontestible evidence. De Biron, grand-master of the artillery, whose conduct during the war, as well as his general character, rendered him an acceptable negotiator, was commissioned by the king to repair to Rochelle, and make the formal proposition of the first of these points to the queen of Navarre, and to declare his intentions about the second. The arguments he was instructed to insist upon, with respect to the match, were such as not only tended to remove difficulties, and subdue scruples, but to produce a conviction, in the minds of the Protestant chiefs, that the king's aim and motive in it were entirely amicable. Charles, indeed, expressly declared, that he bestowed his sister upon the prince of Navarre with a view to render the connubial tie a general one, to attach all the Hugonots to his government, and to banish their apprehensions concerning the immutability of his edicts of peace. The refusal of Pius the Fifth to grant a dispensation for the consanguinity, instead of slackening his intention, served rather to move his spleen against the court of Rome. Even the princess Margaret's known inclination for the duke of Guise, animated Charles to a pitch of resentment against the favoured lover, whose presumption he thought might lead him to offer an indignity to the house of France<sup>20</sup>. In a fit of indignation he presented two swords to the bastard of Angoulême, requiring him to take one of them and kill the duke of Guise, or expect his own death by the other. His rage however was calmed by the speedy marriage of the duke to the widow of the prince of Porcien. The

<sup>20</sup> Matthieu, p. 333.



chief pretence urged for breaking with the court of Spain, was the recent death of Elizabeth, sister to Charles and wife to Philip, whom that inhuman monster, after he had caused his son, the unhappy Don Carlos, to be poisoned, was strongly suspected of having sacrificed to his jealousy. Queen Catharine persuaded the Protestant chiefs that she had thus an interesting motive to concur with them in hating the Spanish monarch, and revenging upon him the miserable death of her daughter <sup>81</sup>.

The articles of the contract of marriage between Henry and the princess Margaret were speedily arranged: the dowry to be given with the princess was three hundred thousand crowns, valued at fifty-four sous each; and the queen of Navarre resigned to her son the rents of the county of Armagnac, and twelve thousand livres out of her own jointure lands. On the part of the king every thing was facilitated. A brief conceived in fuller terms, to remove the objections of the cardinal of Bourbon, was obtained from Gregory the Thirteenth, who now succeeded to the pontificate, upon the death of Pius the Fifth. It was even known to be the king's intention, that part of the nuptial ceremony, required by the Roman ritual, should be dispensed with.

In consequence of the nuptial compact, the intercourse of the Protestant chiefs with the court, became more unreserved and frequent; and even the admiral, and the more prudent leaders, who were still inclined to circumspection and reserve, began to be moved to confidence by other considerations. The connection which Charles affected to enter into with the court of England, where queen Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou was solicited, first by the cardinal of Châtillon, and then by the mareschal Montmorenci <sup>82</sup>; his employment of Gaspar Schomberg in Germany, to court the alliance of duke Casimir and some other princes, and to solicit levies for the war in the Low Countries; and some military preparations that seemed to be made both by sea and land, for a rupture with Spain, were considered as unequivocal demonstrations that the king was determined to shake off the political fetters of the bigoted party at court, and laboured earnestly to assert his own independent authority in the government of the state, and to consult the interest and honour of the nation. It was upon this judgment of Charles's intentions, that count Lewis of Nassau repaired in disguise, along with some of the Protestant chiefs, to Blois, where the court then was, in order to inform the king of the state of the war in the Netherlands, and to persuade him with what advantage he might now engage in it <sup>83</sup>. His reception was favourable; and the answer given by Charles about the war, artfully served as a proof that he wanted not inclination, but encouragement and freedom to act in the manner the count and his partisans wished him to do. Charles signified, that however well disposed he might be to adopt their political plan, not only the difficulties that might attend the enterprize of the Spanish war, but his own situation with

<sup>81</sup> Sully.<sup>82</sup> D'Aubigné, tom. ii. liv. i. chap. ii.<sup>83</sup> De Thou, lib. xviii. p. 1018.

respect to proper confidants in that business, embarrassed him; and therefore, as a previous and necessary step to his final resolution, he desired to have the assistance and counsel of the admiral Coligni. The peculiar circumstances of this chieftain required that such address should be used with him. As the pillar of his party, during the whole course of the civil war, more the object of resentment, and more dreaded than any other, and one against whom the family of Guise still maintained an avowed enmity, he had the strongest reasons to be cautious how he ventured his person at court and in the capital. Esteemed and respected by foreign princes, he had inducements, both from ambition and interest, not to be precipitate in engaging himself with the court; but to preserve, during the public peace, a kind of independency, which while it was most consistent with his personal safety, would secure the attachment of the Protestants to him, and strengthen their party. But in circumstances thus critical the admiral was swayed by his principles of patriotism, which rendered him ever anxious to serve his king and country. He yielded therefore to the concurring entreaties of his friends, the mareschal de Cossé and Montmorency, who joined with count Nassau in persuading him to dismiss his remaining apprehensions. Having taken his resolution, he left Rochelle and repaired to the court at Blois, in the month of September; whither the queen of Navarre, soon after, prepared to follow him, in order to put the finishing hand to the marriage treaty.

The queen of Navarre, her children, and all the Protestants chiefs, experienced from Charles and his mother, the most flattering reception; the king in particular spoke of the noblemen of that party in the highest terms of commendation. The admiral he always addressed by the endearing appellation of father, and took upon himself the task of reconciling him with the princes of the house of Guise: nor were his actions less expressive of friendship than his words: a hundred thousand livres, as an indemnification for his private losses in the late war, were assigned to Coligni, and, by a special grant, he was allowed to enjoy a year's revenue of the rich benefices that belonged to his brother, the cardinal of Châtillon, who had recently died in England. The admiral's seat and rank at the council table were also restored to him, and the king seemed to depend on his advice both with regard to the alliances to be formed and the measures to be taken, in consequence of the pretended resolution to declare war against Spain: such was the deep-laid scheme of deception now practised by Catharine and her son, that Sully justly calls it, "an almost incredible prodigy of dissimulation:" and such indeed it must have been to have completely imposed on a man of Coligni's sagacity and penetration.

A. D. 1572.] In the midst of these auspicious appearances, the queen of Navarre was seized (at Paris, whither she had repaired to provide for the solemnity of her son's nuptials) with a disorder, which, in the short space of five days, put a period to her existence: her death is, by all the Protestant historians, ascribed to the effects of poison, administered in a pair of scented gloves, prepared for the purpose by René, a Florentine, per-



fumer to the queen-mother; but this is strenuously denied by the Catholics, and the testimony of De Thou and Matthieu, who mention an internal abscess as the cause of her dissolution, appears to be conclusive.

While Charles, who had secretly permitted the levying soldiers, under Genlis, and La Noue, for the service of the prince of Orange, still, under various pretences, evaded an open declaration of hostilities with the Spanish monarch, accounts were brought of the entire defeat of that auxiliary band, by the duke of Alva's forces. Affected with this intelligence, and believing that, in such a crisis, he might push the king to an absolute determination for war, the admiral repaired to Paris, whither he had been solicited to come by letters from his majesty<sup>84</sup>. He found the court, on his arrival, in deep mourning for the queen of Navarre, and Charles under apparent disquiet for the disaster of the French troops in Flanders (though, Sully says it was strongly reported that their defeat had been occasioned through the connivance of the French court); and such precaution used by him, for preventing any commotion or disturbance, either of the factious nobles, or of the populace of Paris, as were sufficient to confirm him in his honest reliance on the king's gracious intentions with respect to himself and his associates<sup>85</sup>. Instructions were dispatched to Mondoucet, the French envoy in the Netherlands, to insist with the duke of Alva for the liberation of the French gentlemen, who were taken prisoners; and Coligni was empowered to renew his commissions for raising a fresh body of troops. Besides several rigorous edicts against carrying arms, and for maintaining the public tranquillity, four hundred picked soldiers were added to the ordinary guard about the Louvre.

But Coligni was unable to impart to many of his associates the confidence he himself reposed in the sincerity of Charles; to their vague admonitions, however, conveyed both in words and writing, the gallant veteran replied, in a manner that evinced at once the fortitude and integrity of his heart<sup>86</sup>. "The peace is made," said he, "and I have taken my resolution to trust the faith of the king; and will rather be dragged through the streets of Paris than have recourse again to a civil war." Credulity, influenced by such sentiments, must command our admiration, while it increases our abhorrence of the wretches who were so base as to impose on it. In one of the remonstrances, sent to the admiral by some of his adherents, he was called upon to reflect on that authorized maxim of the church of Rome—that faith was not to be kept with heretics. Queen Catharine was represented as the true progeny of Rome, and the disciple of Machiavel: her son, trained up in the same principles, was said to emulate her vindictive spirit, and to have sworn never to forget the attempt of the Protestants at Meaux, that in spite of their subtle conduct, it was alledged, they had sometimes betrayed their dissimulation; of which, what was heard to pass between Catharine and the king, upon the queen

<sup>84</sup> De Thou, lib. lii p. 1044.

<sup>85</sup> D'Aubigné.

<sup>86</sup> De Thou—D'Aubigné.

of Navarre's arrival at Elbeis, was a manifest proof. "Have I not?"—said Charles—"acted my part well?"—"Admirably!"—replied his mother—"you have begun, but you must continue it to the end."—"I will not finish"—returned Charles, with horrid execrations, to the use of which he was greatly addicted<sup>87</sup>—"until I bring them all into the toils"—Coligni, excusing the violent stile of these remarks, retired to his apartments, while the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, to whom they were soon introduced, treated them with a degree of scorn and contempt.

The brief granted by Gregory the Thirteenth, for the marriage of the king of Navarre with Margaret of Valois, being arrived, the ceremony was performed, by the cardinal of Bourbon, and according to the agreement was neither altogether after the Popish nor the Protestant form<sup>88</sup>. A variety of magnificent entertainments which followed the marriage for several days, diffused the relish of social joy and festivity, in the participation of which, not only all the sparks of former discord seemed to be quenched, but a happy pledge to be given of the future union of the jarring parties, and of the tranquillity of the state. But the dark designs, for promoting which Catharine and Charles had so long bent the efforts of their dissimulation, were now brought to a crisis. Their scheme of drawing the principal leaders of the Protestants to Paris, had, by means of the nuptials, and their delusion of the admiral, succeeded almost beyond their hopes. Above seven hundred of the nobility and gentry of that persuasion, the flower of their chieftains, who followed the young king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the admiral to the court, were now lodged in the city or suburbs, disarmed, unprepared, and incapable of resisting the force, that might be suddenly raised against them.

The assassination of the admiral was the first stroke of vengeance resolved on by the detestable junto of Catharine and her son; and the duke of Guise, who was known to harbour an inveterate enmity to Coligni, was the person appointed to conduct this infamous transaction. Louvriers Maurevel, who had already been employed by Guise on a similar occasion, willingly accepted the commission, and repaired to the place appointed by his *worthy* patrons, for the perpetration of the deed. The admiral, on his return from the Louvre to his own apartments, had to pass by the cloister of the church of Saint Germain L'Auxerrois. At this place, within the house of Ville-Mur, one of the canons, who had been preceptor to the duke of Guise, the assassin had fixed his station; and, on the morning of the twenty-second of August, as the admiral passed the house, at a slow pace, (being employed in reading a paper that was presented to him on the way) Maurevel fired his arquebuses at him, loaded with two bullets, one of which tore a finger of his right hand, and the other lodged deep in his left arm<sup>89</sup>. While all who attended him

<sup>87</sup> Sully.<sup>88</sup> Matthieu—Le Grain.<sup>89</sup> De Thou—D'Aubigné.



were stricken with amazement, Coligni coolly pointed to the window whence the shot came; and having directed Piles and Monnins to go and acquaint the king with what had happened to him, and got his arm bound up, he walked home, supported by his domestics. To some who expressed their apprehensions that the balls might be poisoned, he said, with perfect composure, “Nothing will befall me but what is the pleasure of God.” The painful operations of wrenching off his shattered finger, with a blunt instrument, and of extracting the bullet from his arm, he endured with undisturbed looks, and an admirable firmness.

Many of the Catholics expressed their utter detestation of this atrocious attempt; and the king being informed of it, while playing at tennis with the duke of Guise, evinced the strongest emotions of rage, and throwing down his racket, exclaimed, “Shall I never have peace? Shall I always be exposed to new troubles<sup>90</sup>?” Then retiring to the Louvre, he swore he would find out the assassin, wherever he lurked. Maurevel, however, had eluded the search of the admiral’s attendants (who had instantly forced open the door of the house) and having a fresh horse prepared for him—from the king’s stables, as Sully asserts—at the gate of Saint Antoine, effected his escape from the city.

The Protestants were thrown into the utmost consternation, and the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, with several of their followers, repairing to the palace, implored the king’s permission to leave the metropolis, where they were hourly exposed to the merciless fury of their unprincipled enemies. But Charles attempted, by execrable oaths, and every expression of resentment, to convince them how deeply affected he was with the commission of the crime, and how resolutely bent upon punishing every one that might be found accessory to it, as well as the perpetrator himself<sup>91</sup>; assuring them, that the enquiry and acts of justice he would insist upon, should be such as might be exemplary in the state, and fully satisfy them and the admiral, who was the sufferer; adding, that it was fit they should stay in Paris to be witnesses of his conduct. The queen-mother was equally loud in her expressions of abhorrence, and her threats of revenge. The measures taken for the discovery of the assassin, and the king’s public declaration of his sentiments, convinced the princes of his sincerity, and, though it did not remove the grounds of their apprehensions, left them no reason for insisting upon their resolution of leaving Paris.

Coligni received a visit from some of the Catholic chiefs, and afterwards from the king himself, attended by his mother and brothers, when the same declarations which had been made to the princes were renewed. A general consultation of the Protestant leaders was holden soon after, on the subject of providing for their common safety; at which the

<sup>90</sup> *Memoires de Villeroy, de Tavannes, &c.*

<sup>91</sup> *D’Aubigné.*

vidame of Chartres and several others insisted on the necessity of their immediate removal from Paris, to some place of greater security <sup>92</sup>. But this resolution was too successfully opposed by Teligni, whose arguments prevailed with the majority. A message, however, was sent, in the admiral's name, to the king, informing him, that the temper of the Parisians, which was always violently biased against him and his friends, now appeared to be such as to render some extraordinary precaution necessary for restraining them from acts of violence; and the appointment of a guard about Coligni's lodgings was proposed as a proper expedient. This imprudent proposal, which tended to put the admiral in the immediate power of his enemies, was cheerfully acceded to by the king and the duke of Anjou. Cossens, captain of the royal guard, attached to the duke of Guise <sup>93</sup>, was ordered to take his station, with a company of picked men, before the house where the admiral lodged, (at an inn in the Rue Betisy <sup>94</sup>) and, to prevent suspicion, a few Swiss belonging to the king of Navarre's body guard, were intermixed with them. A farther advantage was yet taken of this injudicious request: it was desired by the king, that for the better protection of the admiral, the Protestant nobility should be all lodged in the neighbourhood. The city officers were appointed to provide apartments for them, and public proclamation was made, prohibiting all Catholics, under pain of death, from approaching them.

A second consultation, however, was holden by the Calvinists, and the admiral again pressed to retire, but, steady to his purpose, Coligni rejected the solicitations of his friends; and to their arguments replied, "By a retreat, I must discover either my fear or my distrust. By the one my honour would suffer, by the other, an injury be done to the king. I should be again compelled to have recourse to a civil war; and my choice is, to die rather than behold the miseries I have witnessed, or endure the distresses I have already sustained." The conference about quitting Paris being thus resumed, the vidame of Chartres, and many others of his opinion, having declared their fixed resolution to retire to the suburbs; intelligence of the debate among them, and of the uncertainty how it might conclude, was carried to the queen-mother, by one of the Protestant chiefs, supposed to be Bouchvananes, on account of his intimacy with her.

In consequence of this intelligence, a secret council was immediately holden at the palace, at which the proposal for the horrid massacre which ensued, is said to have been made; but being strenuously opposed by the count de Retz, who painted it in its proper colours, no resolution was adopted, and the council broke up. But, after some private consultation between Charles and his mother, the former called back his counsellors from the gate, and told them, that there was an end of his government, unless the proposal

<sup>92</sup> De Thou.<sup>93</sup> D'Avila.<sup>94</sup> Memoires de Sully.



that had been made was adopted, and that he should hold all such as disapproved the measure to be disloyal <sup>95</sup>.

The measures already taken facilitated the execution of this abominable enterprize, the accomplishment of which was fixed for the next day, which was the feast of Saint Bartholomew. The duke of Guise, whose retreat from court after the admiral was wounded, together with the king's affected indignation against him, had been made use of to deceive the Protestants, was again called upon to act his part <sup>96</sup>. In the mean time, to irritate the populace, a report was industriously circulated through the city, that the king had sent for the mareschal Montmorenci from Chantilly, whither he had retired, and that he was expected in Paris with a large body of horse to quell the citizens. Their agitation became perceptible in the streets, where they assembled in crowds; while the loads of arms, and bands of soldiers that passed to the Louvre, provoked their commotions. The king of Navarre was told by Charles, with the utmost shew of amity and confidence, that in the present state of affairs, it was necessary to be upon their guard against the turbulence of the people; and that it was fit he should not only keep all his domestics about him in the Louvre, but that he should call others of his most trusty attendants to lodge there in case of any tumult. Teligni, who heard various alarming reports, interpreted every thing favourably, concealed part of them from the admiral, and confirmed him in his fatal security. After Coffein's guard was doubled, and the night was far advanced, the duke of Guise, having permission from the king, called some captains of the Swiss and French companies of guards, and informed them that the hour was come, in which the king was determined to avenge himself of a race of men, odious to God and his church, and offensive to human society; that a small-exertion of their obedience and courage was necessary to the accomplishment of this object, which would atchieve what numerous battles had failed to effect <sup>97</sup>. He then ordered them to range their soldiers on both sides of the palace, and to suffer none of the prince of Bourbon's servants to pass without the gates. A command was then delivered by Guise to Charron, president of the chamber of accounts, and lately admitted to the office of provost of the merchants, to assemble the officers of the city militia in the town-hall, and, after issuing orders for arming their people, there to wait for farther instructions. The late provost-marshal was employed to communicate the import of the king's orders to the aldermen and burgeses, who were told "That it was his majesty's will and decree to make an  
" utter extirpation of the rebellious Hugonots, against whom they had now full liberty  
" to use their arms: that orders would be immediately dispatched, for the same purpose,  
" to the other cities of the kingdom, to which the Parisians ought to set an example, by  
" neither sparing nor concealing any of the impious tribe: that, to avoid confusion, and  
" to distinguish themselves from their adversaries, sleeves of white linen should be worn

<sup>95</sup> De Thou—D'Aubigné—Matthieu.

<sup>96</sup> De Thou—D'Aubigné.

<sup>97</sup> D'Aubigné—De Serres, p. 749.







H. Singleton del.

J. Jones fecit

*Catherine of Medici, extorting from her Son, Charles IX.  
the order for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew—*

*Published as the Act directed by C. Lewndor Jan<sup>y</sup> 26 1793.*



“ on their left arms, and crosses of the same in their hats: that torches and lanthorns should be lighted in the windows of every house; and that they ought to proceed quietly, and avoid all noise, until the signal to begin the work should be given, by sounding the great bell at the palace.” All the necessary orders being thus issued, the murderers, at the dead hour of midnight, took the stations assigned them; and the files of soldiers, drawn up in the different streets and cross-ways, only waited for the expected signal to fall with fury on the Protestants.

As the fatal hour drew nigh, Charles is said to have been goaded by the stings of remorse, and to have betrayed such fear and irresolution, that all the art of his mother was requisite to extort from him an order to the assassins to begin their dreadful business. “ Shall the occasion”—said the blasphemous Catharine—“ that *God* presents, of avenging the obdurate enemies of your authority, be suffered to escape through your want of courage? How much better is it to tear in pieces those corrupt members, than to rankle the bosom of the church, the spouse of our Lord?” This impious exhortation expelled from his bosom every sentiment of humanity, and, with eyes glaring with rage, he thus pronounced the horrid mandate—“ Go on then, and let none remain to reproach me with the deed<sup>98</sup>.” Having thus obtained her aim, Catharine anticipated the fixed hour of the signal, which was given by ringing the bell of the church of Saint Germain de L’Auxerrois<sup>99</sup>.

The duke of Guise immediately issued forth, with a select party, to perpetrate the murder of the admiral, and meeting some Protestants in the streets, who had been alarmed by the sound of the bell, a firing of pistols ensued, which being heard in the palace, Charles’s terror and irresolution returned, and a message was dispatched by Catharine to countermand the duke of Guise, which she well knew would arrive too late, and be totally disregarded. Already had that princely assassin beset the admiral’s lodgings, the gate of which being shut and guarded, would have required some time to force open; but Cofseins having demanded admittance in the king’s name, La Bonne, who kept the keys, having no suspicion of what was going forward, admitted him, and was instantly stabbed. Some of the king of Navarre’s Swiss soldiers flew to the inner gate, and endeavoured to barricade it. The noise awakened the admiral, who, unused to apprehension, believed it to be only some riot of the populace, which the guard would soon quell. But the clamour encreasing, and several shots being fired in the court, he rose from his bed, and covered himself with his night-gown, when he was soon convinced, by his attendants, who hurried to his chamber, that the worst was to be feared. Being few in number, and most of them only domestics, their pale looks and trembling gestures denounced the immediate fate they expected. “ This instant,”—exclaimed one of them—“ God calls us to meet

<sup>98</sup> Mathieu—De Thou—D’Aubigné.

<sup>99</sup> Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 404.



“ death.” “ It is enough”—said Coligni—“ that I know it.” He leaned for some moments against the wall, while the minister Merlin prayed. Then, with a countenance undismayed, “ Away,” said he, “ my friends, save yourselves, if possible: now I have no need of your help; to that of God I have commended my soul. But let not your unprofitable stay be mourned by your wives and children, as a sad infelicity, occasioned by your attendance upon my exit.” All but two of them, whose fidelity to their master rose superior to the fear of death, fled into the upper rooms of the house. In a few minutes the door was burst open, and a groupe of seven armed ruffians entered the apartment. Besme, a German, stepped before the rest, and flourishing his sword, exclaimed “ Art thou Coligni?” “ I am,” replied the admiral, with a steady voice and firm countenance, “ and you, young soldier, ought to respect my grey hairs. But come on,” said he to Besme, “ do what thou wilt, thou canst shorten my life but little<sup>100</sup>.” At that instant he received the villain’s sword in his breast, which rather courted than shunned the blow, and a repetition of stabs soon deprived him of life, which he yielded up without uttering a groan. The assassins themselves were stricken with the invincible intrepidity of his spirit; and one of them, whose name was Attin, declared, that never had a man been seen to brave such a death, with so much magnanimity. His body was thrown from the window into the court-yard, where the duke of Guise waited to enjoy his dastardly triumph. Having wiped the blood from the face, he exclaimed, in a tone of exultation, “ We have begun well, my friends, let us proceed to complete the rest with courage; it is the king’s command, we obey.” Immediately the alarm-bell of the palace was rung, and the populace were roused to spread the massacre. The admiral’s body being found by these Parisian blood-hounds, it was maimed, gored, and dragged through the kennels, and, after serving at intervals as the pastime of their fury, for two days was suspended on the gibbet of Montfaucon. But neither the inhuman massacre of Coligni, nor the horrid indignities committed on his corpse, have, says Le Gendre, effected the smallest diminution of his fame, or tarnished in the least the merit of a character, illustrious for those qualities and virtues, which have formed the heroes and the patriots of all nations. The body of Coligni, half consumed with fire, was, under favour of the night, conveyed to the vault of the Montmorencies at Chantilly, and from thence transferred to the family vault at Châtillon.

The massacre continued, with unrelenting fury, among the Protestant chiefs, who were assaulted by the assassins, when destitute of all means of defence, and were inhumanly butchered by a dastardly crew who had often fled before them in the field. The count de Rochefoucaud had passed the early part of the night with the king at the Louvre, where the pleasant sallies of his wit and facetious humour had entertained the cour-

<sup>100</sup> Matthieu—De Thou—D’Aubigné—De Serres—D’Avila.



*J. Jones fecit.*

## ADMIRAL COLIGNY.

*Published as the Act directs, April 14. 1702. by C. Townsend. C*





tiers, and disposed Charles to save him<sup>1</sup>. Believing, when the chief of the assassins knocked at the door, and said he had a message to deliver from the king, that it was some frolic intended by his majesty, he opened it, and spoke in a humorous strain to those who answered him by drawing their poniards, and plunging them into his bosom. Teligni, unsuspecting to the last, endeavoured now to escape over the roofs of the houses; but being discovered, he was dragged down, when the sweet engaging form which nature had given him, made a momentary impression on the assassins, who stood, with looks of suspense, before they gave the fatal blow. At the same time perished the counts of Revel and Quellenec<sup>2</sup>, with the barons de Lavardin, Beaudisner, and Pluviaux, and others of distinguished valour, driven through the streets by the duke of Anjou's guards, and massacred in the view of the windows of the Louvre<sup>3</sup>.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were awakened, about two hours before day-break, by a band of soldiers, who rushed into their chamber in the palace, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the king, unarmed. They were, by Catharine's orders, led through vaults and dark passages, lined with troops, who shook their spears at them as they passed along. In the mean time, the cries from without were dismal and terrifying; while all that party of their friends and followers, who were invited to take up their abode in the Louvre, were precipitated from the windows, or dragged forth in crowds to be assassinated in the court-yards. Here, Saint Martin, Pardaillan, Beauvois, and the gallant Piles, with many others, suffered death; while the indignant expressions of the last, as he cast a look on his murdered companions, were thus uttered aloud. "Are these the testimonies of the king's faith; of the peace he hath sworn; and of all the gracious promises he hath made? But the Almighty God will revenge such monstrous perfidy<sup>4</sup>." Leiran, besmeared with blood, and desperately wounded, found his way into the queen of Navarre's chamber, and threw himself upon the bed of that princess, who ran forth screaming, and met with such objects in her way, as made her fall into fits, from which she was with difficulty recovered, and conducted by Nansey, captain of the guards, into the apartment of the duchess of Lorraine. Her husband and the prince of Condé, after whom she enquired with great eagerness, had been introduced into the king's chamber; when they were thus addressed by Charles, in a tone and accent fierce and imperious—"To day, I revenge

<sup>1</sup> Brantôme, tome iv. p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The ladies of the court, unrestrained either by humanity or shame, surveyed the dead bodies of the murdered Protestants; but their curiosity was more particularly excited by that of the baron of Quellenec, on account of a process, for impotency, which had been instituted against him, at the suit of his wife, Catharine de Parthenay, daughter and heiress to John de Soubise.—*Memoires de Sully*, liv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> De Thou, p. 1053.

<sup>4</sup> Matthieu—Sully—Perc Daniel, p. 972.



“ myself of my enemies, and such I may justly reckon you to be, who have supported them by the authority of your names, and your presence among them. Nothing but a respect to my blood deters me from inflicting the same punishment on you. But this regard hath its conditions. When I pardon your past conduct, I require and insist on your immediate renunciation of that impious faith which contradicts mine, and teaches you to affront heaven, and insult my authority.” The king of Navarre’s answer was given in a low and embarrassed voice, but in terms that promised submission. But the prince of Condé boldly testified his discontent at the indecent violence used with them; complained of the breach of honour in this treatment; and declared, that his fear of death was not so great as to render him an apostate from his religion. Charles, provoked by his resistance, called him obstinate, seditious, a rebel, and the son of a rebel; and threatened that he should suffer the death of a traitor, if, in three days, he did not yield obedience. “Remember”—said the merciless tyrant—“it is *Mass, Death, or Bastille*.” Upon the apparent compliance of the king of Navarre, Charles granted him the lives of the count de Grammont, de Duras, and Bouchavannes; and a few others were saved at the earnest application of his sister of Navarre.

In a former part of our history we have shewn of what horrid acts of barbarity the Parisians, when instigated by hatred, bigotry, malice, or revenge, could be guilty. Their present rage and ferocity had nothing human in them. Wherever their ruffian bands were led by the municipal officers, their track was marked by violence, bloodshed, and brutality: neither age nor sex was spared: pregnant women and helpless infants were alike sacrificed to their barbarous fury. Brion, the venerable preceptor of the prince of Conti, was murdered, while clasped in the arms of his infant pupil: Francis Nonpar de Caumont was massacred in his bed between his two sons, one of whom was stabbed by his side, but the other, concealing himself under the bodies of his father and brother, fortunately escaped<sup>5</sup>. Briffonet, niece to the bishop of Meaux, a woman of exemplary manners, projected an escape from the city in disguise, with her young daughter in her hand, and followed by Epina, the minister, in the habit of a domestic; but being discovered in the attempt, and refusing to abjure her religion, she was stabbed with iron rods, and thrown, half-dead, into the river, where, floating on the surface, the watermen pursued her as their prey, and put her to a slow and lingering death.

Upon the first noise of the tumult, a report was carried to that party of the Protestant chiefs, who, by the advice of the vidame of Chartres, had fixed their quarters in the suburbs of Saint Germain, that the populace had taken up arms. The sound of the bells and the shouts of the mob confirmed the intelligence. Anxious and doubtful what might be the ground of the insurrection, they continued long in suspense, and

<sup>5</sup> Mezerai, tom. viii. p. 416.

<sup>6</sup> Sully.

from some persuasion that it was promoted by the Guises, against the will of the king, they were on the point of passing the river, in order to venture their lives in supporting his authority and defending their friends. The morning light, however, soon dispelled their error, and shewed them the river covered with boats full of soldiers coming to attack them, and Charles himself, from the windows of the Louvre, firing his carabine upon some wretched fugitives<sup>7</sup>; and scarce did time and astonishment permit them to escape with precipitation from their blood-thirsty pursuers.

For three days the massacre was continued with unabated fury: it is certain that the populace would have readily proceeded to the destruction of those who were said to favour the Hugonots, as well as of the Hugonots themselves; and that the queen-mother might have consummated her diabolical scheme, by instigating them to assault the Montmorencies, as friendly to the admiral; but intimidated from proceeding so far, on account of the absence of the mareschal Montmorenci, and other obvious reasons, she allowed the popular outrage to take its course. From the dread of it many Catholics were obliged to be on their guard; and de Biron, who commanded in the arsenal, ordered two culverins to be placed at the gate, and put himself in a posture of defence.

After various instances of violence and slaughter committed upon the Catholics, and when the carnage became noisome<sup>8</sup>, an order was published by the king, requiring all the citizens to retire to their houses, and not to stir from them under pain of death. What remained still to be executed was intended to be performed by a more regular process of the king's guards through the city. But the sanguinary rage of a ferocious people was more easily excited than restrained; and the violence and plunder on the second day, nearly equalling those of the first, it only subsided by degrees. The destruction of above six thousand Protestants, of which five hundred were nobility, may be reckoned the fatal issue of this dreadful massacre, which was called, by some, *The Parisian Matins*, as the massacre in Sicily, in 1281, had been denominated *The Sicilian Vespers*.

That the massacre of the Hugonots was the result of premeditation will scarcely admit of a doubt, though the historians differ most essentially in their accounts of its origin. Some maintain that the plan of it was concerted between the queen-mother and the duke of Alva, at the conferences at Bayonne: others fix the period of its con-

<sup>7</sup> This anecdote is related by Voltaire (in his notes to the *Henriade*) on the authority of the mareschal de Tefse, who, he tells us, was acquainted in his youth, with an old man of ninety, who had been page to Charles the Ninth, and had himself loaded the carabine with which he fired on the Protestants. It is there likewise asserted, that Charles went with his court to view the body of the admiral, while suspended on the gibbet of Mont-faucon; and that one of his courtiers observing it smelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, "The body of a dead foe always smells well."

<sup>8</sup> De Thou—D'Avila—P. Daniel.



clusion immediately previous to the last peace made with the Hugonots, after the battle of Arnai-le-duc; and a third class say that no resolution had been taken on the subject till a few days before the deed was perpetrated. The different statements and opinions have been carefully collected and impartially discussed by father Griffet, who thus concludes his researches:—" Let what will be said to the contrary, men will with difficulty  
 " be brought to believe that this horrible massacre was not a premeditated business,  
 " and that the peace concluded with the Hugonots, the professions of esteem and marks  
 " of confidence lavished on the admiral de Coligni, were not so many snares and arti-  
 " fices employed with a view to deceive and destroy them. It is possible that the last  
 " measures adopted for their extermination, may have been resolved on only a few days  
 " before their execution; it was then that the number of the victims, the choice of the  
 " assassins, and the day of the massacre, were fixed in the secret councils (holden at  
 " the Louvre); but it appears certain that the project was formed at the time of the peace,  
 " and of the proposal for marrying the sister of Charles the Ninth to the king of Na-  
 " varre<sup>9</sup>.

The king vainly hoped to retrieve his honour by the pitiful subterfuge of a disavowal. In the letters patent which he sent into the provinces he endeavoured to throw the whole of the blame upon the Guises, and ascribed the massacre to their hatred of the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this subject to England, Germany, and Switzerland, and other neighbouring states, were all conceived in the same terms<sup>10</sup>. The Guises, however, having obtained their chief aim, began to be sensible of the dishonour and danger attending such an accusation, which, at a future period, might render them obnoxious and accountable, and positively refused to acquiesce in this determination. The duke of Guise, indeed, after the murder of the admiral, had rather repressed the king's rage<sup>11</sup>, and instead of imitating his ferocity, had saved D'Acier, brother to the count de Crussol, and some others of the nobility. Having exerted this political lenity, while Charles had exposed himself by the natural violence of his temper, the Guises now left him to find what pretence he could, to extenuate the infamy of a scene, to which they, with the assistance of Catharine, had chiefly prompted him.

There is no doubt but the queen-mother and her council made the king comprehend the bad consequence of his disavowal; for, at the expiration of eight days, his sentiments and language were so much changed, that he held a bed of justice in the court of parliament, and ordered the registration of other letters-patent, by which it was declared, that nothing was done on the twenty-fourth of August but by his express commands, issued for the purpose of punishing the Hugonots, to the principal leaders of which party

<sup>9</sup> *Traité des différentes sortes de Preuves qui servent à établir la vérité de l'Histoire*, p. 153, & suivantes.

<sup>10</sup> Sully.

<sup>11</sup> D'Aubigné.

a capital crime was imputed, in order, if possible, to give the name and colour of a just execution to that detestable butchery. As Coligni's papers had been secured by the queen-mother's orders, hopes were entertained of finding some memorial on which to ground an article of impeachment against him; but his manuscripts only served as an honourable testimony of his integrity. In the brief he had drawn up on the subject of the Spanish war, he remarked to the king the evident interest which England had to undertake the defence of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands; and the danger that would accrue to France, by the English, her ancient enemy, gaining footing in that country. To provoke the spleen of queen Elizabeth, who had maintained a close correspondence with the admiral, and to incense the duke of Alençon at his memory, these private notes were communicated to them. The answer made by Elizabeth and by the duke was much the same: "It was manifest"—they said—"whatever they might object to the admiral on account of these advices, that the king had no reason to complain, since they had marked his attachment and zeal for his majesty's interest and service." The king, when requested by Pibrac, the attorney-general, to pass a formal edict upon the point, only declared he would issue his orders about it. But the process against the admiral and his accomplices was immediately instituted, and the sentence of high-treason was, soon after, executed upon his effigy with all the appointed forms of infamy. A jubilee, or public thanksgiving for the happy discovery of the pretended plots of the Protestants, was two days after proclaimed in the city; and, by another edict, the day of St. Bartholomew was ordered to be annually solemnized by religious processions.

The orders dispatched into the provinces upon the eve of St. Bartholomew, produced their fatal effects in most of the cities and great towns in the kingdom. At Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Lyons, Bourges, Rouen, and Thoulouse, and many other places, the cruelties of the Parisians were emulated; and thirty thousand people, according to the lowest computation, were murdered in cold blood. But though the king's infamous orders were too generally obeyed by the commanders and magistrates in the different towns, some honourable exceptions must be made, and the names of those patriots whose generous exertions tended to preserve the lives of their countrymen be recorded in the page of history. To Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny<sup>12</sup>, it was owing that only one Protestant was killed in the whole province of Burgundy. When the king's letters were brought, by la Mole, to Claud of Savoy, count of Tende, governor of Dauphiné, he insisted that these orders, so contradictory to what he had received a few days before from his majesty, could not come from him; and that he would adhere to his first instructions as most becoming the king. Though he died in a few days, his lenity and resolution, being imitated by Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, proved almost an entire protection to the Calvinists of the province. In Auvergne, St. Heran, the gover-

<sup>12</sup> D'Aubigné—De Thou—Sully.



nor, a man trained up in the violence of civil war, declared, when he looked upon the orders, "that they were such as he could not obey, unless the king himself were present to give them." Tanneguy-le-Veneur exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the massacre at Rouen, but wanted power to restrain the fury of the populace; and several of the deputies in the governments of the Montmorencies acting with similar moderation, from a conformity to the sentiments of their constituents, prevented or controuled the appointed slaughter. But the answer made by the viscount de Ortez, governor of Bayonne, to Charles, who had written a private letter to him, is peculiarly worthy of notice: "You must not, on this point, expect any obedience from me. I have signified the orders sent from your majesty to the inhabitants of the town, and the troops in the garrison; and I found them all ready to act like good citizens and brave soldiers; but not one hangman among them." After it was known, by various expresses from the lieutenants in the provinces, what confusion was occasioned by the massacres, the edict to prohibit all insurrections and violences was published. As in one clause of it, the king's will was said to be not to derogate from the edicts of peace; and in another, that the religious assemblies of the Protestants should be restrained, several of the governors were at a loss how to interpret its import, and proceeded differently, according to their particular dispositions and attachments <sup>13</sup>.

Charles, though he occasionally expressed great uneasiness at the scene he had occasioned, and though the agitation of his mind had a visible effect on his constitution, was yet incapable of feeling that deep remorse which proceeds from a full conviction of having acted wrong. He still continued to insist on the immediate conversion of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, who having made the abjuration of their errors and received absolution, appeared with their families at high mass. The king and court rejoiced at their victory, as the special fruit of St. Bartholomew <sup>14</sup>. The cardinal of Bourbon, observing that the king of Navarre had the appearance of attention and gravity while mass was performed, said to Bellievre, "Think you not that my nephew is sincerely converted to the church?"—"No"—replied the other—"I plainly see that he bears, with great difficulty, his present constraint."

When intelligence of the massacre was received at Madrid, the most extravagant symptoms of joy were evinced by the court of Spain. Philip wrote a congratulatory letter to Charles on the subject, and offered public thanksgivings to Heaven for the destruction of his enemies. The courier, who carried the dismal tidings to Rome, was rewarded by the cardinal of Lorraine (who had long resided in that capital) with a thousand crowns; and a decree was immediately formed in the conclave for a jubilee to be celebrated throughout Christendom <sup>15</sup>. After a procession had been made to St. Mark's

<sup>13</sup> De Thou.<sup>14</sup> Matthieu.<sup>15</sup> D'Aubigné—De Thou.

church, and all the customary demonstrations of joy were exhibited in the city, the cardinal walked in procession to the church of St. Lewis, where, performing mass himself, he said, "that the prayers and vows of Gregory the Thirteenth and the members of the " sacred college might now be seen to have produced stupendous effects."

The court now believed they had effected the total extinction of the Protestant party. There were only four cities in the kingdom that dared to receive some dispersed bodies of the fugitive nobles and their families, who, after the destruction of their principal leaders, seemed to carry only consternation and despair along with them. Of the four towns granted for the security of the articles of the pacification, Montauban and Rochelle only remained in the power of the Hugonots<sup>16</sup>. When Resnier, who had escaped the massacre, through the lenity of de Vefins, his personal enemy, presented himself, with a small troop of horsemen, at the gates of the first of these places, he found the inhabitants in such confusion and dismay, that he could not prevail with them to stand on their defence; until he had defeated, by a wonderful effort of desperate courage, a party of four hundred of Montluc's soldiers. Though the flight of the most numerous parties being directed to Rochelle, the concourse of fifty gentlemen, as many ministers, and about a thousand soldiers, appeared to claim the protection, and animate the courage of the townsmen, yet the fleet commanded by the baron de la Garde, and Strozzi, hovering in their bay, and the land forces drawn together in their neighbourhood by de Biron, convinced them of the dangers they would incur by any act of disobedience to the court. As la Chastre had also been ordered with some troops to draw near to Sancerre, it was believed by the king's ministers that the precautions they had taken, joined to the general surprize and terror, would be sufficient to obtain the possession of these towns, from which only resistance was apprehended.

A. D. 1573.] But the expectations of the court were frustrated, and both these towns prepared for a vigorous resistance. Sancerre, after having suffered all the horrors of a famine, never equalled but in the siege of Jerusalem by Vespasian, obtained an honourable capitulation, by which the troops were allowed to march out with their baggage, and liberty of conscience and impunity were secured to the inhabitants. Rochelle resisted all the efforts of the duke of Anjou, who went in person to besiege it, for seven months, during which time many eminent commanders and officers among the Catholics lost their lives. The duke of Aumale, Cossins, Goa, and Vergani, a celebrated engineer, were killed, and in the end sixty captains were reckoned to have perished by wounds or diseases. Though informed of his election to the crown of Poland, and advised of the promise given by the bishop of Valence—the French envoy in that kingdom—to grant the Rochellers advantageous terms, the duke of Anjou still thought of shewing himself,

<sup>16</sup> D'Aubigné.



to the last, the indisputable vanquisher of the Hugonots. Being at last required by the king to conclude the military operations on any plausible terms, and having narrowly escaped a mortal wound, which one of his domestics warded off at the expence of his own life, a treaty was concluded, in its conditions advantageous to the besieged; while, after the employment of an army of fifty thousand men against them, and the destruction of half of them, it could only be considered, on the Catholic side, as a specious cover to the king's honour and to that of the duke of Anjou. It comprehended, along with Rochelle, the two cities of Nismes and Montauban as her confederates<sup>17</sup>. By its articles, reduced to the form of a royal edict, the free exercise of their religion was permitted to the Protestant inhabitants of these towns, together with the restoration of the Catholic worship in the churches where it had been suppressed. The gentry, or possessors of fiefs-nobles, who had borne arms in those places, were allowed to celebrate marriages and baptisms in their houses, in companies not exceeding ten persons; and all abjuration forced by penalties being declared null and void, the Protestants everywhere were indulged with liberty of conscience. The privileges of these towns remained secure and undiminished; the king only claiming the power of appointing governors, without obliging them to have other garrisons than their own, or insisting on building citadels without their consent. Four hostages from each of these cities were to be sent to the king; by whom a general amnesty was granted.

From the passionate desire which queen Catherine had to see her favourite son proclaimed a sovereign, and from the no less eager, though more secret, wishes of Charles to rid himself of one, whom he regarded as the rival of his reputation and authority in the kingdom, the consideration of the public disquiet was for a time suspended, and all the thoughts of the court and ministry were engrossed by the preparations for the reception of the Polish envoys, in a manner suitable to the honour of both nations. The bishop of Langres was dispatched to receive them at Metz; and, on the fifteenth of August, they arrived at the gates of Paris. The French court had not, for many centuries, beheld so splendid an embassy. Their whole train of cavalry amounted to near three hundred, of which more than the third part were gentlemen, besides the twelve chief delegates. Their aspect, dress, and equipage were no less a novelty to the Parisians, who gazed on the large size of their bodies, their long beards, their grave and stern countenances, the rich furs on their habits, and the brilliant furniture of their arms and horses. The chief nobility of the court and the magistrates of the city went forth, in procession, to meet them, at the gate of St. Martin, which was decorated in the same manner as on the king's public entrance into the capital; and through it they were carried in fifty chariots, painted with various devices. It was remarkable that the Polish gentlemen could all speak Latin, many of them German and Italian, and several

<sup>17</sup> D'Aubigné, chap. 20—De Thou—P. Daniel, p. 991.

of them exprefs themselves with propriety in French; while, among the whole chief nobility of the court of France, there was none who understood the Latin language, though, at that time, the foundation of almost all literature; and the baron de Millau, and Castelnau Mauviffiere, were ordered to attend the court as the only two gentlemen who had this qualification<sup>18</sup>, the want of which now appeared to expose the fashionable ignorance of the courtiers.

After their introduction to the queen-mother, the ambassadors, in their most pompous equipage, made a procession through the streets, to offer their submission and obedience to the duke of Anjou their sovereign. A course of sumptuous feasts and entertainments attended these visits, till the grand ceremony of presenting the decree of their king's election took place. After Henry, in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, had sworn to the conditions enacted by the diet of Poland, it was performed, with the utmost magnificence, in the spacious hall of the palace, where Charles, being seated under a canopy, with his brothers and the royal family at the *Marble Table*, and all the nobility and officers of the state placed according to their rank, while the trumpets flourished, the Polish delegates were introduced, and advanced towards the throne, two of them bearing on their shoulders a silver chest, in which the decree, having an hundred and ten seals affixed to it, was deposited. This shew of state was followed by another still more costly, which was the triumphal entrance of the king of Poland by the gate of Saint Antoine<sup>19</sup>. Upon this occasion the queen-mother, who gave the entertainment in the garden of the Thuilleries, contrived to embellish it with a kind of theatrical representation, suited to the taste of those times. When the tables were removed, suddenly, from behind a curtain, appeared, hovering in the air, a huge rock, crusted with silver. In its niches sixteen nymphs, representing by their different ornaments the several provinces of France, played upon various musical instruments, and recited harmonious verses and songs in praise of the new king, and the ensuing felicity of his reign; then, descending to the ground, they presented Henry with their peculiar tributes, and forming themselves into rows, exhibited whatever was curious or graceful in the French dances. The Poles, notwithstanding their natural gravity, seemed highly pleased with these gay diversions, and had reason to be satisfied in general, with the grandeur and liberality of the court of France.

The king of Poland left Paris, on his way to his new dominions, on the twenty-first of September; while Charles repaired to Villers-Cotterez, where he first perceived the symptoms of fresh tumults in the north<sup>20</sup>. Two sets of deputies from the provinces followed him thither, and presented their several petitions. The Protestant commissioners

<sup>18</sup> Matthieu, p. 362.

<sup>19</sup> D'Aubigné, liv. ii. chap. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Sully—De Thou—De Serres.



from Languedoc were the one, and those of the nobles of Dauphiné and Provence the other. The petition of the former respected the toleration of their religion, and the security of all who professed it; and that of the latter insisted on the suppression of some late taxes. From their conjunction at this time, in demands equally disagreeable to the court, the prevalence of animosity and turbulent counsels, both among the Calvinists and Catholics, and the confidence those parties had in some powerful support, were sufficiently manifest. The import and style of the demands of the Hugonots shewed they were not afraid of offending the court. Though destitute of their former conductors, and of the authoritative names of the princes of Bourbon, by which union and good order had been preserved in their designs, they had, in a great measure, supplied this defect, by the two great confederacies of Nîmes and Montauban, which divided all the power of their adherents in Languedoc into two governments; the viscount Saint Romain being elected chief of the one, and Paulin of the other. By the communication of their counsels and resolutions they had strengthened their partisans; so that all important questions came to be determined by them as a body. As that of conforming to the capitulation of Rochelle, and other matters contested between them and the Catholics, required to be discussed, the king had permitted a general meeting of their nobility and ministers at both these cities. Elevated with the apparent recovery of their former vigour and importance; flattering themselves with the reports of the intercession of the Polish ambassadors for them; and believing that the removal of the duke of Anjou from the kingdom would produce a change in the measures of the court to their advantage, they had convened at Nîmes, upon Saint Bartholomew's day, to deliberate about the general submission to the terms of the late edict of Rochelle. At this meeting it was not only agreed to testify their disapprobation of the edict, but their remonstrances against it bore all the marks of their indignant and resentful remembrance of that day of the year in which they were framed. No treaty or composition with the court, yet insisted on by the Protestant chiefs during the civil wars, equalled the conditions of their present petition. After declaring that the treacherous massacre at Paris had so far sapped the foundation of the public faith, that they could not, without particular securities, safely rely upon it, they demanded the general and public toleration of their religion, without distinction of places or persons; the retention of the cities they held, with the addition of two more in every province, to be furnished with garrisons of their soldiers, maintained at the king's expence; the establishment of courts, composed of judges of their persuasion; the reservation of the tythes paid to the Catholic clergy, for the maintenance of their ministers; the prosecution and punishment of the authors and contrivers of the massacres, with various other articles of the same nature and tendency; which so much amazed the queen-mother, that she declared—"If the prince of Condé had been alive, and master of half the cities in the kingdom, with an army of twenty thousand horse and forty thousand foot, he would not have presumed to propose them." This paper was signed and delivered to the king by Paulin, Gourdon, Verlac, and Cavagnac Yollet, who now placed themselves at the head of the Hugonots. These men,

men, who thought themselves entitled to act upon principles of resentment against the government, which had broken the ties of honour and faith with them, had put the affairs of their party in such a state, in the remote and extensive quarters they possessed, as rendered them formidable. Instead, therefore, of a harsh or imperious reply, as might have been expected, the king thought fit, in the present conjuncture, to give them a mild, though elusive one, by referring them to the marshal D'Amville for redress in some grievances of which they complained. The petition of the Catholic nobles of the other provinces was answered much in the same manner, by promises of a future diminution of the *Tailles*. From this period may be dated the more general diffusion of a spirit of disaffection to the government among the Protestants, and such a disregard of all the ties of allegiance as exceeded all former instances that occurred during the civil wars. Not only were the massacres considered by them as an apology and a justifiable motive for embracing any opportunity of revolt, but the manifest disaffection of a great number of the Catholic nobility proved an additional incitation to it.

A. D. 1574.] By the election of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Poland, the important post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom had become vacant; and his brother, the duke of Alençon, who now exchanged his title for that of Anjou, aspired to the possession of it. But his views being frustrated by the interposition of his mother, that prince entered into a correspondence with the Protestant chiefs, and projected his escape from court. The latter were, indeed, already in arms; some of their old provincial leaders, as Montbrun, Montguion, Le Case, and others, having begun their excursions in the remoter districts, where the truces were seldom maintained between them and the Catholics. By the confederacy of Languedoc, and La Noue's declaring himself convinced of the necessity of taking arms, the commotions soon became more general. Rochelle made some scruples, which, however, were speedily removed by an attempt that was made, by certain adventurers, who were believed to act under the authority of the queen-mother, to surprize the town. Though the king—who was now in a very bad state of health—disavowed any concern in this breach of the peace, the suspicions of the Rochellers were confirmed by the declarations of the prisoners they took. It is certain that, though Catharine could not assume all the royal authority, she ventured so far, on account of the king's indisposition, to act upon her own plan, that the Montmorencies and their party, as well as the Protestants, had every thing to fear from her absolute sway in the state, upon the event of the king's death. It was generally credited among the latter, from private informations sent them from the malecontents about the court, that the massacres would be renewed at this juncture. In this temper, and under these apprehensions<sup>21</sup>, the general insurrection of the Hugonots, called the *rebellion of Shrove-Tuesday*, took place. Besides what they held in Languedoc, it was attended with the seizure and

<sup>21</sup> Sully—D'Aubigné.



revolt of many towns and places in Saintonge, Dauphiné, and the Vivarez, and, by the count of Montgomery's return from England into Normandy, extended into that province, and some other districts. It was La Noue's advice to fix upon that festival for the execution of the enterprize, as the pleasures in which the Catholics then indulged themselves afforded an opportunity to attack them unawares, and the event proved the advantage of it. But that part of the design, which connected it with the escape of the duke of Anjou, was defeated. Though, in consequence of a determination entered into by Thore, the viscount Turenne and others, who were in habits of intimacy with the duke, to put his resolution to the test, Guitri, an experienced captain, with two hundred of the best appointed cavalry, took his station in the neighbourhood of Saint Germain-en-Laye, the mutability of the duke of Anjou was such, that La Molle, either still fearing it, or desirous to augment his credit with the court, in the view of turning it afterwards to the service of his master, thought fit to reveal the circumstance of his intended flight to the queen-mother. Her surprize was great; and to increase the king's alarm, she affected the utmost consternation. After causing a search to be made through every corner of the castle for hidden assassins, and assuring the king that the astrologers had bidden him beware of Saint Germain, she pronounced his stay there to be unsafe, and hurried the whole court to Paris, and from thence to the Bois des Vincennes. Here the king of Navarre and the duke were detained, though not as prisoners, yet under watch, and without the liberty of leaving the castle. They were also obliged to publish their disavowal and detestation of this conspiracy, that their secret friends might believe they were deserted by them. Thore and Meru (brothers to the marshal Montmorenci) with some others, privately withdrew; and the prince of Condé, being occasionally absent at Amiens, found means of escaping with them afterwards into Germany.

The queen-mother was careful to improve this plot to her purposes. In the languishing condition<sup>22</sup> of Charles's health, the quick and sensible<sup>23</sup> impressions it made upon him were altogether favourable to her procedure, and she so exaggerated the informations she pretended to have received about the nature of the conspiracy, that the presidents of the parliament, Thou and Hinneguin, were commanded by the king to enquire into it, and prosecute, with the utmost diligence and severity, all that could be discovered to have any knowledge in the treasonable design<sup>24</sup>. In the mean time, the duke of Anjou, repenting of his unsteadiness and facility, which reduced him to the state of a prisoner, and the king of Navarre, justly conceiving apprehensions about Catharine's practices against him, had formed a fresh design in Easter-week of escaping in disguise. A discovery of this being also made, the queen-mother was enabled, by means of Brison, who had become one of her spies and informers, to give a new turn to

<sup>22</sup> Brantôme, Eloge, tom. iv.

<sup>23</sup> D'Aubigné.

<sup>24</sup> Matthieu, p. 374.

the accusations and the whole process. Being introduced as an evidence, he accused La Melle, and the count de Concomres, a Pied-montese, who was also a favourite of the duke of Anjou's, and a number of other partisans of the malecontents; some of whom were immediately apprehended and brought to trial<sup>25</sup>. The two noblemen above mentioned, with one or two more, after undergoing a severe examination, were, upon doubtful evidence, condemned, and immediately beheaded.

But the queen-mother's aims reached higher than to the impeachment and death of some of the inferior partisans of the duke of Anjou and the malecontents. She had an eye to the apprehension of those whom she considered as the most formidable leaders of the faction. Though Thore, Meru, and others had escaped, the mareschals de Montmorenci and Coffe remained within the grasp of her power; and, notwithstanding there were only such vague and trivial accusations against them as could not found a plausible charge, it was enough that they were suspected as abettors of the conspiracy. Charles, the more liable to mistrust, and to yield to her dictates, the more his spirits were wasted, was easily prevailed on to agree to the measure of securing their persons. To conceal the intention<sup>26</sup>, they were only ordered to attend the king, and they obeyed without taking the alarm. The quarters assigned them in the innermost apartment of the castle created suspicion, and they were advised by their friends to provide for their safety by a retreat, which they could easily have accomplished: but, restrained by a sense of honour, and confident that his enemies could make nothing of their charge against him, Montmorenci would not extricate himself from the hazard at the expence of his reputation; and de Coffe adhered to his sentiments. In three days they were made prisoners by D'Auchi, captain of the king's guard, and carried to Paris, and from thence to the Bastile, in the midst of the exultations of the Parisians; who from enmity to the Montmorencies, and the moderate Catholics, readily agreed to furnish an additional guard of eight hundred men, during the time of their imprisonment. Upon the same day guards were placed about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou; and queen Catharine, willing to make every thing secure, and to lose no part of her triumph, had taken measures for depriving the mareschal D'Amville of his government, and seizing his person; but the grounds of suspicion given him, by the arrival of D'Acier, now duke of Uzes, in the province, who had lately attached himself to the court, and was his adversary, and by some packets intercepted, had so forwarned him of his danger, that he immediately possessed himself of Montpellier, and three other towns in Languedoc, without making any declarations. Saint Sulpice and the secretary Villeroy being sent by the court to him, under colour of accommodating the dissensions of the province, he by various pretexts avoided an interview with them, till Martinengues came with the king's orders to

<sup>25</sup> Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, liv. vi.

<sup>26</sup> De Thou, p. 1160—D'Aubigné.



seize him, and to forbid the military officers every where to obey him. But being, by this time, advised by his friends at court of the fate of his brother, the *mareschal*, he prepared to oppose the execution of these menaces, and to stand on his defence.

The measures necessary to be taken for quelling the insurrection of the Hugonots completed the absolute sway of the queen-mother, by giving her the direction of three armies, which were immediately ordered to be formed in Normandy, Poitou, and Dauphiné, and to be commanded by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in the first of these provinces, by the duke of Montpensier, and his son in the others<sup>27</sup>. The count of Montgomery's attempts upon Normandy being chiefly dreaded, the attention of the court was directed to frustrate his design of seizing some of the maritime towns, the effecting of which would open a passage for English, or other foreign succours, and might expose the kingdom by the revolt of places so contiguous to the capital. Upon that side, therefore, the greatest diligence was used to draw together the best troops. But Colombiere and Guitri having surprized Saint Lo and Domfront, the count landed at the former of these places, and soon made himself master of Caranten and Valognes. While they were occupied in strengthening the fortifications of these places, Matignon, having with the utmost expedition assembled his forces, advanced into Lower Normandy; and after making a feint of turning towards Valognes, suddenly pushed the van of his army to that side of Saint Lo which communicated by the river with the sea, and soon shut up all passage from the town, either by water or land. Montgomery, unprovided with forage for his cavalry, and sensible that his defence of a weak town might frustrate all his other projects, resolved to force one of the enemy's posts, and retire to some place where he might act with greater effect. Having encouraged Colombiere to make the best resistance he could, he sallied out with a hundred and fifty horsemen in the night, broke through several guards and entrenchments of the royalists, and, with scarcely the loss of a man, reached Carantan, whence he passed to Domfront, to meet some Protestant gentry lately arrived there from the interior parts of the province. His departure caused a council of war to be holden by the Catholic commanders, in which it was deliberated whether they ought to continue the siege or follow him; and Matignon, whose instructions directed him to consider the capture of Montgomery as a main object of his enterprize, procured a determination that, without raising the siege of Saint Lo, such a large detachment should be made from the army, as would be sufficient to invest Domfront, or any of the other towns to which he might retire. This unexpected measure proved successful. By the expeditious march of six hundred cavalry and two regiments of foot, conducted by Saint Colombe, and followed by another body of troops under Matignon himself, the count, having no intelligence of their approach, was surprized in

<sup>27</sup> De Thou, 1160—D'Avila—D'Aubigné.

Domfront, where he had scarce two hundred soldiers to form a garrison, and among them several of the gentry, unwilling to share his hazardous fate, began to parley with the Catholics, and desert to them. In this extremity, Montgomery performed all that could be expected from his experience and valour, and, after defending the town for some days, made his retreat into the castle. Here he sustained an assault, and repulsed the enemy with considerable slaughter, and the loss of Saint Colombe, and some other officers of note. An anecdote recorded of one of them marks the spirit and gallantry which prevailed among the warriors of those times. Having received a shot in his head, which deprived him of speech, he went into the nearest tent, and made a sign to have a pen and paper brought him, and sitting down to write a letter to his mistress with his blood, he died the moment he had finished it. By this time almost every one of Montgomery's companions, as well as himself, had received wounds, and their number was daily diminished by desertion: unable, therefore, to hold out any longer, he, at length, surrendered to the enemy. D'Aubigné affirms, that the count had only ambiguous promises of life and a safe dismissal given him, while other historians assert that the promise was absolute. To trust the smallest ambiguity was, in his circumstances, improper, and unworthy of his fortitude; he had reason to be convinced of what he ought to have done when the Catholic forces returned to the siege of Saint Lo. Being prevailed on by Matignon to solicit Colombiere to avoid the grand assault, and accept of honourable conditions, this resolute chieftain, disdaining to be reduced to the same situation in which he saw the count, reproached him with not dying like a soldier in the breach, rather than be exposed to suffer like a criminal. "It becomes you, indeed,"—said he, in an ironical tone—"to propose your behaviour as a pattern to me, when mine will now be of no service to you. But I shall take care to teach my companions how they ought to die." He, accordingly, took his station in the middle of the breach—now seventy paces in length—with his two sons on each side of him; one of them being twelve, and the other only ten years old. The character of the man, as well as of the brave commander, was discovered in this action. "In yielding my life to God,"—said he to those around him—"I at the same time offer to him what I hold dearest in the world. It is better for them to die undishonoured and uncorrupted with their father, than to fall into the hands of the reprobate tribe; who may pervert them." A ball having pierced his head, he soon fell, and the breach was speedily abandoned by his followers. Compassion, however, moved the Catholic soldiers to save the lives of his forlorn offspring. His death was lamented by his party as a general misfortune; and the reduction of Saint Lo being soon followed by that of Carentan and the other forts, the war was terminated in Normandy, and the count of Montgomery carried in triumph to Paris; where he was soon after beheaded.

It appears that the queen-mother, at this juncture, had made the seizure of the princes and chief lords, whose opposition she feared, her principal object; and it is also said by D'Aubigné—though the frequency of such accusations requires that they should be



received with great caution—that she tried to end her military operations by a recourse to the base methods of assassination : for which purpose it was believed, that Maurevel, and one Saint Martin, were sent into Poitou, to make an attempt on the life of La Noue, which failed. In this province the duke of Montpensier having collected a number of Catholic chieftains, with their followers, detached Puy-Gaillard to invest Taille-mont, while he advanced to form the siege of Fontenai. The first of these places being taken, the duke had the advantage of besieging the latter with his whole force. But the brave Saint Etienne commanded in it, who, by the bold sally he made into the Catholic camp, and the repulse he gave to the first assault of the besiegers, cooled their hopes of speedy success. At the same time La Noue, who had forces sufficient to make a diversion in favour of the besieged, though not to engage the Catholic army, appeared in the neighbourhood. From the alarm taken, it was proposed to draw off some cannon from the batteries against the town, to secure the camp from an attack ; when Montpensier received letters from the queen-mother, requiring his immediate attendance upon the king, whose life was thought every day to be in imminent danger. The siege, therefore, was raised.

In the mean time, the war was continued with little intermission in Languedoc, where the strength of the Protestants was most entire ; and in Dauphiné, where they had possessed themselves of many places of importance. The flight of the prince of Condé to Strasburgh, where he publicly renounced his late forced abjuration of the Protestant religion, contributed to maintain the civil commotions, and animate the Hugonots to trust their fortune to the decision of war, rather than to the experienced treachery of the court. He gave them assurances that, after his father's example, he would devote himself to the support of their cause, for which purpose he was then endeavouring to procure auxiliary troops from Germany, in hopes that the levy-money promised by them would be remitted. Thore's letters to the marshal D'Amville were no less calculated to excite him to an open rupture with the court, and to revenge the treatment of their brother as a violent stretch of arbitrary power that denounced the intended ruin of their whole family. Though the marshal, naturally slow, and averse from appearing in opposition to the authority of the government, still employed the language of peace and submission, it was evident from the general aspect of affairs, that, notwithstanding all the queen-mother had done for destroying the party of the malecontents, and repressing the insurrection of the Protestants, the flame of war and discord was too far kindled in the kingdom, to be extinguished by the utmost exertion of her power and policy.

The most unequivocal symptoms of the king's approaching dissolution had, by this time, appeared, and it is evident he was aware of it himself, by allowing letters-patent to be transmitted to the governors of the provinces, requiring them to obey the orders of his mother, as being vested with his authority, during his present indisposition.

tion<sup>28</sup>. With this concession, though for some time expected by Catharine, he had hitherto declined to gratify her; and by yielding it only in the extremity of his disorder, he shewed a jealousy and distrust of her usurpation over him, which she had too long exercised. His nomination of her, by a formal deed, to the regency of the kingdom, in the event of his death, and during the absence of his brother, the king of Poland, was still deferred, till the thirtieth of May, when he was seized with the most violent pains. The conflict between his youthful strength and the fatal power of his disease, threw him into the most violent convulsions, during which the blood issued through the pores of his skin, in almost every part of his body. He expired in the evening of the day in which the letters of regency were framed, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign<sup>29</sup>.

Impetuous, violent, choleric, vindictive and cruel, Charles disgraced by his actions the throne of his ancestors; yet, when the frailty of human nature is considered, some extenuation must be allowed even for the *vices* of youth. No parent's fostering hand had sown the seeds of virtue in his infant mind; all those generous feelings which are the sources of true benevolence, and give dignity to man, were carefully suppressed by an unnatural mother, whose chief object was to render her son a prodigy of dissimulation. In the execution of this detestable plan she, too fatally, succeeded; and she lived to behold the dreadful effects of her own wickedness.

The negative virtues of sobriety and temperance Charles certainly possessed: his apprehension was quick: his discernment acute: his elocution nervous and masculine: and in all the martial exercises of the age, he is said to have been eminently skilled. He had a taste for the fine arts, which appeared incompatible with the moroseness and cruelty of his temper: he not only rewarded the genius of the poet Ronfard, but wrote verses in his praise, not inferior to those of the master he admired. He also compiled a book on his favourite amusement of the chace.

Charles caused a smith's forge to be erected in his palace, where he amused himself with the fabrication of gun-barrels, horse-chains, and other pieces of smith's work. He piqued himself on his talent of imitating, with the greatest nicety, the various coins in circulation, such as the crown, the double ducat, and the testoon. When he shewed one of them to the cardinal of Lorraine for his approbation; "Ah, Sir,"—said the prelate—"you can do whatever you please, for you always carry your pardon in your own pocket."

For some time before his death he is said to have expressed the deepest remorse for the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and for the other acts of violence to which he had

<sup>28</sup> Sully—De Thou—Brantôme.

<sup>29</sup> Matthieu—Brantôme.



been instigated by his mother, On his death-bed he displayed the sentiments of a king, anxious for the welfare of his people. He spoke feelingly of the situation of princes during their minority<sup>30</sup>; and said, “that he was better pleased to die without an heir, “than to leave the kingdom to an infant, at a time when France stood in need of a man “to redress her numerous calamities.” By his queen, Elizabeth of Austria, he left a daughter, who survived him but a short time. By his mistress, Mary Touchet, daughter to a lieutenant of the police at Orleans, he had one son, who first enjoyed the title of grand prior, and afterwards that of count d’Auvergne<sup>31</sup>. Charles was entombed with little ceremony; and before the funeral convoy reached Saint Denis, it was deserted by all the followers, except Brantôme, and four other gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and the guard of archers.

In the last year of the reign of Charles the Ninth, the revenues produced only eight millions, six hundred thousand livres; the mark of silver being seventeen livres, and that of gold two hundred.

<sup>30</sup> Brantôme.

<sup>31</sup> Idem—Henault.

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## HENRY THE THIRD.

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A. D. 1574.] ON the decease of Charles, Catharine assumed the reins of power in consequence of the letters-patent by which the regency had been conferred on her. She closely guarded the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, with the marshals de Montmorenci and de Cossé: she negotiated a truce with the Hugonots, raised new levies among the Swiss and Germans, dispatched repeated messengers to hasten the journey of the king of Poland, and, impatient of delay, set out for the city of Lyons to meet him.

Henry no sooner received the welcome intelligence of his brother's death, than he secretly withdrew from the kingdom to the government of which he had been so lately elected; and he fled with such precipitation that he had reached the frontiers of Germany, before the publick were informed of his departure. On his journey he paid a visit to the emperor Maximilian, and to Charles duke of Savoy; and from Vienna he directed his course through the territories of the Venetians. From the different potentates by whom he was entertained, he received the most salutary advice as to his future conduct; they represented to him the fatal consequences of replunging his kingdom into civil war, and urged him to avert them by granting to the Protestants peace and the free exercise of their religion<sup>1</sup>. But he was himself disinclined to follow their counsels, and his mother's instigations led him to adopt a different line of conduct.

The abilities which Henry had displayed in early youth had induced his subjects to

<sup>1</sup> Sally.



form the highest expectations of his future conduct; but their hopes were speedily frustrated, and, instead of an active, vigilant, and high-spirited monarch, they found him irresolute, inconstant, indolent, and voluptuous; a strange compound of sensuality and devotion, alternately governed by licentious minions, and bigoted priests.

Though he released from confinement the king of Navarre, and his brother, the duke of Anjou, who soon after took the appellation of Monsieur, yet he still continued to watch their motions with a jealous eye; but the cares of government were only considered secondary to those of love; he publicly avowed his passion for the princess of Condé, and regardless alike of decency and of honour, declared his intention of procuring the dissolution of her marriage, and of uniting her to himself by indissoluble ties. The hand of death, however, arrested his design; that princess suddenly expired in the bloom of youth and beauty, while the royal lover expressed the deepest sorrow for her loss, refusing to listen to the voice of consolation, and obstinately rejecting whatever food was offered him. But when he awoke from this lethargy of grief, he seemed ashamed of his weakness, and wished to ascribe it to the power of enchantment<sup>2</sup>.

The first act of sovereignty performed by Henry was the restoration to the duke of Savoy of several places which the French still retained in Piedmont. The duke of Nevers, governor of those territories, remonstrated on the impolicy of this measure, but his representations were disregarded by the king, and the evacuation immediately took place. There were at this time two parties in the council, whose views were as opposite as their principles: one was anxious to promote a continuance of peace, and a reform in the government; the other was solely intent on the extermination of the Hugonots. At the head of the first were Paul de Foix; Christopher de Thou, first president of the parliament; and Pibrac: Morvilliers was the leader of the other, a violent bigot, who favouring the growth of foreign intrigues, originating in the courts of Spain and Rome, rendered religion subservient to the exaltation of those two powers. The views of this last faction coinciding with the interest of the queen-mother, it soon acquired the ascendancy, and persuaded the king to declare war against the Hugonots, who were joined by a great number of the Catholics under the command of the marshal D'Amville. While this officer erected his standard in Languedoc, the prince of Condé hastened from Germany to join the confederates, and Monsieur seized the first opportunity of escaping from the court, and took up arms against his brother.

A. D. 1575.] On the fifteenth of February Henry was crowned at Rheims, and the day after the ceremony, he married Louisa, daughter to the count of Vaudemont,

<sup>2</sup> Mezerai, tom ix. p. 11.

of the house of Lorraine. He had no sooner made his entry into the capital, with his youthful consort, than he received a deputation from the Protestants on the subject of peace: their proposals, which were contained in ninety-two articles, breathed a spirit of boldness that bespoke the strength of their party: the convention of the states general; the reduction of the taxes to the standard of Lewis the Twelfth; the exemplary punishment of Atheists and Blasphemers; and the strict execution of the laws against the infamous debauchery and guilty excesses that prevailed in the kingdom; were insisted on with a degree of strength and authority that encreased the rage of the court against the Hugonots.

The war was continued with various success, in different parts of the kingdom; Montauban was invested by the Catholics, but relieved by Choupes: in Auvergne, Montale was defeated and slain, by Magdeham de Saint Nectane, widow to Guy de Saint Exupery Miramont, an *Amazonian* dame, who was constantly attended by sixty gallant gentlemen, who sought to win her favour by uncommon exertions of valour. The capital of Perigord was taken and sacked by Langorian; and the towns of Uzez and Alez, by D'Amville. In Dauphiné, Montbrun defeated his enemy, de Gordes, in the vicinity of Die; but a few days after the action he experienced a reverse of fortune, and being taken by the Catholics, was tried by the parliament of Grenoble, and sentenced to lose his head. The reason assigned for this severity, was his conduct in pillaging the king's baggage, and in observing to those who blamed him for so doing, that *in the field and at the gaming-table, all men were equal*<sup>3</sup>. He was succeeded in his command by Lesdiguières, who proved himself, in every respect, worthy of his predecessor.

Meanwhile the prince of Condé had concluded a treaty with prince Casimir, who supplied him with eight thousand Rheiters, and six thousand Swiss, on condition that he should conclude no treaty without his consent. As Thoré had furnished fifty thousand crowns towards raising these troops, the prince could not refuse to entrust him with a detachment of two thousand Rheiters, and five hundred infantry, which he wished to lead to the assistance of Monsieur; but the duke of Guise, governor of Champagne, having intelligence of his motions, attacked him by surprise in the vicinity of Château-Thierry, and obtained a complete victory. Thoré, however, effected his escape to Berry, where he joined Monsieur, and whither he was followed by the scattered remains of his vanquished army.

The queen-mother, anxious to promote a reconciliation between her sons, and to sow division between her enemies, released from confinement the mareschals de Montmorenci and de Cossé, who had great influence over the mind of Monsieur. Conferences were ac-

<sup>3</sup> Mezerai, tom ix. p. 15.



cordingly opened at the castle of Champigni, and a truce for six months was speedily concluded, to date from the twenty-second of November. By this truce it was agreed that the king was to surrender to Monsieur, by way of security, the towns of Angoulême, Niort, Saumur, Bourges, and La Charité, and to the prince of Condé, the town of Mezieres. But the governors of Bourges and Angoulême having peremptorily refused to resign those places, the queen-mother prevailed on her son to accept Cognac and Saint-Jean d'Angeli in their stead; and the truce was, accordingly, published on the twenty-second of December.

A. D. 1576.] Notwithstanding the truce, peace appeared to be as far distant as before, and the winter was passed, on either side, in vigorous preparations for the renewal of war. The Parisians evinced a spirit of discontent, the object of which was not easily to be descried; though inveterate enemies to the Hugonots, and eager for their extirpation, they murmured at the contributions that were demanded of them for the purpose of securing the accomplishment of their wishes. Henry endured a fresh mortification from abroad, by the determination of the Polish Diet to chuse a new sovereign, and to place the crown on the head of the prince of Transylvania; and, to complete the embarrassment of his situation, the king of Navarre effected his escape, and fled to Alençon. He there had a conference with Monsieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to unite all their forces<sup>4</sup>. From Alençon the Navarrese monarch repaired to Tours, where he publicly resumed the exercise of the Protestant religion.

The combined forces of the confederates amounted to fifty thousand effective men, and it was fully expected on all sides that this campaign would be both bloody and decisive; but Catharine again contrived to avert the storm that hung over the kingdom, by exerting her usual address in the arts of negociation, in which she was ably assisted by the charms of a train of beautiful damsels<sup>5</sup>, whom she kept for that purpose: she induced the princes to lay down their arms, and consent to a treaty of peace, which was signed on the tenth of May, and registered in the parliament on the fifteenth. The memory of the admiral de Coligni, and the other Protestant chiefs, was restored: the reformed were allowed the free exercise of their religion, with the restriction of not preaching within two miles of Paris, or any other place where the court resided: chambers of justice, composed equally of Protestants and Catholics, were erected in the principal parliaments: and the safety of the Hugonots was confirmed by the cession of the following towns, Beaucaire and Aigues-Mortes in Languedoc; Perigueux and Le Mas de Verdun in Guienne; Nions and Serre in Dauphiné; Issoire in Auvergne, and Sene la Grand Tour in Provence. The king increased his brother's appanage with the coun-

<sup>4</sup> Sully.

<sup>5</sup> Mezerai.

tries of Anjou, Touraine, and Berri, and ensured the government of Picardy to the prince of Condé, with the town of Peronne for his place of residence.

The favourable terms now granted to the Hugonots furnished the Catholic chiefs with a plausible pretext for forming themselves into a *league*, of which all the principles and causes had been engendered and maintained during the preceding reign: they chose the pope and the king of Spain for their protectors; and Henry was, by the advice of his ministers, induced to submit to the degradation of declaring himself the head of this league; the members whereof soon compelled him to abrogate the late edict of pacification.

A. D. 1577, 1578, 1579.] Two formidable enemies took the field in the spring, under the command of Monsieur and the duke of Mayenne; and that unanimity which could alone render the efforts of the confederates effectual being wanting, the Catholics were generally successful. In April the important town of La Charité surrendered to Monsieur, and Rochelle was soon after reduced by the duke of Mayenne<sup>6</sup>. D'Amville, disgusted with the Hugonots, who did not pay him that deference which he thought was his due, turned his arms against them, and laid siege to Montpellier; but Châtillon bravely forced a passage through his army, threw a body of three thousand troops into the town, and would have engaged D'Amville the next day, but for the intelligence which he received that a peace had been concluded.

This accommodation had been entirely brought about by the king himself, with a view to mortify the house of Guise, whose power roused his jealousy, and whose ambition excited his distrust. The treaty was signed at Bergerac at the end of September, and in the beginning of the following month was registered in the parliament. Its provisions were highly unfavourable to the Hugonots, who were restrained from that free exercise of their religion, and debarred of many of those privileges, which had been secured to them by the last treaty. The peace, however, was of short continuance.

The reduction of Figeac, a town in Quercy, by the Catholics, was the signal for renewing hostilities; and the flames of war again spread their destructive rage over the kingdom. The young king of Navarre particularly signalized his valour and conduct in various encounters, and, by his strenuous exertions, confirmed the hopes of the Calvinists. He attacked the strong town of Cahors, which was ably defended by Vefins, with a garrison of two thousand men, seconded by the inhabitants whom he had compelled to take up arms: After the king of Navarre had forced an entrance through the gates, he had a combat to sustain in every street: The houses were covered with troops,

<sup>6</sup> Mezerai



who threw logs of wood, tiles and stones, upon the Hugonots: the squares were barricaded, and batteries erected at the end of the streets: the besiegers had a battle to fight at every cross-way, and every stone house they were obliged to storm. This severe conflict, as obstinate as it was unprecedented, lasted five days and nights, during which time not one of the Hugonots could quit his post for a single moment; take any nourishment but with his arms in his hand, or any sleep, except for a few minutes as he leaned against a house: despairing to reduce the town, and in momentary expectation of seeing succours arrive to the assistance of the besieged, the principal officers advised the king of Navarre to retreat: but that gallant prince, whose courage was not to be shaken by the approach of danger, replied—" 'Tis Heaven that dictates what I ought to do upon this occasion; remember then that my only retreat out of this city, unless accompanied by my whole party, shall be the retreat of my soul from my body. This my honour requires; talk, therefore, of nothing but battle, conquest or death?" The arrival of Chouppes, with a reinforcement of six hundred foot, and one hundred horse enabled the king of Navarre, after an obstinate contest, to obtain complete possession of the town, and to repulse the troops who had come to the assistance of the garrison. The place was resigned to pillage.

Meanwhile the flames of civil war, enkindled by the torch of religious persecution, raged with equal fury in the Netherlands, where the destructive bigotry of Philip, seconded by the zeal of the duke of Alva, had involved thousands of his Flemish subjects in exile, torture, and death. The counts Egmont and Horne, two noblemen not more distinguished for their illustrious birth, than for their eminent services, perished on the scaffold; and the prince of Orange only escaped a similar fate, by a judicious mistrust, and a timely evasion. He soon, however, returned to rouse his countrymen to the defence of their civil and religious freedom; and the Flemings, oppressed by the superior forces of Spain, had recourse to foreign alliances, and addressed themselves to Monsieur. The sovereignty of the Low Countries was too splendid an allurements to be resisted by a prince vain, rash, and ambitious; his ardour was, at that time, inflamed by the hope of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth, who, desirous of resisting the tyranny of Philip, yet cautious of engaging in open hostilities, embraced the opportunity of exciting Monsieur to the defence of the persecuted Flemings.

A. D. 1580.] But before Monsieur could embark in this enterprize, it was necessary that tranquillity should be restored to the kingdom of France. His mediation being offered for this purpose was readily accepted by Henry, who had lost the confidence of both factions, and had the mortification to behold his Catholic subjects range themselves under the banners of the duke of Guise, while the Protestants publicly avowed their attach-

ment to the king of Navarre. The various exertions made by both parties had exhausted their strength, without giving to either any essential advantages over the other; and a treaty, notwithstanding the opposition of the prince of Condé, was concluded in the month of November, which confirmed the former edict of pacification, and left the Hugonots in possession of the cautionary towns for six years.

A. D. 1581.] Monsieur, being joined by the chief nobility in France, took the field with an army of twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse, with which he marched to the relief of Cambray, then besieged by the prince of Parma. That able general, unable to cope with a force so superior to his own, made a masterly retreat, and left Monsieur to enter the city in triumph. After reducing Cateau-Cambresis, and having been chosen, by the states, governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and repaired to England to renew his suit with the queen.

A. D. 1582, 1583.] The reception he experienced from Elizabeth, was such as to give him the most flattering hopes of success; and, indeed, her testimonies of kindness and affection were so open and unequivocal, that Saint Aldegonde, governor of Antwerp, dispatched letters to the Netherlands, signifying that the match was certain<sup>8</sup>. Lady Shrewsbury asserts, that the queen admitted him to exert all the privileges of a husband; that he passed a part of one night in her bed-chamber, but that a certain "*womanish impotency*" precluding the full gratification of her amorous desires, and Monsieur's endeavours to *remove* it proving ineffectual, the prince was formally dismissed the next morning<sup>9</sup>. She consented, however, to furnish him with a sum of money and a numerous fleet, to forward his plans in the Low Countries. He was reinforced from France by the duke of Montpensier and the mareschal Biron, with a body of seven or eight thousand men; but the hope which his ambition had formed his perfidy destroyed, and he resolved, by securing those towns in which he had been received as a friend, to oppress that liberty which he had been summoned to protect. The prince of Orange, however, whose penetration could not easily be eluded, found means to frustrate his treacherous designs; at Antwerp he was repulsed with considerable loss, and though an apparent reconciliation was afterwards effected, he was soon obliged to return to France, with a broken constitution, forsaken by his friends, and despised by his enemies, where, in the month of June in the following year, he breathed his last.

A. D. 1584.] During these transactions, Henry, inattentive to the affairs of his kingdom, consumed his time and revenue in the pursuit of vain and sensual pleasures, neither marked by decency nor taste. To his principal favourite, the duke of Joyeuse,

<sup>8</sup> Camden.

<sup>9</sup> This curious point is fully discussed in Mr. Whitaker's able "*Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots*."



to whom he had given the sister of his queen in marriage, he resigned the supreme direction of all affairs of state, and left the house of Lorraine to pursue, without molestation, their ambitious plans. On the death of Monsieur, the king of Navarre became immediate heir to the throne; but Catharine exerted all her influence over Henry to prevail on him to promote his exclusion, and to transfer his rights to the children of her daughter, by the duke of Lorraine<sup>10</sup>. The duke of Guise and his brothers, encouraged by this favourable disposition of the queen-mother, now openly placed themselves at the head of the league, and exerted all their arts to inflame the resentment of the people against the king of Navarre. Their emissaries were loud in their clamours against the succession of an heretical sovereign; the priests prostituted the pulpits to the same seditious purposes; the confessors infused the poison of faction into the ears of their penitents; and the press groaned beneath the weight of libels, breathing the same spirit of discontent. Henry himself was calumniated in the grossest manner, while the piety, valour, and goodness of the princes of Lorraine, whom they called the Shields of Religion, and Fathers of the People, were as loudly extolled<sup>11</sup>?

It was now that the chiefs of the league, having inflamed the zealous, roused the factious, and reduced the weak, began to enlist soldiers, and to pursue the most decisive measures, for enforcing the execution of their daring projects. The duke of Nevers was particularly active in giving a proper form and consistency to this dangerous association, which had neither loyalty to the king, nor respect to the laws, for its object. In a few months they were ready for action, and only waited for the confirmation of the pope to authorise their proceedings; this father Claude Matthias, a jesuit, was dispatched to Rome to procure, but though the sovereign pontiff commended their zeal, and encouraged their hopes, he refused to sanction their conduct by any public act.

Independent of religious considerations, the immense weight of taxes now imposed on the people, by diffusing a spirit of discontent, proved highly favourable to the designs of the leaguers. The king had raised upwards of fifty millions of livres since his accession, and the gifts of the present year amounted to five millions of gold<sup>12</sup>. Aware of this ground of complaint, Henry suddenly suppressed no less than sixty-six edicts, which the parliament had lately registered, and the object of which was the levying of fresh sums; made a reduction of the taille to the amount of seven hundred thousand livres; moderated his own expences, and established a royal chamber for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the financiers. As he was also sensible that the Guises were indebted for a great share of their popularity to their courtesy, affability, and condescension, he had recourse to the same line of conduct, going frequently into public, and paying great attention to the

<sup>10</sup> Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 134.<sup>11</sup> Idem, p. 126, 127.<sup>12</sup> Idem.

magistrates, and principal inhabitants of the capital. But this was a restraint to which he could only submit for a short time.

The duke D'Épernon, who shared with Joyeuse the favour of his sovereign, and some other members of the council, had formed a party for arresting the duke of Guise; but the duke, having received some intimation of their designs, retired to his government of Champagne, whither he was speedily followed by his brother, the cardinal. The Spanish agents profited by this conjuncture, and did not leave the Guises, till they had concluded a private treaty with them: it was negotiated at Joinville, and signed on the last day of the year, 1584.

By this treaty were established, “ A confederacy and league, offensive and defensive, “ between king Philip and the Catholic princes, for themselves and their descendants, in “ order to maintain the Catholic religion, as well in France as in the Low Countries.” It was agreed, “ That, on the event of Henry’s death, the cardinal of Bourbon should succeed to the throne, and that all the heretical princes should be for ever excluded: that, “ in that case, the new monarch should renew the treaty of Cambray, concluded in “ 1558; should banish all heretics by a public edict; should enforce an observance of the “ decrees of the holy council of Trent; should renounce, for himself and his successors, “ all alliance with the Turks; should prevent the cities and fortresses of the Low Countries from being put into the hands of the French; and should assist his Catholic majesty “ in reducing Cambray and all other towns that were in a state of rebellion.” On these conditions the king of Spain engaged to supply the French princes with fifty thousand pistoles a month, and always to pay them four hundred thousand in advance; which sums were to be reimbursed by the cardinal of Bourbon, in the event of his succession to the throne<sup>13</sup>.

A. D. 1585.] After the states of the Netherlands had lost much time in deliberation, on the subject of chusing a governor who might defend them from the oppression of Spain, they sent deputies to the king to request he would receive them as his subjects. The Spanish ambassador exerted his utmost efforts to prevent the deputies from being admitted to an audience; but the king, notwithstanding the remonstrances, gave them a favourable reception, received their proposals in writing, and promised to send them a speedy answer. Enraged at the proceeding, the king of Spain urged the duke of Guise to declare himself without farther delay; and his solicitations were so pressing, that the duke, was induced to take the field before he had assembled his adherents.

Toul and Verdun were surprized by Guitaud, one of the captains of the league; but the Leaguers were repulsed from Metz by the vigilance of the duke D'Épernon.

<sup>13</sup> Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 140, 141.



The duke of Guise, meanwhile, seized on Châlons and Mezieres; the duke of Aumale made himself master of most of the towns in Picardy; Brissac reduced Angers; Entragues, Orleans; the duke of Mayenne, Dijon and some other places in Burgundy; and the principal towns and fortresses in Dauphiné were secured by the nobility of the county, whom the duke, by his courtesy and magnificence, had attached to his party. The loyalty of the mareschal Matignon preserved Bourdeaux; and the citizens of Marseilles, notwithstanding a powerful confederacy in favour of the Leaguers, frustrated the plan formed for its reduction by the duke of Nevers.

These proceedings aroused Henry from his lethargy, and having collected a body of troops, he gave the command of them to Joyeuse, who had orders to repair to Normandy, to oppose the duke of Elbœuf; but before he had reached Verneuil, he was overtaken by a messenger from the court, who informed him, that the king had concluded a peace with the League, and that it was his majesty's intention, that the army which, two days before, was destined to support him against the attempts of the Guises, should be led against the king of Navarre<sup>14</sup>. By this ignominious peace, concluded on the most dishonourable terms, Henry agreed to compel the Protestants to restore the cautionary towns they had received, to annul all edicts in their favour, and to devote his troops and treasures to the service of those rebels who had taken up arms against him. He soon experienced the evil effects of a conduct thus impolitic and pusillanimous. His authority was superseded by the superior power of the princes of Lorraine. A council of sixteen citizens of Paris insulted their sovereign, and spread confusion throughout the capital. A gleam of hope seemed to break in from the court of Rome: Sixtus the Fifth, who had succeeded to the papacy, launched his spiritual thunders on the heads of those who had dared to arm against the crown: but, governed by a temper imperious and turbulent, he increased the public anarchy by excommunicating, soon after, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, whom he styled relapsed heretics, and as such declared them "exposed to the censures and punishments inflicted by the sacred canons, whereby they were deprived of all their lordships, territories and dignities, and rendered incapable of succeeding to any principality, particularly to the crown of France: their subjects were absolved from their oaths of fealty, and forbidden to pay them obedience, under pain of being included in the same sentence<sup>15</sup>."

This blow, which was expected to prove fatal to the Hugonots, had a contrary effect, for it disgusted great numbers of the Catholics who were attached to the king, and led them to examine the nature of that authority which the popes assumed over crowned heads. whence they discovered that the doctrine which prevailed at Rome on that subject was not justified by the councils and canons of the church<sup>16</sup>. The king, too, was alarmed

<sup>14</sup> Sully, liv. 2.<sup>15</sup> Mezerai.<sup>16</sup> Idem.

at the appearance of this bull, which he thought might be intended to promote his deposition, and he absolutely forbade its publication throughout his dominions.

The League, having compelled the king to levy two armies; one, under the duke of Guise, was stationed on the frontiers of Champagne, in order to prevent the junction of the German auxiliaries with the Hugonots; while the other, commanded by the duke of Mayenne, entered Saintonge. Nothing, however, of consequence was attempted; the reduction of a few insignificant fortresses finished the campaign, and the troops were put into winter quarters.

A. D. 1586.] At the approach of spring five different armies, raised in the king's name, took the field against the Hugonots; but none of their efforts were crowned with success. The jealousy which prevailed between the duke of Mayenne and the marshal Matignon, rendered the exertions of the Leaguers in Guienne spiritless and ineffectual. Joyeuse, indeed, having few obstacles to encounter, advanced with greater rapidity, and having expelled the Hugonots from La Motte, Saint Eloi, Saint Maixant, Maillezais, and several other places, obliged the king of Navarre to retreat to Rochelle. Joyeuse then left his army to return to court; but he had no sooner departed than the king of Navarre, who had secretly collected twelve hundred men from his different garrisons, attacked a considerable detachment, and put them all to the sword. That prince more than once alarmed the whole army, which was now placed under the command of Lavardin. He pursued them as far as La Haye in Touraine, harassing them on their march, and cutting off their provisions, and in the short space of five days, killed and took upwards of six hundred men<sup>17</sup>. The duke of Guise, meanwhile, took the towns of Raucour and Donzy from the duke of Bouillon; and the duke of Aumale, at the head of the *Picards*, reduced Dourlens and Pontdormy, the last of which places commands a passage over the Somme below Pecquigny.

Considerable sums were required to pay and maintain these various armies; but, though means were found for raising money sufficient for the purpose, the king's prodigality and the avidity of his courtiers soon absorbed it all. Paris had contributed two hundred thousand crowns towards the support of this war, which were expended in one week; fifty thousand crowns raised on the revenues of the clergy, as speedily disappeared; and forty thousand more, levied in the royal domains, went the same way. Recourse was had to the old plan of creating new places, but the parliament properly rejected the destructive project, and the attempt only served to prove the injustice and weakness of the government. In the month of December the queen-mother had an interview with the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, at Saint Bris, two leagues

<sup>17</sup> Sully.



from Cognac, at which she was attended, as usual, by the most beautiful women of the court. But neither the charms of the one, nor the persuasions of the other, could prevail on the princes to renounce their religion; and the conference was closed by a declaration of Catharine, that it was the king's final resolution to tolerate only one religion in the state.

A. D. 1587.] The duke of Joyeuse, having received a considerable reinforcement of troops, and being joined by the flower of the French nobility, appointed the general rendezvous of his army in Guienne. The king of Navarre, who was still at Rochelle, in order to avert the storm that threatened him, collected all the troops he could find in Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and sent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soissons, (who had recently espoused the cause of the Hugonots) Turenne, La Trémouille, and Rochefoucauld, to join him with their respective detachments: yet, with all these supplies, his forces were still greatly inferior to those of the Leaguers. All he could attempt with such an army, was to force his way through Guienne, Languedoc, and the Lionnois, towards the source of the Loire, where he expected to meet with the German auxiliaries. He exerted his utmost efforts for accomplishing this junction before the troops which Joyeuse expected from different quarters could join the main army. With this view he advanced towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and La Roche-Calais, on the borders of Saintonge, Guienne, and Perigord, but he was closely pursued by Joyeuse, who, having penetrated into his design, had determined not to wait the arrival of his expected reinforcements, lest he should lose an opportunity which he might never after be able to recover. The superiority of his forces justified this resolution; and the king of Navarre, who never hazarded an unequal action, but in a case of absolute necessity, endeavoured to place the river between them, that he might continue his march without opposition, and gain the Dordogne, upon the banks whereof he had several strong forts, which might serve to stop the enemy's pursuit<sup>18</sup>.

The grand object of either general was to secure the important post of Coutras, a town situated at the confluence of the rivers Lille and Droume: Lavardin was accordingly dispatched by Joyeuse, and La Trémouille by the king of Navarre, to take possession of it; but the latter, after a sharp conflict, prevailed, and the king, eager to avail himself of this advantage, resolved to attempt, without farther delay, a passage over the river. He accordingly marched thither in the night, reserving to himself the care of conducting the troops over; and leaving that of the baggage and artillery to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville and Sully. But before one half of the army had reached the opposite banks, news was brought of the enemy's approach, so that they were

<sup>18</sup> Sully, liv. ii.

obliged to return with the utmost precipitation, and the king of Navarre was compelled to prepare for action.

In the morning of the twentieth of October the two armies were drawn up in a large plain near the town of Coutras. The royalists attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that the division commanded by Turenne immediately gave way; that under the conduct of La Trémouille being forced at the first onset, the whole army of the Hugonots appeared to be thrown into confusion, and the Catholics began to indulge in exclamations of victory. At that critical juncture the artillery, which had been posted on an eminence, under the direction of Sully, began to play with infinite success; at every discharge the enemy's ranks were thinned; and, in a short time, the effect was such, that all order was destroyed in the Catholic army; the troops dispersed about the plain without form or regularity, and were unable to sustain the vigorous attacks of the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soissons, who scoured the field at the head of three squadrons, and displayed a spirit and valour worthy of their birth. The fate of the day was changed in an instant, and the death of Joyeuse rendered the victory complete<sup>19</sup>. Five thousand of the Catholics were slain in the action, and five hundred taken prisoners. The loss of the Protestants was inconsiderable<sup>20</sup>.

The valour of Henry, king of Navarre, was eminently conspicuous on this occasion. He wore a plume of white feathers in his helmet, that he might be distinguished from his officers; some of whom throwing themselves between him and the enemy, at a time when his person was in danger, Henry exclaimed, "Give me room, I beseech you, I wish to be seen<sup>21</sup>."

Had the king of Navarre's conduct after the battle been equal to his courage while it lasted, his victory might have proved decisive. If he had advanced to meet the German auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction, and he would then have been able to cope with any force the Catholics could have brought into the field. But the dissensions which prevailed between the leaders of the Hugonots, proved an obstacle to the adoption of this salutary scheme; the prince of Condé, intent on the gratification of his own private ambition, withdrew his troops into Saintonge; the viscount de Turenne, actuated by similar views, repaired to the Limosin; and the king of Navarre, weakened by this desertion, and stimulated by his affection for the countess de Guiche, disbanded his forces, and hastened to Bearn<sup>22</sup>.

While France was thus desolated by the alternate depredations of contending armies, an event had occurred in England, unexampled in the annals of history, and reflecting inde-

<sup>19</sup> Sully.      <sup>20</sup> De Thou, liv. lxxxvii.—Memoires de Du Plessis, liv. i.—D'Aubigné, tom. iii. liv. i.—Matthieu, tom. i. liv. 8.—Pere Daniel, tom. ix.

<sup>21</sup> Prefixe.

<sup>22</sup> Sully, liv. iii.



lible infamy on the memory of Elizabeth. This was the condemnation and execution of the unhappy Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, who, after being expelled from her dominions by her rebel subjects, had fled for refuge to England, where, instead of friendship she experienced hatred, instead of hospitality she met with oppression, instead of protection, persecution; instead of candour, calumny; and instead of justice, assassination. After a captivity of eighteen years, this unfortunate princess was brought to trial, before a court, incompetent to decide on her fate, and convicted on the evidence of forged instruments and perjured witnesses. Henry the Third had, at different times, instructed his ambassador L'Aubespine, to remonstrate to the English court against the cruelties inflicted on Mary; but whatever this envoy could urge was ineffectual. He even dispatched Pomponne de Bellièvre, chancellor of France, to Elizabeth, with a particular commission to intercede for the life of the Scottish queen. As soon as Bellièvre could procure an audience, which Elizabeth, on frivolous pretexts, delayed for some time to grant, fearful to encounter the reproaches she expected, and knew she deserved, he interested himself in her behalf with great ability and zeal. He asserted the independency of sovereigns, and expatiated on the impropriety of one prince attempting to exercise authority over another. He maintained that, in reason, in precedent, and in justice, there existed not a pretence upon which Elizabeth could subject Mary to the ordinations of England. He recalled to her mind, that this princess had come into her dominions for refuge, and that she was entitled to her protection. The imprisonment of Mary he justly represented as a crime which no state policy could vindicate; and he insisted that, in her situation, every possible effort for her liberty was proper and pardonable. He protested, that the kings of Europe were concerned and interested in her fate; and that the execution of a free princess was a blow which would wound them all. He affirmed, that the safety of Elizabeth would be more endangered by the death of Mary than by her life. He assured the queen of England, that if a resolution were really taken by the Catholic powers to invade her dominions, she ought to impute it to a motive of religion, and not to the machinations of Mary. He cautioned her to observe, that if that princess were actually put to death, the cause of the hostility of these powers, so far from ceasing, would acquire additional strength: they would see, in a stronger light than ever, the propriety of extirpating the Protestant doctrines; and would unite most seriously to revenge the execution of a Roman Catholic princess. He conjured her by every thing that is most sacred among mankind, to treat Mary with moderation; pointed out the praises and profits of clemency; and declared, that his master had commanded him to inform her that, should she proceed to the last extremity against the Scottish queen, he would control the vivacity of his resentment, and make her know the full extent of his power. But this spirited remonstrance had no effect on the merciless mind of Elizabeth; steady to her purpose she pursued her sanguinary plan, and, on the eighth of February, 1587, Mary suffered decapitation, at Fotheringay castle.

The neglect of the Hugonots to profit by the victory of Coutras for effecting a junction with the German auxiliaries, proved of greater consequence than they had expected. The Germans, entering without order and without guides, into provinces unknown to them, continually stopped by huge rivers, and harassed by the troops of the League, had, on the twenty-fourth of November, been taken by surprize, through the active vigilance of the duke of Guise, who attacked them at Auneau, in La Beausse, and obtained a complete victory, putting two thousand of them to the sword, and making himself master of all their baggage<sup>23</sup>. The Swifs, to avoid a similar misfortune, enlisted, to the number of twelve thousand, in the army of the League<sup>24</sup>.

A. D. 1588.] The Protestant party, soon after, experienced another loss, by the death of the prince of Condé, who expired of poison at Saint Jean d'Angeli, on the fifth of March, 1588. One of his domestics, named Brillant, was convicted of the deed, and condemned to be drawn asunder by four horses. The princess of Condé was included in the accusation, but, after suffering six years imprisonment, she was brought to trial before the parliament of Paris, and honourably acquitted<sup>25</sup>.

The inhabitants of Paris, delivered, by the defeat of the Germans, from the dread of foreign invasion, determined to reduce their sovereign to the most mortifying insignificance, and to vest the sole administration in the hands of the duke of Guise. In pursuance of this design, they presented a memorial, which had been drawn up by the princes of Lorraine, and the chiefs of the League, assembled for that purpose at Nancy<sup>26</sup>, in which they required the king to declare openly for the League; to publish the decrees of the council of Trent; to establish the inquisition, and to extirpate heresy. Though Henry could not entirely repress his indignation, he so far commanded his temper as to promise to consider their requests. But alarmed at their insolence, he watched their conduct with a vigilant eye, and meditated the vindication of his dignity by surprizing the whole council at once. From this design, however, he was dissuaded by the queen-mother; and his imprudence in threatening a faction which he wanted the power to punish or repress, only served to encrease the enmity of the Leaguers, who now summoned the duke of Guise to their support.

Contrary to the express command of his sovereign, the duke of Guise entered Paris amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and demanded an audience of the king. Incapable of refusing, yet deeply wounded by a repetition of insults, Henry recalled his former resolution, and declared that the moment of the interview should be the last of his presumptuous subject's life. Catharine again interposed her tears and remonstrances, and again prevailed. But the king still continued to give vent to his indignation, he

<sup>23</sup> D'Aubigné—Matthieu.

<sup>24</sup> Sully.

<sup>25</sup> De Thou.

<sup>26</sup> Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 188, 189.



fiercely accused the duke of sedition, treason, and the most daring designs against his life and throne. The duke of Guise, sensible of his danger, endeavoured to disarm his rage by submission: he was suffered to retire in safety; but, convinced of the hazard he had incurred, and hopeless of any sincere reconciliation, he immediately determined on the most decisive measures.

To prevent the dangerous designs of this illustrious rebel and his daring associates, Henry, on the twelfth of May, commanded all foreigners to leave the capital, and issued orders for visiting every house; and, as the Parisians, ever ripe for revolt, made a shew of resistance, he introduced into the town, during the night, about six thousand troops, chiefly Swiss, and distributed them into the different quarters of the city. An immediate and general insurrection was the consequence of this measure, which prudence justified; the Parisians rose in every part of the city, and, headed by some of the chiefs of the League, fortified themselves in the streets, repulsed the soldiers, slew several of the Swiss, disarmed the rest, and pushed the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre. While Catharine artfully engaged the duke of Guise in a negociation, Henry quitted his palace, escaped through the garden of the Thuilleries, and surveying his capital with the eye of offended majesty, declared he would never enter it again but through a breach in the walls.

Had Henry, on this occasion, acted with greater discretion, he might probably have been spared the disgrace of abandoning his metropolis. At an early part of the day, Grillon, colonel of the French guards, wished to take possession of the Place Maubert, but he was restrained by the king, who also prevented his soldiers from firing upon the populace, though by so doing they might, it was supposed, have been easily quelled.

From Paris, Henry retired to Chartres, and publicly appealed to his subjects, from the insolence of the duke of Guise, and the tyranny of the Leaguers. He was answered by manifestoes which breathed the spirit of sedition inflamed by religious rancour. The just resentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for so cruel an insult, offered to a prince of his own blood, and which, in some degree, reflected a disgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced, in a moment, Henry's injurious treatment of himself. He expressed his affliction at this event in his council, the members whereof unanimously approved his resolution to assist and defend the king of France; and he immediately dispatched his secretary to that prince to assure him, that he might dispose of his person and troops<sup>27</sup>.

Yet while the mutual accusations of both parties seemed to admit of no other decision than that of arms, the mediation of Catharine was again successfully employed,

<sup>27</sup> Sully, liv. iii.

and Henry was once more in appearance reconciled to a subject whom he hated and feared. The firmness of the parliament and the levity of the Parisians had influenced the duke of Guise to listen to terms of accommodation; while Henry was impressed with dread by the formidable preparations of the king of Spain. By the articles of the new treaty, which was signed on the twenty-first of July, the duke of Guise was constituted lieutenant-general of the French armies; the cardinal of Bourbon was declared first prince of the blood; the severest penalties were denounced against the subjects of France who had presumed to deviate from the ancient and established church; and, in short, all the extravagant demands which the chiefs of the League, when assembled at Nancy, had agreed to prefer, were now granted<sup>28</sup>. On the conclusion of this treaty, the duke of Guise waited on the king at Chartres, and was received with such marks of respect and confidence as seemed to proclaim the most sincere reconciliation.

Yet amidst these public testimonies of regard, Henry continued to nourish a latent thirst of vengeance, which the enemies of the Guises were studious to encrease. He assembled the states at Blois, on the tenth of October, and, though surrounded by the partisans of the League, he addressed them in a bold and animated speech, displayed the distress to which he was reduced, and glanced at the seditious practices of the house of Lorraine. Language so unexpected struck the duke of Guise with astonishment; he remonstrated strongly against the insinuations it conveyed, and Henry was compelled to soften the most obnoxious passages before it was circulated abroad.

To this mortification succeeded the most alarming intelligence with respect to the ambitious designs of his aspiring subject: he perceived that the states were determined to declare the king of Navarre, by name, incapable of succeeding to the throne; and that he could neither hope to enjoy repose himself, nor to restore tranquillity to the kingdom, so long as the duke of Guise was alive. Having taken his resolution, he consulted his cabinet-council, consisting of the marshal D'Aumont, Nicholas and Lewis D'Angennes, and Beauvais Nangis, on the best means of putting it in execution. The first advised the king to arrest the princes of Lorraine and deal with them according to law<sup>29</sup>; but Henry was sensible that such an attempt would only serve to inflame subjects too powerful for restraint; and the rest concurred in encouraging him to put the duke of Guise to death.

In the conduct of this plan, Henry displayed the same calm dissimulation that had characterized his brother Charles. Grillon, who commanded the royal guards, and who was celebrated for his personal courage, was applied to, to strike the fatal blow, but, with a

<sup>28</sup> *Memoires de la Ligue*, tom. 1.—*Mém. de Nevers*, tom. 1.—*Matthieu*, tom. i, liv. 8.

<sup>29</sup> *Mezerai*.



dignity of mind equal to his valour, he replied that his rank and services would not allow him to play the executioner: "I will challenge the duke," said he, "and if permitted, endeavour to kill him fairly with my sword." The king received his refusal with a good grace, and only recommended to him secrecy. He now fixed on Loignac, who commanded his new-raised body-guard, composed of five-and-forty Gascons; and that officer readily accepted the commission.

The adherents of the duke of Guise, ever anxious and vigilant, were soon apprized that some dark design was meditated, and their leader was repeatedly admonished that he stood on the brink of a precipice. But relying on that fortune, which had hitherto invariably attended him, and impressed with a strong but mistaken idea of Henry's timidity, he determined to attend the council he was summoned to. As he repaired to the king's cabinet, (on the morning of the twenty-third of December), through a long and gloomy passage, he was assailed by the daggers of Loignac and his associates. Six poniards were at once plunged into his bosom, and, exclaiming, with a deep groan, "My God, have mercy on me!" he sunk breathless on the floor.

Thus perished Henry, duke of Guise, the victim of his own inordinate ambition. As soon as the king was informed of his fate, he passed into the apartment of the queen-mother, and acquainting her with the event, added, "I am now a king, madam, for the duke of Guise is no more." Catharine, without blaming or commending the action, only coldly asked, if he had considered the consequences.

At the same time, the marshal D'Aumont arrested the cardinal of Guise, while others of the king's adherents seized, in different places, the cardinal of Bourbon; the dukes of Nemours; the prince of Joinville; the dukes of Nemours and Elbeuf; Hautefort; Saint-Aignan; Bois-Daupin, Brissac; La Bourdaisiere; and Pericard, secretary to the duke of Guise. Richelieu, an officer of the household, entering the apartment where the states were assembled, said that an attempt had been made on the king's life, and seized the president de Nully; La Chapelle-Marteau, provost of the merchants; two aldermen of Paris; and Vincent le Roy, a magistrate of the city of Amiens. The other deputies retired in disorder; some found means to escape to Orleans, while others were stopped at the door, compelled to remain, and to conceal their apprehensions beneath an appearance of joy.

Those who had assassinated the duke of Guise, dreading the revenge of his brother the cardinal, were so earnest in their solicitations to the king to consent to his death, that Henry at last complied with their wishes. Duguaft, an officer of the guards, undertook the commission, and he employed four soldiers—to each of whom he gave a hundred crowns—to execute it; they accordingly lay in wait for him, as he was going to  
the

the king's cabinet, and dispatched him with their halberds<sup>30</sup>. Henry was greatly surprized when the pope's legate, who had appeared but little concerned at the death of the duke of Guise, told him that he had subjected himself to a sentence of excommunication, for having been instrumental to the assassination of a cardinal.

The duke of Mercœur, who was at Nantes, when this transaction took place, was apprized of his danger, by his sister, in time to effect his escape. The duke of Mayenne also received a courier, at Lyons, dispatched by his brother's equerry, and not finding the inhabitants of that city sufficiently attached to him, he repaired to Chalons in Burgundy, and having made himself master of the citadel, hastened to secure Dijon.

A. D. 1589.] At Paris, the citizens openly rejected the authority of their sovereign, and chose the duke of Aumale for their governor: The doctors of the Sorbonne publicly absolved his subjects from their allegiance; and the council of union, composed of forty members, assuming a sovereign power, constituted the duke of Mayenne, brother to the late duke of Guise, lieutenant-general of the state and crown of France, a dignity absurd and unprecedented; and their blind zeal would even have conferred on him the title of king, had not his sagacity led him to decline the dangerous pre-eminence. Rouen and the greater part of Normandy declared for the League; Lyons, Thoulouse, Marseilles, Arles and Toulon, with the provinces of Brittany and Auvergne, embraced the same party; the Spanish ambassador repaired to Paris, and nourished by his gold the factious councils of the capital; while the censures of the pope, and the inflammatory harangues of the priests, kept alive the flames of sedition.

Meanwhile, the king had totally withdrawn his confidence from the queen-mother, who, mortified at the loss of an authority, she had so long been accustomed to exercise, and advanced in years, expired at Blois, on the fifth of January, in the seventy-third year of her age<sup>31</sup>. In her last moments, she perceived the fatal effects of her own insidious policy, and strenuously exhorted Henry to be reconciled to the princes of his blood, particularly to the king of Navarre, whose sincerity, she declared, she had constantly experienced: she advised him also to restore tranquillity to his kingdom by putting a stop to the persecution of the Protestants, and allowing them the free exercise of their religion.

One part of Catharine's advice Henry soon found it necessary to adopt; the spirit of sedition was widely diffused over the kingdom, and in the fidelity and attachment of the princes of the blood his only resource now consisted. The king of Navarre readily list-

<sup>30</sup> Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 218, 219.

<sup>31</sup> Idem, p. 228.



tened to the overtures that were made to him, and, through the management of Sully, a treaty was concluded and signed between the two monarchs, at Pleffis-les-Tours. Henry established his head quarters at Tours, where he was speedily joined by the dukes of Epemon and Nevers, and the marechal Montmorenci; but before he could collect a strong body of troops he was attacked by the army of the League, under the duke of Mayenne, who stormed the suburb of Saint Symphorien, in the defence of which the king displayed great gallantry. Mayenne, however, had not time to improve this advantage, for the king of Navarre, hastening to the relief of his ally, compelled him to raise the siege and retreat with precipitation.

The skirmishes now became frequent between the rival armies, and victory generally declared for the royalists: Sully defeated a party of the Leaguers under the command of Saveuse, near Bonneval; and La Noue, with the young duke of Longueville, attacked the duke of Aumale in the vicinity of Senlis, and entirely routed his army, two thousand of whom were left dead on the field, and as many more were killed in the woods by the peasants; a thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the royalists, together with all the artillery and baggage.

The kings of France and Navarre having collected their forces from different quarters, proceeded to Pontoise, which surrendered by capitulation; and being joined by their foreign auxiliaries, consisting of ten thousand Swiss, two thousand Lansquenets, and a body of light-horse, their army amounted to thirty-eight thousand men, a force which they deemed adequate to the attack of the capital, which they accordingly invested on the last day of July <sup>22</sup>.

The duke of Mayenne, with ten thousand men <sup>32</sup>, hastened to the relief of Paris; but, at the sight of the king's army, the royalists, who were numerous in the city, openly declared for an accommodation, and went from house to house, exhorting their friends to join them. The Leaguers themselves were alarmed at the prospect of punishment, nor could the encouragement they received from the pulpits, nor the false intelligence that was carefully circulated among them, suffice to remove their apprehensions. They were afraid, that during the assault, which was fixed for the second of August, the royalists would attack them from behind, and open one of the gates to the besiegers.

While things were in this situation, and the duke of Mayenne, at a loss how to act, had resolved to try the effect of a desperate sally, at the head of four thousand men, that punishment which the factious and disloyal citizens of Paris so richly merited was averted by the hand of an assassin. James Clement, a Jacobin friar, born at the

<sup>32</sup> Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 251.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, Ibid.





Anno  
1589.



*Singleton delin.*

*J. Jones Sculp.*

**THE DEATH OF HENRY THE THIRD.**

*Published as the Act directs March 3. 1792. by C. L. ...*



village of Sorbonne, near Burgundy, a man of strong passions, but weak intellects, had listened with attention to the treasonable harangues of the popular preachers of the League, which soon inflamed to desperation a disposition naturally gloomy and fanatical: either impelled by that sanguinary superstition which so strongly marks the times we are delineating, or instigated by persons of superior rank, who expected to meet their own ruin in the triumph of their sovereign, he resolved, by one fatal stroke, to destroy the enemy of the pope and of the Catholic religion. With a passport procured under false pretences from the count de Brienne, one of the king's generals, then a prisoner in the Bastille, and a forged letter from the president Harlay, he set out from Paris for Saint Cloud, where the king had established his quarters: on the road he overtook La Guesle, the attorney-general, and informing him that he had some important intelligence to communicate to the king in person, he was entertained by that officer at his house, who also engaged to procure him an audience of Henry<sup>34</sup>.

The next morning he was, accordingly, introduced by La Guesle to the king, to whom he presented a letter; but while Henry was engaged in the perusal of it, Clement drew a knife from his sleeve, and plunged it into the belly of his sovereign. The king immediately drew the fatal instrument from the wound, and twice struck with it the assassin on the forehead and the cheek. La Guesle, with a blow from his sword, extended him on the floor, and the imprudent zeal of two or three of the royal guards speedily dispatched him<sup>35</sup>.

It was at first supposed that the king's wound was not mortal, but symptoms soon appearing to shew that the intestines were injured, he was apprized of his situation, and prepared to meet death with resignation and fortitude. He sent for the king of Navarre, whom he tenderly embraced, and declared his lawful successor; he exhorted the nobility to acknowledge and support their new sovereign; and, on the morning of the second of August expired, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

A spirit of gaming and intrigue prevailed at the court of France, during the reign of the Third Henry, a voluptuous monarch, better adapted to the pursuits of pleasure than the cares of state: this disposition, indeed, his mother had been anxious to encourage, in order to divert his attention from the affairs of government, of which she wished to procure the sole management and direction. As an instance of Henry's prodigality, it is remarked, that he lost, at one sitting, the sum of eighty thousand crowns. He used frequently to dress himself in women's cloaths: he once gave a feast at which the guests were served by women in the habits of men; and the queen-mother, in return, gave a

<sup>34</sup> Mezerai.<sup>35</sup> Idem.



supper, at which the most beautiful females of the court waited at table, with their bosoms bare, and their hair flowing down their shoulders<sup>36</sup>.

The order of the Holy Ghost was instituted by Henry, on the first of January, 1579. The king was declared sovereign of the order, and the number of knights was confined to one hundred (who were obliged to prove their nobility for three generations) exclusive of eight ecclesiastics, four cardinals, and four prelates.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese, after the first discoveries of Columbus, had penetrated into those regions called the East and West Indies, and sent forth frequent fleets and colonies to secure their invasions of Mexico, Peru, the Brasils and Goa, the French made no attempt to share in the riches of the New World, or to imitate the later range of the English into the coasts of North America. By the neglect and discouragement of the marine, even their private adventurers were restrained from that spirit of enterprize which then diffused itself among the other nations<sup>37</sup>. It was the genius of the admiral Coligni, extended to every object that could advance the interest or honour of his country, which first produced an attention to this point of national advantage. During the reign of Henry the Second, he employed his interest to recommend Villegagnon to the court, and to obtain authority for equipping some vessels, with a view to form a French settlement in the Brasils. This colony, however, was soon destroyed, notwithstanding a fort they had built for their protection, which bore the admiral's name. In February, 1562, Coligni, not discouraged by the failure of his first attempt, resumed an enterprize of the same kind, and obtained the royal commission for sending John Ribaud, a noted mariner of Dieppe, with two vessels, to the coast of Florida. Near the frith of Saint Helen, fort Carolina was constructed; and Ribaud, having left his lieutenant with a garrison and provisions, sailed back to France to obtain a reinforcement and fresh supplies. But the kingdom being thrown into confusion by the civil wars, the colony was neglected; the garrison, at length, abandoned the fort, and with difficulty procured a passage to England. At the peace of Orleans, the admiral fitted out three other ships, and appointed Laudonniere, who had been in the former expedition, to command them. On their arrival in Florida, it was judged proper to change the situation of the fort to a place more commodious. The affairs of the new settlers prospered, until a party of them, taking advantage of Laudonniere's sickness, made excursions to the Spanish main, and to the island of Cuba. By this means the colony was neglected, and Laudonniere was on the point of setting sail for France, when Ribaud appeared with seven vessels in the bay.

The Spaniards had, by this time, fitted out a squadron of eight sail, which, arriving at

<sup>36</sup> Mezerai, tom. ix. p. 55.

<sup>37</sup> D'Aubigné, liv. i. chap. 16.

the critical time of the debarkation, and while the two commanders were disputing whether they should trust to the defence of the fort, or that of the ships, so far accomplished the destruction of one and the other, that Laudonniere and Ribaud's son, glad to escape with some of their vessels, carried intelligence to France of the dreadful massacre and cruel insults committed on their countrymen by the Spaniards; who put most of their prisoners to death, and hung many of their bodies on trees, and gibbets, with labels affixed to them, importing that they were so treated, not as pirates and Frenchmen, but as Lutherans and heretics. Laudonniere's complaints of the outrage and indignity done to the honour and name of the French nation, were little regarded by the court; but a remarkable revenge was undertaken by a private individual, Dominique de Gourgues, a Gascon captain, who being made a prisoner in the Tuscan wars, had been sent to the galleys by the Spaniards. Inflamed with resentment, determined on revenging his own personal injuries, and ambitious of vindicating the public wrong, he sold his estate, and having obtained a farther sum on credit, equipped some small vessels, manned with soldiers, with which he sailed for Florida in August, 1567. His achievements were no less surprising than the undertaking itself was extraordinary. With two hundred men, and some savages, he made himself master of the Carolina fort, and two others erected near it, which were mounted with cannon, and defended by four hundred Spanish troops. He retaliated the massacre of the prisoners, on whose bodies he placed this inscription; "I have treated you thus, not as Spaniards only, but as traitors, robbers, and assassins." On his return to France, he found the Spanish influence so prevalent at court, that instead of receiving thanks for this singular exploit, he was obliged to conceal himself in an obscure retreat, in order to avoid a capital prosecution. A more hopeful expedition, undertaken a short time before this, by Bertrand de Montluc, son to the general of that name, for the purpose of forming a settlement on the coast of Guinea, and opening to France the tract of the Portuguese navigation to the Cape of Good Hope, and the East Indies, had been likewise attended with a disastrous fate. In the island of Madeira, the Portuguese, who refused them admittance for water and provisions after a storm, were too weak to resist their assault; but young Montluc having received a mortal wound in storming the town, the expedition was stopped, and the troops returned to France, where the credit of Coligni and old Montluc was scarcely sufficient to protect them from the effects of a prosecution, commenced against them on the remonstrance of the envoy from Portugal. In this manner, from the inattention of the court of France to the public interest and the subsequent broils of the nation, which increased the discouragement of the marine, and frustrated every extensive and beneficial scheme of policy; the French attempts at colonization in the New World proved tardy, irregular, and abortive.

Henry was the last monarch of the race of Valois, which had reigned over the king-

<sup>a</sup> Camden.



dom during one hundred and sixty-one years, and had given thirteen sovereigns to France. Under their government, the limits of the French empire had been extended by the important acquisitions of Dauphiné, Burgundy, Provence, and Brittany. Louisa, widow to Henry, retired, on the death of her husband, to the castle of Moulins, where she passed in tranquil privacy the remainder of her days. She expired in 1601, in the forty-seventh year of her age.

## E R R A T A.

Page	13	Line	11	For 'Lewis'	-	read	'Philip'
	33		13	From the bottom, after 'promises'	place a comma, after 'and' delete 'that'		
	64	Note		For 'Poronne'	-	read	'Peronne'
	129		12	Dele 'a' at the end of the line.			
	140		4	For 'of'	-	read	'at'
	194		17	After 'Seventh'	-	infert	'and'
	223		6	For 'homage'	-	read	'harangue'
	242		9	For 'la'	-	read	'da'
	242		13	For 'Bentvoalio'	-	read	'Bentivoglio'
	251		8	Dele 'that'			
	269		9	Insert a comma after 'generals,'	dele comma after 'Ligni'		
	277		7	Dele 'd' before 'Albret'			
	283	Note		For 'Hewterus'	-	read	'Heuterus'
	288		16	For 'Ghigradadda'	-	read	'Ghiaradadda'
	304		5	For 'where'	-	read	'were'
	313	Note, Line 4 from the bott.		for 'adeniente'	read	'adveniente'	
	314		5	For France	-	read	'Franca'
	325	Note		For 'Scriptones'	-	read	'Scriptores'
	332		7	Dele 'But'			
	363		1	For 'retier'	-	read	'retire'
	372		9	Dele 'Ambrose Paré'			
	383		11	For 'obtained'	-	read	'attained'
	386		9	For 'Bourbonnois'	-	read	'Boulonnois'
	410		20	For 'successful'	-	read	'unsuccessful'
	474		5	From the bott. for 'from'		read	'for'
	587		11	For 'light'	-	read	'eight.'

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